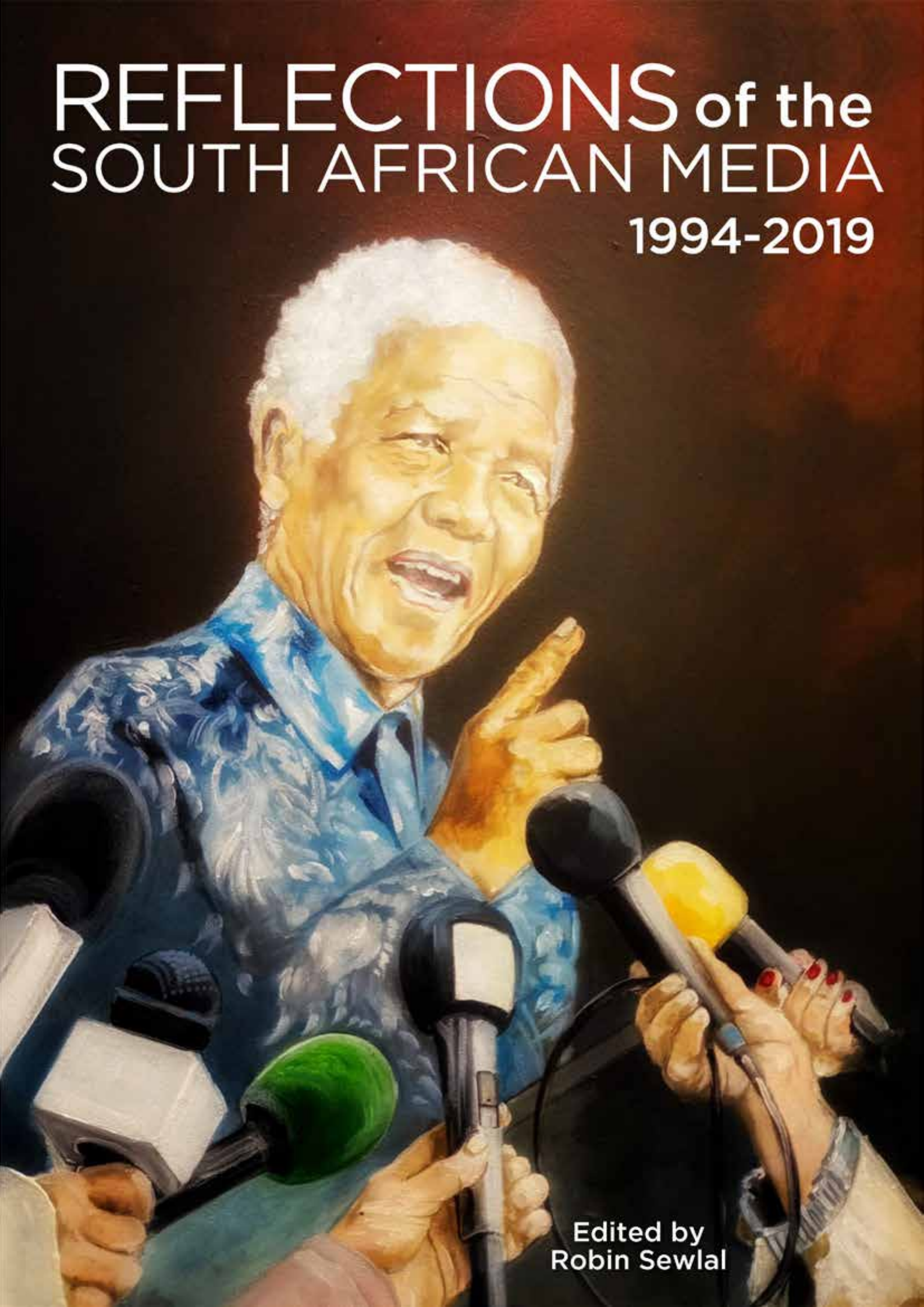
REFLECTIONS of the SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA

1994-2019



Edited by
Robin Sewlal

REFLECTIONS of the SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA 1994 - 2019

Robin Sewlal

Radiocracy
radio • democracy • development

This book is dedicated to all the women and men who have as well as those who continue to keep the media in South Africa voiceful and vibrant.

REFLECTIONS of the SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA 1994 - 2019

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ASHLEY MUNSAMY FINE ARTIST

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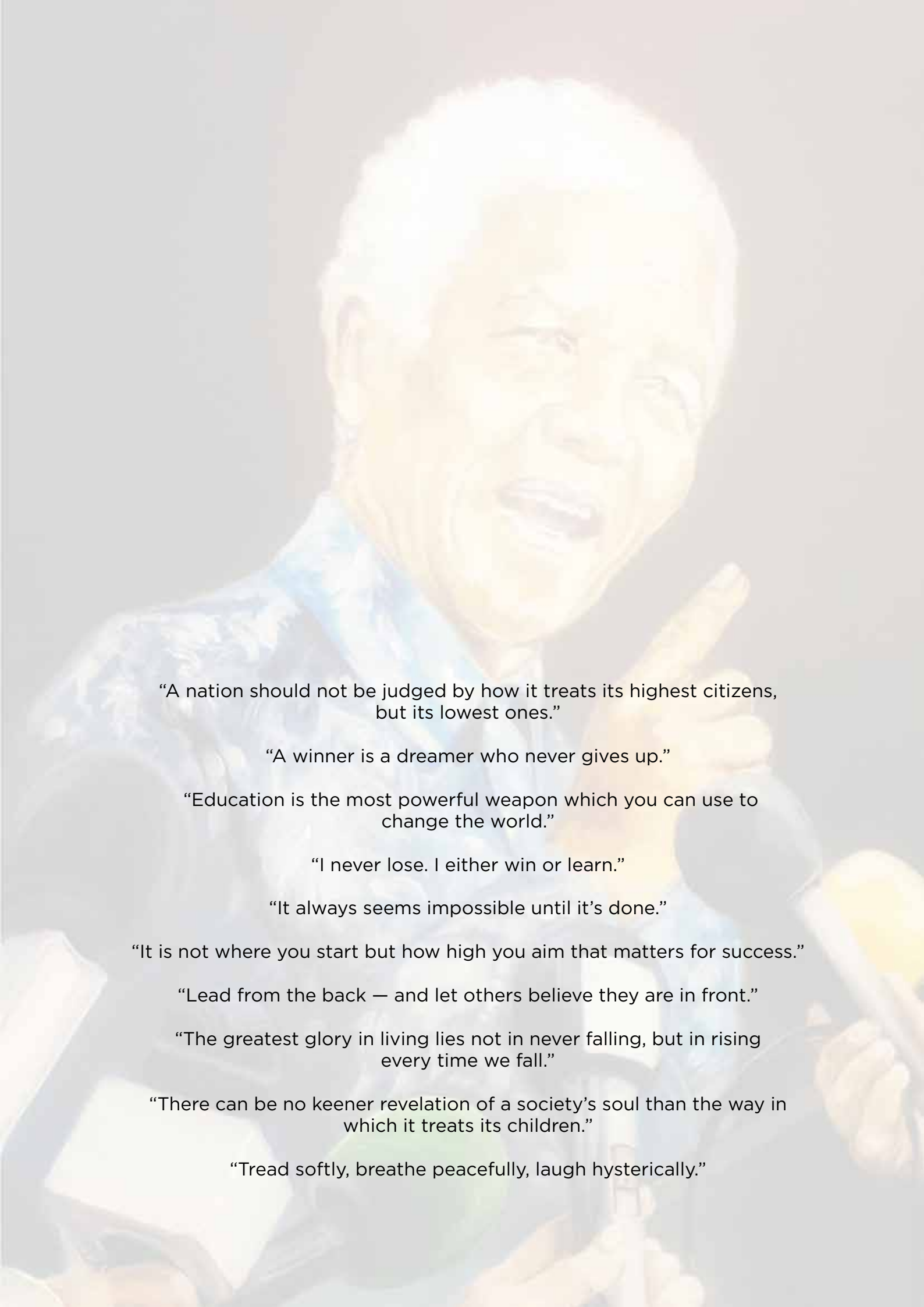

“A nation should not be judged by how it treats its highest citizens, but its lowest ones.”

“A winner is a dreamer who never gives up.”

“Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.”

“I never lose. I either win or learn.”

“It always seems impossible until it’s done.”

“It is not where you start but how high you aim that matters for success.”

“Lead from the back — and let others believe they are in front.”

“The greatest glory in living lies not in never falling, but in rising every time we fall.”

“There can be no keener revelation of a society’s soul than the way in which it treats its children.”

“Tread softly, breathe peacefully, laugh hysterically.”

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Robin *Sewlal*

Prior to 1994, the media operated in an environment that can best be described as 'suppressed'. Diversity of thoughts, views and opinions on media platforms were non-existent as the regime, at the time, ruled with an iron-fist. A variety of print media outlets sought to reflect reality, but it was a steady struggle especially for those with meagre resources, and exacerbated by the constant clampdowns. The state-run broadcaster, if anything, entrenched discriminatory principles and practices. Given our precarious past, the birth of democracy proved to be the perfect panacea for a promising pathway for the media fraternity. Transformation, in more ways than one, permeated the sector. *Reflections of the South African Media: 1994-2019* is a compilation by authors who have peculiar insight of and excelled in the different areas of the fast-developing industry in the first 25 years of South Africa's democracy. And they are no ordinary authors. Every chapter contributed came from women and men who had, through the years, a direct link with ML Sultan Technikon, Technikon Natal, Durban Institute of Technology (DIT) or Durban University of Technology (DUT)* either as a student, lecturer, visiting professor, speaker or associate. Compiling and editing this book has been an incredibly invigorating experience. It was never in doubt whose image will adorn the cover of the book, so it was beautifully uplifting that many authors, not knowing my choice, gave Nelson Mandela due recognition. My brief to the authors was simple: let me have your personal lookback in your own style on the topic that you are most comfortable with. All of them stepped up to the plate, and the vast array of content in the book bares strong testimony. A section titled *Journeys in Journalism* encapsulates input from alumni of DUT Journalism – they were afforded free reign to trace the territory they traversed. I'm indebted to each and every contributor for generously volunteering their precious time and talent to the book. They were simply magnificent. It has to be said that this publication far exceeded my expectations as it, initially, was a humble idea to celebrate 25 years of the media industry with a handful of contributions. Little did I realise that my desk will be flooded with 40 pieces of excellence and a Foreword penned by the brilliant Jeremy Thompson. My eternal gratitude must also be extended to the small team of assistants for understanding my vision upfront and rallying remarkably throughout.

Once you've enjoyed the read, I invite you to share *Reflections of the South African Media: 1994-2019* with whoever you believe can benefit from its rich and diverse content!

**The technikons merged in 2002 to form DIT which later became DUT*

Robin Sewlal is an advocate of the High Court of South Africa and associate director at DUT Journalism, Durban University of Technology. He is the legal representative of the Institutional Research Ethics Committee, chairs the Senate Rules Committee and serves on various other forums at the university. Robin has extensive experience in both the print and electronic media, and commenced freelance work with The Leader newspaper and Capital Radio. He was the chairperson of the International Radiocracy Conference in 2001. Comprising radio, democracy and development, *Radiocracy* is a key fabric of society. Robin was the chairperson of the board at the King Dinuzulu Hospital, and contributed as a board member to various organisations. Some other roles were as a commissioner at the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA), convenor and judge of the Vodacom Journalist of the Year competition, and KwaZulu-Natal convenor of the South African National Editors' Forum (Sanef). Robin has edited several publications.

Foreword

Jeremy *Thompson*

There I was at the heart of the Union Buildings just metres away from Nelson Mandela as he delivered his iconic "rainbow nation" speech. "Let freedom reign," he declared. The date was 10 May 1994. I paused for a moment to remind myself that this is why I had become a journalist. For a day just like this. To be at the epicentre of the biggest story on earth. The day that apartheid officially ended and South Africa welcomed its first black president.

A moment of history to which I was an eyewitness. It confirmed my deep belief that it is a privilege to be a journalist, to be offered a front row seat on history, to be given the honour and duty to convey events with candour and integrity, with fairness and impartiality to the many millions who could not be there. I have always seen it as my basic job to provide the factual raw material, the information on which others can shape their views and opinions. It is not for me to comment or conclude. It's just for me to be there and relay the scene with clarity. A few weeks before that momentous day in Pretoria, I interviewed Mandela in his Robben Island cell on the fourth anniversary of his release from prison. In that cramped space, he reminded me what a pivotal role the international media had played in focusing global attention on the old South African government. He insisted that it was the persistence of the press that had kept up the pressure on power that led to his release and the transition to a multi-ethnic democracy. Strong, courageous and honest reporting has been just as crucial in the post-apartheid years as journalists have strove to shine a spotlight into the murkiest crevices of the nation. Bold investigations have helped uncover the misdeeds of corruption, cronyism and state capture that have dogged South Africa's progress in the 21st century. Good, unshackled and unbiased journalism is essential to maintaining a working democracy. In this age of "fake news", misinformation and weaponised social media, it often strikes me that good old-fashioned facts are left splattered like roadkill on the information super-highway. As Mark Twain once said, "A lie will travel halfway round the world while the truth is still pulling its boots on." Science now confirms that false stories spread faster and more widely than real news. A recent study discovered that the truth takes six times longer than fake news to be seen by 1 500 people on Twitter. And falsehoods and conspiracy theories take a long time to debunk. The challenges to the mainstream media have never been bigger. The partiality and polarisation of opinion around the world has left discussion and debate running a poor second to dispute and confrontation. It's left people confused, caught in a place where it's hard to distinguish truths from lies. All too many listening only to an 'echo chamber' of 'facts' that fit their beliefs. Never has there been a greater need for trust, for strong, straight journalism that people can believe in.

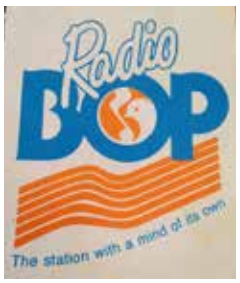
Jeremy Thompson is one of the United Kingdom's most experienced and acclaimed television newsmen. He started as a journalist in newspapers and went on to spend over 40 years in network television news with the BBC, ITN and Sky News, reporting from every corner of the world. Jeremy ran foreign bureaux in Asia, Africa and America, covering many of the most important news stories of our times, including Tiananmen Square, the election of Nelson Mandela, 9/11, two Gulf Wars, the Balkan conflict, the Genocide in Rwanda, the War on Terror and the Indian Ocean Tsunami. He became Sky's early evening news anchor and pioneered presenting from the frontline for nearly two decades, winning many accolades, including three Emmys, three BAFTAs and the Royal Television Society's Presenter of the Year Award. Jeremy has now retired from full-time television news presenting. His very successful autobiography *Breaking News* is out in paperback.

1. Pace and tone of commercial radio

Alex *Mthiyane*

I've been privileged to have graduated from being a die-hard radio fan to eventually moving to the other side, behind the microphone. As a young man growing up in a household without a television set or even a telephone, for that matter, my love for radio grew exponentially to the point of mastering some broadcasters' individual styles. For a while, most presenters used instrumental music to begin their shows. As a listener, one had to guess which presenter would be hosting that particular show. The first song would keep you in suspense for approximately five minutes. Given my close listening ear, I was generally able to correctly fathom the identity of the presenter or stand-in presenter based on the genre of the opening song.

The horrendous system of apartheid created the homeland states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC). It was a façade that they were 'independent' of the illegitimate South African government. Soon after the country became democratic, integration and compromise were not only the order of the day in managing the politics of the new land, the landscape for the powerful communication medium of radio had to be re-shaped as well. The incorporation of several homeland public service stations into the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) had to take place. Commercially-driven stations that operated from the neighbouring states were Capital Radio in the Transkei, and Radio 702 as well as Radio Bop in Bophuthatswana.



Since its start in 1979, Capital Radio became a runaway success. The station was on par with international stations with its rich, compelling content driven by seasoned and sought-after presenters like Alan Mann, Kevin Savage, Treasure Tshabalala and Oscar Renzi. Its trademark news and current affairs shows were a breath of fresh air as they revealed, in no uncertain terms, the propagandist approach of the South African regime. Radio 702 had a lineup of hosts that were unrelenting in expressing their views on the true state of affairs. I remember listening to hosts like David Blood, Dan Moyane, John Berks, John Robbie and Noleen Maholwana-Sangqu. Firebrand Jon Qwelane had a way of dealing with some of the racist and cynical callers on his evening show. This talk radio station tackled issues which the state broadcaster dared not touch.

In my interaction with fellow radio enthusiasts, Radio Bop stood out to be a trendsetter and, arguably, a slick urban radio station at the time. Its tagline was 'the station with a mind of its own', and popular presenters like Tim Modise, Lawrence Dube, Shado Twala and Bob Mabena were soon poached by the SABC to launch Radio Metro. Songs that were banned from the airwaves of the SABC could be heard on Capital, 702 and Bop. Sadly, Capital Radio and Radio Bop are off the airwaves. One of the biggest threats with regard to radio, news or entertainment is predictability. When I listen to the recordings of past shows, I can't help but marvel at the sound of originality and authenticity. I miss those moments that evoked a range of emotions.

"radio has remained authentic and credible"

With the dawn of democracy, the SABC had to share the 'ear space' with other players in both the commercial and community tiers. The Independent Broadcasting Authority was set up to ensure the airwaves were opened up. One of the major processes that the regulator oversaw in 1996 was the privatisation of six SABC stations, namely, RPN Stereo (East Coast Radio), Radio Highveld (947), Radio Jacaranda (Jacaranda FM), Radio Oranje (OFM), Radio Algoa (Algoa FM), and KFM. Apart from the stations sold by the SABC, the commercial radio environment saw several new entrants in the country. The regulatory authority licensed P4 Durban (Gagazi FM), P4 Cape Town (Heart FM), Kaya FM, Classic FM, YFM, Rise FM, North West FM, Smile FM, Vuma FM, LM Radio and Magic 828. A consortium was granted licences for two regions in respect of Puntgeselsradio. The stations did not take off. Commercial licences in secondary markets were also considered.

Currently, the listener enjoys a diversity of options on the commercial radio band. The choice of formats is wide and varied. In Gauteng, YFM found its niche in the youth market whereas Classic FM is a case study of a station serving a market and leveraging on its loyalty based on exclusive content.

Depending on the province in which the station is based, content is targeted in terms of demographics, cultures and nuances. The increasing number of commercial broadcasters has created opportunities for both fresh talent and advertisers.

Over the years, listening to radio in South Africa has become refreshing for three key reasons. The type of music is one determining factor followed by the presenter and, then, content. Many presenters who have become household names have, over the past 25 years, switched stations. Apart from the attractive incentives, the hope was to take along their legion of fans to the 'new' station. Presenters have been astute enough to play the 'right' music and ensure content remains fresh.

Notwithstanding the challenges the medium had to contend with, radio in South Africa has arguably remained authentic and credible. Competition, especially from television, has been fierce. When South Africa introduced satellite television, radio stations grabbed the opportunity of placing themselves on the audio bouquet of the various players.

One of radio's survival strengths has been its ability to embrace and incorporate digital platforms. Most successful radio stations have complemented their output with podcasts and a social media presence. As social media develops and users stream live content, this has posed no threat to the relationship between the listener and presenter. Instead, users have become influencers by spreading the word about the content being delivered by their favourite station and presenter. Myriad of untapped opportunities in the radio content generation space exist. With astute leadership and management in the commercial radio sector, audiences will continue to find content appealing and relevant to them.

25 years into our fledgling democracy, commercial radio has grown at a healthy pace. Keeping up with global trends and ensuring that content resonates with its audience, commercial broadcasters have prospered. A certainty is that this category of radio in South Africa is in good hands and listeners remain top-of-mind!

Alex Mthiyane is the news manager and public sector liaison officer at Gagazi FM in Durban. He anchors the station's flagship talk programme *Indaba*, and was the host of the station's breakfast show, *Alex and the Crew.* Alex was a presenter on *KZN-2-Nite,* a regional magazine programme on SABC-TV and co-presented the news current affairs programme *Morning Live.* He hosted Ukhozi FM's breakfast show for three years. In 2000, Alex was offered an opportunity by the German Embassy to further his knowledge of the industry in Frankfurt and Berlin. He writes a weekly social column for the Isolezwe newspaper, and has served as a member of the Convocation Committee at the Durban University of Technology where he obtained a journalism qualification.

2. Film as a media platform

Anant *Singh*

The medium of film has the ability to influence society as it's considered an effective agent for social change. In producing over 90 films since the mid-1980s, I always strove to be socially relevant.

When Nelson Mandela was in prison and the African National Congress (ANC) leaders in exile in the eighties, a call was made for people to protest against apartheid. It was at that point that I decided to make a film that reflected life under such an evil system, the result being *Place of Weeping* that was directed by Darrell Roodt. The film portrays the injustices experienced by a black farm worker because of the callous attitude of the white farmer for whom he worked. The worker complains about the meagre rations, and the farmer catches the worker stealing a chicken. The worker is beaten to death by the farmer. A brave young woman, played by Gcina Mhlophe, from the farm-working community, places her life at risk when she becomes the voice of the oppressed people as she fights the unfair conditions of the labourers. *Place of Weeping* was a low-budget film, costing R100 000 in the days when there was no digital capacity. However, the film had a huge impact because it dealt with social dilemmas at the time. When the film was released in Los Angeles on 23 January 1987, Mayor Tom Bradley proclaimed it *Place of Weeping Day.* The film received great reviews from the most respected film critics, including those from the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, and Wall Street Journal.

"the medium of film communicates stories from society"

With the experience of *Place of Weeping,* especially the telling of a story that would have normally been suppressed by the authorities, I felt it my responsibility to make films that reflected the society in which we lived. The following year, the anti-war film *The Stick* was produced. As cinemas were segregated in South Africa in 1987, Director Darrell Roodt and myself could not view the film together. It was a film that dealt with soldiers fighting a cross-border war that mirrored the activities of the apartheid army. The focus was on wars fought in Angola and other neighbouring countries. The emotional toll suffered by soldiers who were forced to kill was highlighted. *The Stick* struck a chord with the apartheid authorities who promptly banned the film. In 1988, it opened the Montreal Film Festival, and, a year later, screened at the Moscow Film Festival.

The early experiences in making these films informed my decisions when considering future film projects. I discovered that my creative choices should be driven from the heart and from what I cared about. However, it had to be borne in mind that commercial films generate revenue and this would help to fund films that were socially relevant and echoed societal experiences.

In the early 1990s, shortly after the release of Mandela from prison, a series of films reflecting the changing South Africa were made. *Sarafina!,* which starred Leleti Khumalo, dealt with school children who adopted a campaign of resistance against the presence of the police in their schools - a common occurrence! The lead character, Sarafina, imagines the support of her role model, Nelson Mandela who was in prison. He was her inspiration, and he was the inspiration that motivated the youth of the time to protest against apartheid. To capture the excitement around the first democratic elections in 1994, I collaborated with documentary filmmaker, Danny Schechter to make *Countdown to Freedom.* The film documented the first free and fair elections in South Africa, and followed Mandela as he took the final steps on his walk from prisoner to president. The 10 days of change chronicled an event of global importance, taking the audience inside President Mandela's election campaign. Shortly after the first democratic elections in 1994, *Cry, the Beloved Country*, based on Alan Paton's classic novel, was re-made. At the heart of the film, is the story of two fathers, one black and one white, with James Earl Jones and Richard Harris in the roles. Each of them has lost a son to the violence in South Africa, and, despite their differences, they find common ground . . . which heralds the 'coming together' of these two men. For me, it was a story that reflected the national reconciliation that South Africa was going through. The closing words of the book are most profound, and reflected the new dawn that South Africa was experiencing: "Yes, it is the dawn that has come. The titihoya wakes from sleep, and goes about its work of forlorn crying. The sun tips with light the mountains of Ingeli and East Griqualand. The great valley of uMzimkhulu is still in darkness, but the light will come there. For it is the dawn that has come, as it has come for a thousand centuries, never failing. But when that dawn will come, of our emancipation, from the fear of bondage and the bondage of fear, why, that is a secret."

After the unbanning of political parties, hundreds of political prisoners were released from jail. Most of them were still active in politics after their release. In 1995, President Mandela convened a reunion on Robben Island of all the surviving prisoners who served their sentences there. The film, *Prisoners of Hope* recorded this historic event of over 1 200 former political prisoners meeting at their place of incarceration, and featured emotional footage of comrades and their fascinating anecdotes as they reminisced about their experiences on Robben Island.

As the HIV/AIDS pandemic took its toll on the South African

nation, 10-year-old Nkosi Johnson emerged as the face of all children afflicted with the disease. Inspired by his courage, the documentary *Nkosi – the Voice of Africa's AIDS Orphans,* was made in 2001. It captured the courageous campaign waged by Nkosi and delved into the issues that he took up as the lone voice that represented not only Africa's AIDS orphans, but those around the world too.

As South Africa transitioned into the democratic era, it was necessary to heal the wounds of apartheid. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was the mechanism that was created to play this role. The 2004 film *Red Dust,* starring Hilary Swank and Chiwetel Ejiofor, focused on the TRC. In the film, the apartheid victim must relive his torture and imprisonment at the hands of the police, while his lawyer helps him uncover the truth at a TRC hearing. *Yesterday,* made in 2004 in isiZulu and starring Leleti Khumalo, spotlighted the ravages of HIV/AIDS and the stigma that victims of the dreaded disease suffered. This was a partnership with the Nelson Mandela Foundation, and the film was used as an effective tool in the HIV/AIDS awareness campaign. It went on to achieve significant success and received South Africa's first-ever Academy Award nomination in 2005, and an Emmy Award nomination a year later.

Tackling the issues of drugs and crime in the Cape Town townships, the film *Dollars and White Pipes* was based on the life of Bernhard Baatjies. It follows his journey from the drug and gang culture. He transcends the issues of race, education, addiction and racketeering, and finally becomes a well-respected, law-abiding business entrepreneur. He emerged as a shining example in overcoming the social ills of gangsterism and drugs.

The 2006 documentary *The Journalist and the Jihadi - the Murder of Daniel Pearl* tracked the parallel lives of Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl and jihadi Omar Sheikh. Both were highly educated individuals from privileged backgrounds, one was a humanist, who spent most of his career reporting from the Islamic world on a quest to promote cross-cultural understanding, while the other was a militant who ultimately chose a deeply violent path to express his views. After 9/11, their paths crossed in Pakistan, resulting in the murder of Pearl as he was investigating a money trail that would ultimately have led him through the ranks of al-Qaeda to Osama bin Laden. The September 11 attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York by al-Qaeda, shook the world. As a result, Muslims and Arabs in general were looked at as being terrorists. Produced in 2006, *American East* focused on Arab-Americans living in post-9/11 Los Angeles, and examined long-held misunderstandings about Arabic and Islamic culture.

The watershed election of Barack Obama as the first black president of the United States of America in 2009 was documented in *Barack Obama: People's President.* The film showed his campaign mantra of "Yes We Can" becoming "Yes We Did". It is the story of Obama inspiring and organising millions of new voters to support him, and the brilliant use of the internet as a communications and networking tool. The film goes inside the grassroots campaign, and speaks with activists, journalists and political leaders like South Africa's Desmond Tutu and former US presidential candidate Reverend Jesse Jackson.

In the run up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, with the euphoria around football at fever pitch, the docu-drama *More Than Just A Game* was produced. It was directed by Junaid Ahmed. Told through the stories of five former prisoners, it illustrates political prisoners on Robben Island in the 1960s rising above their incarceration by creating a football league, the Makana Football Association. In 2007, the league was accorded honorary membership of FIFA. Following the FIFA World Cup tournament, *2010 - Once In A Lifetime* explored South Africa's successful hosting of the extravaganza integrating inspiring visuals, exhilarating music and compelling interviews with a range of people – from football officials, government representatives, high profile personalities, celebrities and, most importantly, to the man in the street. It was narrated by renowned international football commentator and Guinness World Record holder, John Helm. The film captures the passionate commitment and vision of South Africa and its people as well as the continent of Africa to the beautiful game.

Filmed over a period of three and half years and released in 2010, *My Hunter's Heart* explores the world's most ancient shamanic culture which is severely threatened as their traditional way of life and skills have been taken away from them. It tracks the Khomani San of the Southern Kalahari, the oldest living indigenous tribe in the world and who are genetically linked to every human being on Planet Earth. The film follows younger members of the clan as they embark on an epic journey to try to recapture some of the knowledge and skills of their ancestors. The death penalty has always been a contentious issue in society. *Shepherds and Butchers,* based on the award-winning book by Chris Marnewick, takes a look at this grave issue. Inspired by true events, the entire system of legally-sanctioned murder

through the death penalty is examined. The film screened at the 2016 Berlin International Film Festival where it received a Panorama Audience Award prize.

The highlight of my career is *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom.* My interest in making a film about the life of Mandela started while he was still in prison. It was through perseverance and his words "nothing is impossible until it is done" that spurred me to make the film. One of the biggest challenges was trying to make a film which would encapsulate his amazing life into two hours. The result is a piece of work that perpetuates Madiba's inspiring life story, spanning his childhood in a rural village through to his activism and imprisonment, and culminating with his inauguration as the first democratically elected president of South Africa. The film is my tribute to an ordinary man who rose to the challenge of his times and triumphed, becoming a global icon. Released in 2013, the film received wide critical acclaim, garnering prestigious award recognitions including Academy Award and BAFTA nominations and a Golden Globe Award win. In honour of the centenary of Mandela's birth in 2018, I produced the documentary *Celebrating Mandela One Hundred* which traces Mandela's life from his roots in a rural village to becoming one of the greatest statesmen the world has ever seen. The film takes us beyond the political and into the personal, and features exclusive interviews with family members, close friends, comrades, politicians and international celebrities, telling the story of a man who became an international icon.

On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi in 2019, *Ahimsa – Gandhi: The Power of the Powerless* was released. The film brings to the fore the impact of the Gandhian message of non-violence worldwide: its inspiration on Martin Luther King Jr and the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, the Solidarity Movement in Poland, Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, and the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.

The medium of film is an important aspect of the creative industries and serves not just as a form of art, but also as a reflection of society. Further, film is a form of communication – it communicates stories that come from society, both past and present, and looks to the future of society. It is special in that you share the experience with hundreds of people in a dark theatre. That, for me, is the magic of the medium of film.

Anant Singh, recognised as South Africa's pre-eminent film producer, has made more than 90 films, including the Academy Award® nominated films *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom* and *Yesterday*. He is the chief executive and chairman of the Videovision Group of Companies, chairman of Cape Town Film Studios, and member of the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts & Sciences, International Academy of Television Arts & Sciences, and International Olympic Committee (IOC). Anant is the recipient of numerous awards, and has been conferred with honorary doctorates from the University of Port Elizabeth, University of Durban-Westville, Durban University of Technology and Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

3. Value of local journalism

Ashok *Ramsarup*

"I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the idea of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities." - Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, 11 February 1990.

This marked the poignant moment in South Africa's history when Nelson Mandela walked out a free man after serving 27 years in prison. The world waited with bated breath for Mandela to deliver that incredibly famous speech in Cape Town. His profound words still linger on.

Journalists from the various media platforms played a pivotal role from 1990 when the first steps towards democracy were being taken. Mandela had negotiated with the former head of state FW de Klerk for a peaceful transition to a free country. Later, Mandela was sworn in as South Africa's first black president ending decades of the struggle against the atrocious architecture of apartheid. He was the champion in the quest for democracy. At the International Press Institute conference in 2013, Mandela said, "Only a free press can be the vigilant watchdog of the public interest against the temptation on the part of those who wield it to abuse that power." He was described as the towering icon of the global movement for equality and an eloquent defender of press freedom.

The advent of democracy had seen the end of prohibitions, harassments, beatings, torture and jailing of journalists who stood their ground and eloquently spoke out against apartheid and human rights abuses.

"local journalism stimulates discussion and debate that improves the quality of life"

I first met Mandela in 1990 at the Durban Exhibition Centre. It was a meeting of a lifetime. His memory amazed me as he remembered my work at the public service radio which I joined in 1984. I will never forget his words, "I know about your work. Keep it up." I was fortunate to again see Mandela in 1994 when he visited the train disaster site at Mariannridge near Pinetown, Durban that claimed dozens of lives. I managed to secure an exclusive interview as we walked on the railway track at the spot where the train derailed.

My strand of memory takes me back almost 55 years when the notorious Group Areas Act was proving to be at its most destructive. Many people of Indian descent lived at Magazine Barracks, established around 1880 and located few kilometres from the Indian Ocean. The picturesque Durban Hindu Temple (popularly known as the Somtseu Road Temple) brought a symbol of hope during the dark days. It was a pillar of strength as a place of worship. My mother Dasodhia Ramsarup could not read or write, but was fluent in the vernacular and isiZulu. She was steeped in her culture and tradition that provided solace. Hundreds of families were forced to vacate their homes in what has been described as "mass removals". The apartheid storm had begun to pelt the area. Sadly, all the families were herded onto dirty trucks and offloaded in Chatsworth, a burgeoning residential area south of Durban. This form of draconian displacement was incredibly devastating.

Durban Hindu Temple

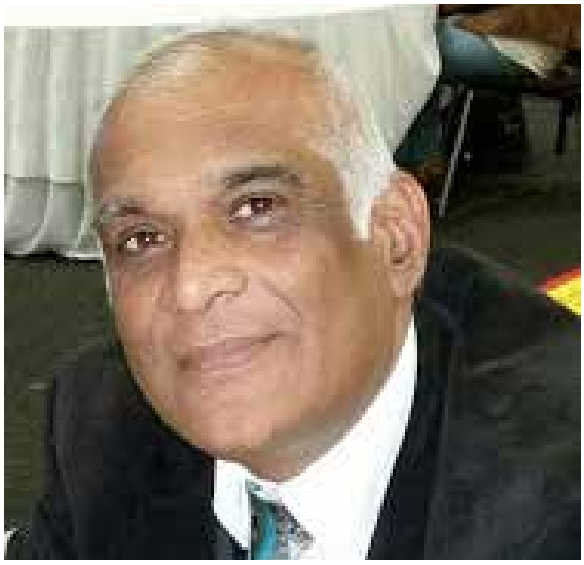
It's against this background that my penchant for telling local stories was shaped. I realised at an early stage in my life that these are the stories that needed to be covered. Local news matters in the 21st century as a number of democracies face an uphill battle in countering challenges. Media must be at the forefront and be the pulse of the people. Local journalists are close to their communities and have easy access to issues as they unfold. Journalism is referred to as the "first draft of history", and journalists have an advantage of reporting credible local news because of trusted news sources. During my exchange programme in India, one of the focus areas was Development Journalism. Today, leaders can learn from journalists who continually write about the unsatisfactory conditions in developing countries. Development journalism tends to bring to light issues that are overlooked, and investigative journalists

then have the task to unravel any abuse of power.

It is my firm belief that *Radiocracy,* encapsulating radio, democracy and development and which Advocate Robin Sewlal has been championing for close on two decades, is key in transforming the news agenda and encouraging young journalists to bring local stories to the doorstep of every home. In a fast-changing media landscape, the provision of local news becomes even more important. Buoyed by the fourth industrial revolution, it is incumbent on local news outlets to embrace digital tools so as to keep audiences abreast of democracy and development. News is an important source of communication that keeps society informed of changing events. The aim is to ensure citizens make informed choices and decisions from the news about their lives, communities and government. Local journalism serves to stimulate discussion and debate that leads to the improvement in the quality of life in communities. Further, it helps society to not only foster unity, but to also respect diversity. The cardinal principles of journalism must reign supreme: getting the facts right, and reporting truthfully and transparently. Journalists must be fair, accountable and impartial in the performance of their watchdog role.

As an illustration, it is my belief that government needs to devise a plan of action to alleviate long queues at provincial hospitals. Many people travel long distances and wait for several hours at such places to seek medical attention. A viable solution is to take services to the people through mobile units and having well-resourced clinics. Affordability of health care also cannot be a pipedream. This local story needs to be constantly reported upon until officialdom deliver on its mandate of serving the public interest. Soon after my retirement, I was honoured with the Health Justice Lifetime Achievement Award 2016, in recognition for highlighting the plight of health services in South Africa as well as in India.

Ashok Ramsarup is an award-winning former senior journalist based in Durban. He has rich experience in journalism spanning 44 years – 12 at the Sunday Times and the rest at the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Ashok received a Certificate in Essentials of Next Newsroom Management, and a Bachelor of Technology: Journalism in 2015 from the Durban University of Technology. He enjoyed scholarships to the United States, London and India, and currently contributes material to Citizen News Service (India) and AllMediaLink.EU (Germany).



4. Sports journalism on the rise

Avashnee *Moodley*

You are either passionate about sport or not. One of the main reasons I studied journalism was my love for sport. The love came from my parents. My dad was an avid fan and a regular at the Kingsmead cricket ground. I often attended matches with him. My first sporting memories are of the 1992 Cricket World Cup. Through the years, I developed a liking for football and would spend all my time watching the Premier Soccer League (PSL) and English Premier League (EPL) matches on television. Some of my fondest recollections were watching Manning Rangers becoming the champions in the inaugural season of the PSL. Following in my dad's footsteps, I became a Manchester United fan.

Many careers are shaped by individuals and mentors, and my journalism career was no different. I grew up listening to and watching Donna Symmonds, Martin Locke and Cynthia Chaka, and knew this is what I wanted to do. During my first year of journalism studies at the Durban University of Technology, I volunteered at a community station, Radio Hindvani where I began doing sports updates and, thereafter, hosted a weekly sports show. I did live cricket updates during international matches, and forged strong relationships with many sports journalists from around the world in the media centre at Kingsmead. My career was a bit different to what I thought it would be as I ended up in print media at the Sunday Times Extra and then The Citizen newspaper where I worked in the news department. I was lucky enough to cover the 2010 FIFA World Cup hosted in South Africa.

Sports journalism is often described as one of the lesser forms of reporting in the newsroom, with many seeing it as 'not serious'. However, the evolution of sports into a mega industry and the impact of new technology have made this industry more lucrative with new career opportunities. Sport has the power to give us everlasting memories, like 'where were you?' moments, which is best described by sports commentators and writers. With impeccable vocabulary and descriptions, British football commentators Jon Champion, Martin Tyler, Ian Darke and Peter Drury come to mind as they help keep those lifetime moments entrenched in our memories.

In general, journalism has evolved over the past 25 years with the traditional form of media transitioning into digital. The original business model of journalism is no longer sustainable as seen by the decline in print media. Before the 1990s, newspapers and printed magazines were the main source of fixtures and results. However, the tide has turned with newsrooms around the world coming under enormous pressure. The steady decline in print circulation in the past two decades has seen devastating declines in advertising revenues and profit margins. This has led to a number of layoffs across the industry including the closing of several publications, including those focused on sports.

Zai Khan

Part of the reason for the decline in print media is the rise of the internet. Digital advancement has meant that journalists now go live from an event and can react within seconds of any occurrence. Updates of newsworthy items are instant. The growth of social media and real time news allow people to be informed as well as grow their own profiles, and for prominent personalities to update their audiences. With social media, news and sports break instantly on platforms such as Twitter which has only 140 characters. Most celebrities and sports professionals use these platforms to keep their fans and the public in the know, while there are also fan-based accounts that post updates. Due to its massive range, the sports industry has, over the last few years, been equipped with technology for journalists. Technology has changed, and it is often said that social media has altered the traditional sense of journalism. As a result, the industry has seen the emergence of a new trend that has come to represent the new face of sports media and is driven by sportsmen and women.

Professional sports people, now guiding their own narrative through social media, are immensely important to the sports media industry as they represent the present and the future of the

way consumers get their sports information. Stories from these professionals on their media platforms enable them to engage with fans. The growth of social media outlets, such as Facebook and Twitter, have already changed the way fans get their sports-related news, statistics, highlights, and overall content. Fans all over the world want to hear directly from their favourite stars. In football, Cristiano Ronaldo has the highest figures on Instagram with around 215 million followers and, according to Forbes, became the first person to hit the 200 million mark. Ronaldo is frequently seen updating his social media platforms with his family, lifestyle or game information. This has led to many endorsements with numerous brands. An Instagram post from him reportedly costs several millions.

Over the past decade, sports events have attracted huge audiences from around the world resulting in broadcast rights taking centre stage. The EPL broadcast rights reportedly cost around R180 million for three seasons. In South Africa, Multichoice/DSTV holds most of the sports broadcast rights as the national broadcaster has not been able to compete over the past few years. This has resulted in the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) buying selected rights from Supersport for most global sports events. The two broadcasters were at loggerheads over the domestic football league at the start of the 2019/20 season and resolved the matter after the intervention of the sports minister. The SABC eventually signed a sub-licencing deal, reportedly worth R72 million a year, with Supersport to broadcast some of the matches on television and radio. Sport is becoming a profitable advertising and promotion tool under the influence of mass media. It has now become an attractive economic activity for brands which see this as a key investment. However, rising costs in broadcast rights often hinder opportunities for journalists in smaller or medium-sized organisations that are unable to compete.

It has been a challenging journey for women in the sports journalism industry as this sector has always been dominated by male journalists. While there were a handful of female sports journalists in the early 1990s, we have seen an increase in the industry over the last decade, most of whom have held their own against their male counterparts. The likes of Cheryl Roberts and Janet Whitton have been joined by people such as Zai Khan, Natalie Germanos and Firdose Moonda. However, there was a massive divide in the types of sports that male and female journalists would cover. It's only in recent times that we have seen female journalists being integrated into covering and reporting on male-led sports. This gender inequality has been driven over the centuries by a patriarchal society which many cultures subscribe to. Women in society continue to fight for gender equality and have to work twice as hard to get recognised in most male-dominated industries.

Supersport football presenter Julia Stuart has cracked the glass ceiling. She always loved sports. and became obsessed with football in her teenage years. Julia became the sports editor at the Daily Voice newspaper, and made television and radio appearances as an analyst. This led to her joining eNCA as a junior reporter. Julia's growth in the sports broadcast industry can be attributed to being relentless and telling people about her capabilities. However, she maintains it's a very difficult industry, and society is very patriarchal with people in power still being males. Julia is not averse to talking about the challenges faced. At some of the stadiums, there are no female toilets in close proximity to the media box. Moreover, female journalists have to always work twice as hard to be considered good, and are still continuously critiqued more on their looks than their knowledge of sports.

Julia Stuart

Julia is an excellent role model for those, especially females, wishing to join the terrain of sports broadcasting. She says that there is plenty of preparatory work, and each occasion is different depending on the type of broadcast. One day she can be pitchside and the next could be hosting the show from the studio. Julia adds that teleprompters are not used at Supersport. The success of the show falls squarely on the shoulders of the host so preparation by keeping abreast of what's happening in the industry is crucial. Julia's recipe for success is always maintaining respect, learning constantly, remaining positive and being self-motivated.

Thato Moeng is another personality who has made her mark in the world of sports. She studied journalism and served her internship at YFM. Thato's beat was politics, and she produced a weekly political show. However, she harboured a love for sports. Over and above her duties in the newsroom, she found time to assist sports colleagues in writing stories. Her break in sports broadcasting came when she had to fill in for someone - the gates of sports journalism had been flung open for Thato.

“Female journalists are critiqued more on their looks than knowledge of sports”

However, the journey was not easy as she recalls her editor advising it was a male-dominated industry. There were not many female journalists who would go to press conferences or the training ground, but Thato saw it as an opportunity to do some coalface journalistic work. When she was cutting her teeth in sports journalism, it was only people like Carol Shabalala and Cynthia Chaka on the beat. Thato strongly believes, notwithstanding the hurdles, it’s possible to become a successful female journalist.

Key to changing the mindset in sports journalism is diversifying sports newsrooms, which has been a challenge over the years. The opportunities for women in sports journalism have grown tremendously. There are more female field reporters working for major football networks than ever before. Some have even anchored World Cup finals and played a pivotal role in major sports events. Women are now following their dreams and passion to cover sports, and the perception of them not being able to succeed has long gone by!

Avashnee Moodley is the head of Public Relations and Communications at Huawei Consumer Business Group South Africa. She has a Bachelor of Technology: Journalism from the Durban University of Technology, and is currently completing a Bachelor of Business Administration in Marketing Management. Avashnee has worked at global communications agency Fleishman and Hillard, as a senior reporter at The Citizen newspaper, as a reporter at the Sunday Times Extra, and as a sports analyst at eTV’s Sunrise breakfast show. She served her internship at the Durban-based community station, Radio Hindvani.

5. Helping community radio

Bill *Siemering*

In the spring of 1993, I travelled to South Africa as a visiting specialist of the US State Department and met with two groups: one which wanted to reform the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) before the elections, and the other believing that community radio was part of the liberation struggle. The SABC reformers wanted to have an election of the board of directors that would reflect the population of South Africa. The group was keen on the journalism and programming being professional and free of government influence, as was the case with National Public Radio in the United States.

The advocates for community radio believed that giving voice to the people would best serve the new democracy. I attended a public forum where the virtues were described. One speaker said, "With community radio, everyone has the right to be on the radio, even a stutterer." I thought to myself that not everyone has a right to be on the radio; everyone has the right to expect something worthwhile to listen to on the radio. Bush Radio, the first pirate community radio station, demonstrated the 'everyone has a right to be on the radio' idea by placing a microphone on the street so anyone could talk. Radio frequencies are limited so the programming must be intentional and serve community needs, not just provide a soap box for anyone who wants to talk.

Lobbyists for community radio often use the phrase, "giving a voice to the voiceless". Rather, the people already have a voice, radio amplifies voices. The National Community Radio Forum (NCRF) had been established in 1993 in Orlando, Soweto "to lobby for the diversification of the airwaves in South Africa, and to foster a dynamic broadcasting environment in the country through the establishment of community radio stations". The initial support for community radio was formalised when the regulator, the Independent Broadcasting Authority, in 1994 granted radio licences only to community stations in the belief they would best serve the interests of the new democracy. I was inspired by this dedication to radio and the creation of a democratic dispensation. When I returned home, I told my wife that I didn't fall in love with another woman, I fell in love with another country. Nonetheless, there didn't seem to be any way I could return.

In 1994, the Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF-SA) opened an office in Cape Town, and when I asked if community radio was part of their programme, Michael Savage, the director replied "yes". My offer to consult was accepted. On my return to Cape Town, I established guidelines for the foundation to award grants and what the foundation would support, including planning and development, equipment, training and programming. We provided regional training workshops on management and programming. I organised a trip for leaders of NCRF and some station managers to attend the annual meeting of the National Federation of Community Broadcasters, held in Albuquerque, New Mexico. This was the most similar organisation to community radio in South Africa. We also visited a station in an Indian reservation which is equivalent to a township.

Here is the origin story of one of the first community radio stations in South Africa: Radio Zibonele was housed in a truck container among sandy flats nearby the Cape Town airport, in the township of Khayelitsha. The station still fulfils its role as the voice of the local community, while at the same time is actively involved in achieving broader development goals in the areas of health, environment, education, culture, and community participation. In Xhosa, "Zibonele" means "we did it together".

The station took to air in 1993 when the state still controlled all broadcasting. It was among the first community stations in South Africa. Initial broadcasts were assisted by Gabrielle Uggoti, an Argentinean physician and a respected figure in Khayelitsha who, years earlier, was involved in community radio in Latin America. Broadcasting was illegal - the station managed to sneak on air twice a week. Dr Urgoti hid the radio transmitter under his examining table and used it to air first-hand reports from health care workers about health problems they found in the community. Radio Zibonele obtained a licence in 1995. Today, it serves about 700 000 residents and remains unwavering in its commitment to the health of the community. Radio Zibonele has a reputation as one of the most transparent and participatory stations in the country, with a strong record of financial independence. Its mission is clear: "Our concern is to enhance the quality of life through improving the health standards of our people. All those we serve are affected by poor health and poor environmental conditions. Radio Zibonele is committed to sharing skills and information through honest process, thereby empowering the community of Khayelitsha for better life". Self-help is the underlying theme of the station. Many programmes deal with very practical issues: how to care for a child, how to start a small business, and for children, how to speak properly and help their mother when she is sick. Both the breadth and simplicity of the mission simplifies decision-making. For example, when a

cigarette company offered to support the station with more than advertising, the station turned it down: smoking is not good for the health of the community. Former station manager, Vusi Tshose sees the station not just as a passive broadcaster, but as a respected, independent institution actively engaged in solving the community's problems, both on and off-air. His greatest success was preventing a school strike by bringing the participants together to negotiate an end to their dispute. This had nothing to do with a programme - it was about the trust the station enjoys in the community.

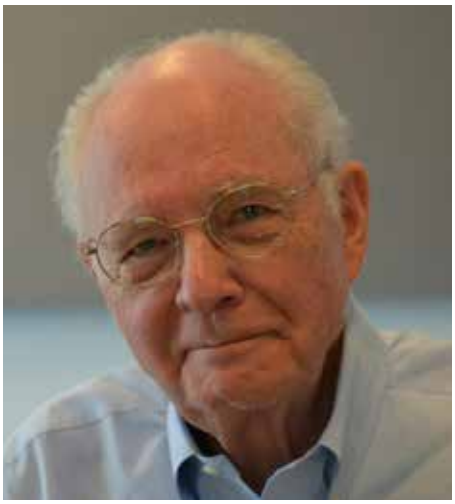
"Community radio amplifies the voice of the people"

The lessons learnt from Zibonele FM (which it is now called) are:

- A clear mission statement is like a guiding star: it gives direction and purpose to every aspect of the station's operation including decisions about advertisers;
- Both the community and its board of directors are actively involved in the welfare of the station;
- The station is not simply a passive transmitter of data and music, but a catalyst for community improvement and problem-solving;
- A station can have a far-reaching effect in a community even if its facilities are very limited;
- Good management gives a strong sense of direction and motivates a large number of volunteers necessary to provide a full-service.

Community radio in South Africa began with a strong sense of purpose to be an essential player in creating the new democracy. The good stations are of the community and create community. The OSF-SA was a leader in developing the sector and helped launch over 30 community stations. Its contribution to the lives of countless listeners over the years is immeasurable.

Bill Siemering is a senior fellow at the Wyncote Foundation. As a founding member of the National Public Radio (NPR) Board of Directors, he wrote the original mission and goals, and was then hired to implement it as the first director of programming. Bill began working overseas in 1993 as a recipient of a MacArthur Foundation Fellowship, and worked with the Open Society Foundation (Soros) for 10 years, focusing on Eastern Europe, Africa and Mongolia. In 2004, he founded Developing Radio Partners to enrich the programming of local stations in Africa on climate change and health for women and youth. Bill received a Lifetime Achievement Award from NPR and an honorary doctorate from State University of New York at Buffalo and from Arcadia University, Glenside, Pennsylvania. In 2019, he received the George Polk Career Award. Bill was a speaker at a community radio seminar at the ML Sultan Technikon in the 1990s.



6. Connoisseur of the courts

Chris *Marnewick*

Having spent much of my professional life traversing courts in the country, I thought of sharing some reflections and anecdotes on the role of the media and the legal process.

One of the laws of physics is to the effect that whatever we subject to observation changes *as a result* of the observation so that what we think we observe is inaccurate. I'm, in principle, against live television coverage of court proceedings because the participants - witnesses, lawyers and judges - all change to put forward not their true characteristics, but those they think will make a good impression on the viewing public. Since the trial process is designed to search for the truth, with the demeanour of the participants relevant to that pursuit, a televised trial starts with the potential of deception by its participants for reasons that have nothing to do with the usual safeguards of the process.

"truth is a pursuit of both the journalist and the legal profession"

In days gone by, we used to have specialist court reporters. I remember Chitta Haysom of The Mercury coming to the Pinetown Magistrates' Court in 1971/2 when I was a prosecutor. She observed the trials, and reported - accurately and insightfully, in my opinion - on the proceedings. There was another reporter, who worked for the Witness in Pietermaritzburg, whose reports always precisely reflected that which had taken place in court. However, it seems to me that the emphasis has shifted from reporting on the trial itself to reporting "lifestyle or human interest" stories *around* or *outside* the trial. We saw that in the Oscar Pistorius trial, among others, with stories about everything and everybody - even the spectators including those remotely interested in the trial itself. Focus, at times, was on gangsters hanging around the prosecutors, or an attractive woman sitting at the defence table. In the process, reporters missed the important moments of the trial, and presented the public with a one-sided and inaccurate version of the true events that occurred *within* the trial. When cross-examination changed the import and complexion of a witness' evidence, the media missed the point completely. One example will suffice: Michelle Burger and her husband testified that they were woken by a woman's terrible screams followed by four gunshots. After hearing that Pistorius had shot Reeva Steenkamp, they testified that they had heard Reeva screaming before Pistorius shot her. Under cross-examination, they said that the screaming *by the same* person continued between the shots, and for a short time afterwards. This was incompatible with the medical evidence which was to the effect that Reeva would have been incapable of screaming *after* she was shot in the head. In short, she was dead when they still heard the screaming! (The court later found it was Pistorius who was screaming.) One will look in vain in media reports for a fact like this to be reported. The court found, on the evidence, the Burger's did not hear - because they were sleeping - the actual shooting, which had occurred minutes earlier. Some legal commentators on the trial that I saw on television came across like people who had never seen the inside of a courtroom. They not only missed the important events of the trial, but also had no clue with regard to the applicable legal principles.

Oscar Pistorius

In the early 1990s, we had a criminal trial in Durban of several apartheid-era generals who were being prosecuted on numerous charges, including, if I remember correctly, conspiracy and murder. Senior Counsel Peter Combrinck defended one of them, and in the afternoons after the trial, he filled us in on the day's proceedings (over a beer or two while we were waiting for the traffic to subside!). The next morning we would read news reports on the trial. Those reports did not at all match what Combrinck had told us. Reports suggested that the generals were a bunch of criminals, in big trouble, and looking at lengthy prison sentences. The actual evidence was not discussed at all, leave alone the finer nuances of the issues and how the case was shaped by cross-examination and defence evidence. The verdict was not guilty on all counts, which we expected on Combrinck's account, but which shocked readers who then claimed that a great miscarriage of justice had occurred. The media's role is to keep us informed, and, in that case, they misinformed us. Truth, after all, is a pursuit of both the journalist and the legal profession.

Modern media coverage of legal proceedings lacks expert

and dispassionate reporting of the facts of the trial. Opinion should be left to the audience or an editorial page. There should be room for opinion.

And this brings me back to my earlier point: perhaps live transmission of trials on television will allow the public to see for themselves what the evidence is, how the trial develops, and where the defence case fits in with the prosecution's evidence.

Chris Marnewick practised as an advocate at the Durban Bar from 1976 to 2011, and was awarded Senior Counsel status in 1991. He acquired the B.Juris, LLB, LLM and PhD degrees, and is the author of *Litigation Skills for South African Lawyers,* now in its 4th edition. Chris taught litigation skills to pupils at the Bar, to post-graduate students at the then University of Natal as well as at the Institute of Professional Legal Studies and the College of Law in New Zealand. He has authored *Shepherds & Butchers* (made into a movie), *The Soldier who said No, A Sailor's Honour, Redelike Twyfel,* and a non-fiction account of the murder of Pinetown girl, Joy Aken, under the title *Clarence van Buuren: Knew the Words But Not the Music.*

7. Creating community radio

David *Hotchkiss*

South Africa was preparing for a new democratic order in 1993. Besides some commercial radio stations in two 'homelands' – like Capital Radio in the Transkei, and Radio 702 in Bophuthatswana - radio broadcasting was the fiefdom of the South African government through its control of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Then, word emerged that a one-month temporary radio broadcast licence had been granted to church-based Radio Fish Hoek in Cape Town. This was a demonstration that community radio was possible. Things moved rapidly, and the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) was established by the IBA Act in 1993. Building on the experience of Radio Fish Hoek, and a study of the fledgling community stations in the United Kingdom, a community radio initiative was born at African Enterprise in Pietermaritzburg. The station was initially called Radio Peace as its mission was to bring peace, through understanding, to the warring political factions around the city, in the lead-up to the 1994 watershed election. The team in Pietermaritzburg was assisted by a volunteer from the British Broadcasting Corporation to provide training. Following surveys in the community, the name was changed to Radio Maritzburg. The IBA was impressed by the inclusiveness, the community response, and community representation at Radio Maritzburg. The team was awarded the first 'one-year temporary' community radio licence in the country.

Local radio gets licence to transmit

RADIO Maritzburg yesterday became the first community radio station to be granted a one-year broadcasting licence by the Independent Broadcasting Authority.

In a statement, the IBA said the station wishes to broadcast in Zulu and English in the Pietermaritzburg area, "including the battle-scarred areas of Edenvale and the town itself".

Radio Maritzburg is in many ways a model of community radio. It has a strong Christian component, Hindu membership and is open to other religions, the IBA said.

The station is scheduled to go on air in March next year and will broadcast 18 hours a day.

Spokesman David Hotchkiss said the station will cater mainly for the poorer communities in the Pietermaritzburg region.

The IBA said the station will broadcast news, music, education, religious and youth programmes. — Sapa.

WITNESS ECHO
24 NOVEMBER 1994

Witness Echo 24 Nov 1994

Airworthy

COMMUNITY radio station Radio Maritzburg's complement of volunteer and full-time disc jockeys, from left, Mandla Ngcobo, Andrew Thomas (top), Peters Shezi, Kennedy Phiri, Ricardo Watson, Marcus Henning, Anish Kalicy and Jonathan Dickham. Launched yesterday, the station received a warm welcome from listeners in the Pietermaritzburg area. Station manager Dave Hodgkiss said it was inundated with calls from delighted listeners.

Daily News 25 March 1995

The IBA Act was followed by an updated Broadcasting Act in 1999, and digital challenges and opportunities gave rise to the Electronic Communications Act (ECA) in 2005. But the fundamental division of broadcasting into three tiers remained unchanged. These are public service (SABC), commercial, and community broadcasting. Community broadcasting is local in coverage, non-profit in nature, and, according to the ECA, "encourages members of the community served by it or persons associated with or promoting the interests of such community, to participate in the selection and provision of programmes to be broadcast". Moreover, community "includes a geographically-founded community or any group of persons or sector of the public having a specific, ascertainable common interest".

The initial 20 or so community stations, mostly in urban areas, continued to operate through one-year renewable licences. This became a headache for the authority due to the burdensome administrative tasks, including a public hearing for each renewal. In 1998, the regulations were developed to allow community broadcasters to apply for a "permanent" four-year licence. Licence hearings were held around the country between 1998 and 2002 to ascertain the success or otherwise of applications. Some stations had to adapt in order to keep their broadcast licence, while others, which had been on air for four years or more, were shut down. It was a difficult time in the

build-up to the maturing of the community radio sector.

In 2000, licensing authorities the South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority (technical) and the IBA (broadcasting) combined to form the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa). In hindsight, evidence suggests that this was not a good move for the broadcasting industry. The ECA was a complicated piece of legislation that tried to anticipate the effects of the digital communications revolution. It did not really take the broadcast industry into account, as the focus was on technology. For community radio, it simplified the licensing process, and forced Icasa to issue licences in limited time-periods without due regard to the consequences. The result was the granting of about 200 new licences, many competing in the same communities, and some "owned" by ruthless business entrepreneurs. Icasa was overwhelmed, and the reputation of the community radio landscape suffered. A moratorium on the granting of new community radio licences was declared in 2016.

"Community radio best serves democracy when it encourages different viewpoints"

New regulations for community radio were published in 2019, the moratorium was lifted, and an invitation to apply ("pre-register") for certain FM frequencies was issued. A key component of the new regulations is that applicants must have operated a non-profit organisation for at least two years before submitting the "pre-application". Only when this is approved by Icasa can the final application be submitted. This will slow the whole radio station application process down to at least three years.

Funding for community media has always been a challenge, particularly start-up funding. The SABC is government-funded, and commercial broadcasters receive their initial funding from shareholders. For the first community stations licensed in South Africa, this challenge was acute. Costs had to be paid upfront, and funding came from small individual donations. Some small grants had to be coaxed from local government, non-profits, Telkom, and local business. But it was the operating expenses that proved to be the biggest challenge. In my experience at Radio Maritzburg, there was not the anticipated buy-in from advertisers, and the team was inexperienced in sales and marketing. In the last decade or so, funding has been much easier. The Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA), national Department of Communications, and Government Communication & Information System have given significant tranches of funding to community radio. The distribution of this funding has, however, been problematic, with some stations receiving generous grants, and others nothing. Community media enjoys a broad funding pool – donations, grants, sponsorships, advertising and membership fees, or by any combination of the aforementioned. This is far broader than any of the other media tiers and even broader than the international norm for community radio. Several urban community stations, making use of tax-exempt status as well as good marketing and management, have become exceedingly wealthy in recent years.

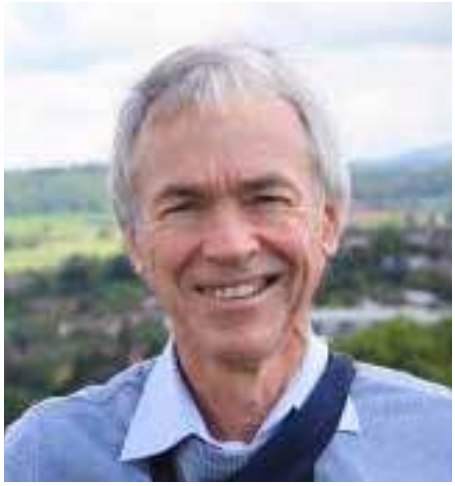
Community radio best serves democracy when it encourages different viewpoints in the target audience to be heard and understood by everyone. Listeners grasp the different views on important topics like economics, culture and religion. This does not often happen, as stations can fall under the control of particular language or interest groups. A challenge for community radio, since its inception, has been language. Although stations broadcasting "minority" languages were, seemingly, encouraged, there are still many language groups without a community radio station in South Africa, especially immigrant groups. Multi-language stations struggle to build a core group of listeners as their community is fragmented along the lines of language. There are very few successful multi-language stations. The content at Radio Maritzburg had to be designed to serve three language groups and three major religious groups. This precluded the station from building a consistent listenership base - the station, ultimately, floundered. The station may have survived with more experience, and with the current levels of government funding. However, radio stations that are required to serve everyone in an identified geographic area are going to find it more difficult to be sustainable. It seems that for the sector to develop and grow, stations which are unsustainable after five years should be allowed to transform so that new leadership can emerge. It seems that communities struggle to change ineffective leadership at failing stations.

Much of South Africa is not yet served by community radio. There is still much work to be done, particularly in more rural areas, where initial funding from the MDDA will be critical. The shortage of FM spectrum has been cited as a major limitation to the further development of community radio. However, in the areas where community radio is most needed, spectrum exists. Community stations do not need large expensive transmitters with large coverage areas. FM is cheap and effective, and FM radio receivers are accessible to all. It is the ideal scenario for community radio. In the more affluent urban areas, digital transmission, including internet streaming and formats such as DAB+ have a bright future. Most community radio stations are now using internet audio streams, and social media such as Facebook to enhance listener experience. This is a healthy development as it allows greater community interaction, as long as the purpose and ideals of community radio remain paramount.

Community radio can promote the development of democracy in South Africa by paying constant attention to:

- Clear goals and visionary leadership;
- Responsible management with transparent integrity;

- Clear understanding of the different roles of board and management in community radio;
- Careful, fair and responsible monitoring by Icasa with a mandate to close stations that do not comply;
- Diligent community interaction and involvement without control by any one group - this is not easy;
- Careful research to ensure that the community is being reached. This can help to balance the danger of control by a single community interest-group;
- Quality content that is of value to the community. Radio awards should focus more on content than technical expertise.



An electrical engineer by profession, David has worked on the development and design of communication equipment. At the same time, he became involved as a radio programme producer and presenter. David headed the group that was awarded South Africa's first community radio station licence in 1995. He managed the trailblazing Radio Maritzburg for the first few years, and subsequently set-up and played a leadership role in a number of other community radio stations. In 2012, David moved to commercial radio, and contributed to the application process and set-up of Vuma 103 FM – he was the technical manager for the station until 2014. In 2016, he founded a small non-profit consulting company, Sarepta Radio Consulting, to assist mainly Christian radio stations with licencing, set-up and training. This work has continued to grow and expand into the area of content and digital audio. David served on the Advisory Board: Journalism and was a guest speaker at a *Radiocracy Roundtable* at the Durban University of Technology.

8. Caring for the environment

Desmond *D'sa*

The South Durban Community Environmental Alliance (SDCEA) was launched on the 25 November 1995, after the community, representing Umlazi, Wentworth, Bluff, Isipingo, and Merebank, met President Nelson Mandela on the streets of South Durban at the Engen gate. He had been invited to open an extension plant that would leave out an expensive scrubber which reduces sulphur. The community protested the high levels of pollution emitted from the Engen refinery which impacted on the health and wellbeing of the people of South Durban. Mandela stopped his convoy, and got out to speak to the people and their leaders.

We then had a meeting with ministers and briefed 600 captains of industry in 1995 at the Durban City Hall about the high levels of pollution and the associated health problems experienced by the community. Thereafter, we met with the Engen refinery, and agreed on a pollution-reduction programme. The formation of SDCEA led to an environmental justice and sustainable development campaign in South Durban and broader KwaZulu-Natal.

SDCEA has been both unique and tenacious in challenging government and industry to address the injustices of pollution and unsustainable development in the area, and, simultaneously, raising public awareness about environmental rights. The work and knowledge of SDCEA have grown enormously, and used all over the country, continent, and world by communities affected by pollution. The media has been instrumental in providing necessary coverage. Members of the organisation have 'walked the talk' by taking their own air samples when incidents and accidents occur at all times of the day or night. Journalists representing various media houses, both electronic and print, were able to expose these inequities to a broader audience. The methodology used by the organisation has been deemed acceptable, and that has contributed to national, provincial, and local government legislation which is key in holding defaulting companies accountable. SDCEA has played a key role in getting the media to write about, or film the many fires, explosions, and gas leaks. Establishing a good working relationship with the media is important when you need to publicise a relevant story. Through the use of the media, the SDCEA has been able to communicate, educate, and engage with affected communities which have created change in the struggle against environmental and human rights injustices.

The 'health' of the natural environment affects all citizens no matter the place of residence. When the environment is damaged, its ability to provide the services that are essential is diminished. Climate change is already affecting South Africa in a life-threatening way, as seen with extreme weather events, such as the drought in the Western and Eastern Cape as well as Limpopo, flash floods in KwaZulu-Natal, increasing average temperatures, and changing rain patterns all over the country – there is no indication that the situation will improve. Media can be key influencers – the nature and extent of their reporting are crucial in making the public constantly aware about the climate crisis. "The media exists to serve society. Their freedom provides for independent scrutiny of the forces that shape society and is essential to realising the promise of democracy. It enables citizens to make informed judgments on the issues of the day, a role whose centrality is recognised in the South African Constitution", as contained in the preamble of the Code of Ethics and Conduct for South African Print and Online Media. (Press Council of South Africa, 2019).

Climate change is a complex issue. Journalists should unpack it by showing that it is not just an environmental issue, but a social, economic, and justice problem – one that requires a systemic change of how society and economies function as a whole. In South Africa, government claims to be dedicated to climate action, but continues to ratify an economic model that is unsustainable, and fails to meet the requirements of a low-carbon and just society. Thus, the media have a critical role to inform public opinion, and shape its views on the climate crisis.

A gender perspective is usually left out of the climate change narrative. Listening to the experiences of communities, women are unfavourably impacted by the effects of climate change than most other demographics. The empowerment of women and promotion of gender equality will positively change the way in which the environment is understood. Education, support, and amplifying women's voices are paramount. South Africa is warming up at twice the pace of the global average. In other words, when the global average temperatures increase by 1°C, South Africa's average temperatures go up by 2°C. "Africa as a whole is one of the most vulnerable continents to climate change due to its high exposure and low adaptive capacity" (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2014).

In 2019, Greta Thunberg, a 16-year-old Swedish climate activist, missed school every Friday to sit outside parliament to generate the required awareness. This action was shared by the media and went viral, inspiring strikes with 1.4 million youths all over the world demanding that elected representatives take

Robin Sewlal

immediate action on the climate crisis. The media has been hugely influential and has formed the basis of many citizens' understanding of climate change.

SDCEA has compared the way multinational oil corporations operated in all parts of the world, and, by using media, it was able to expose the double standards of the companies. The oil giants in Europe treated lives better by having the best technology, whereas in Africa they operated with old, outdated technology that resulted in regular explosions.

The oceans have reached a critical juncture in the fight against climate change. The ocean is one of the most important carbon sinks in the world, considering that the global emissions for 2019 were estimated at 36.8 billion metric tons of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, according to Harvey and Gronewold (Scientific American, 2019). The usage of the ocean varies as it is also an economic stream for many subsistence/commercial fishing folk as well as the recreation and tourism industry. In many parts of the world including, South Africa, the ocean is a spiritual talisman for cleansing and blessing. The marine life is beautiful, diverse, and endangered, making it all the more reason for the protection of our ocean.

Operation Phakisa, an initiative designed to establish a South African 'Blue Economy', was established in 2014. Hence, it is planned that 95% of our ocean is going to be leased out to businesses which will include oil and gas drilling and sea mining. These developments will affect our ocean in various ways and will result in ecological, social, and economic impacts. A significant consequence of this development is climate change. The impact of climate change seriously threatens every person's right enshrined in section 24 of the Constitution of the country. It, therefore, makes no sense to drill for oil and gas.

The role of the media regarding the ocean is, however, problematic as the tendency is to focus mostly on plastic pollution. Plastic is a product of oil. Therefore, if we divest from fossil fuels, the production of plastic will be minimal. The media should also emphasise the banning of single-use plastics which will affect the supply and demand of fossil fuels. In terms of the 'Blue Economy', there needs to be more focus on ocean governance from a social and civil society perspective. Business and government cannot be the only stakeholders involved in the decision-making process regarding the use of the ocean, but should be inclusive of all South Africans.

"media have a critical role to inform public opinion and shape its views"

Gratitude, on the whole, must be expressed for the vigilance of the media. Throughout the 25 years since democracy, it was through the lens of many journalists that the health and air pollution problems affecting people were highlighted. Media entities have been instrumental in documenting evidence such as air quality data. No matter the hour, journalists have made themselves available to report on a variety of issues. The work of SDCEA would not easily have been communicated to the broader community if journalists and media houses did not underscore the ongoing plight of the South Durban people.

Desmond D'Sa was assisted by Joanne Groom, Shanice Firmin and Sherelee Odayer for this chapter.

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Desmond D'Sa is an environmental and human rights activist. He is the coordinator of the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance (SDCEA), and works in the Coalition of the Poor. Desmond is the chairperson of the Wentworth Development Forum. He has received the 2013 Diakonia Human Rights Award, and the prestigious Goldman Environmental Prize Award in 2014. Desmond has been honoured with a doctorate from the Durban University of Technology.

9. Mahatma Gandhi Media Lecture

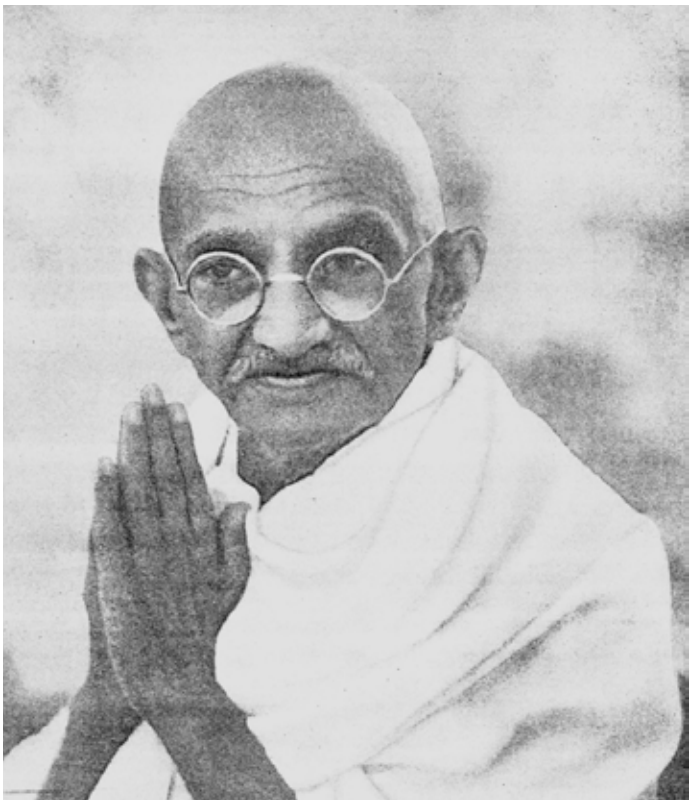
Ela *Gandhi*

In celebrating 25 years of democracy, the transformation of the country needs to be looked at. While many strides have been made in terms of opening doors that were previously closed to black people and creating the possibility of changing the lives of millions of people, there is yet a long way to go for the fruits of a democratic order to be enjoyed by all. This is in line with the thought process that new orders are not just about access and wealth, but also about ideology as well as a new way of thinking and living. The quest is to pave the way for the building of a South Africa that can shine as a beacon of hope. To make our own small but meaningful contribution towards this end, an alternate media platform called *Satyagraha,* which means "in pursuit of truth", was started in 2000 in Durban. It is premised on the Gandhian principles of non-violence, respect and harmony, with the aim being to inspire national and religious reconciliation and to promote universal values. In 2002, we were offered space at the Durban University of Technology, ML Sultan campus, and the opportunity to work with its community outreach programme. Since then, we have developed a close working relationship with the university. Many of our staff are drawn from the university, and we run joint programmes for mutual benefit.

The first meeting of the coordinating committee in respect of the Mahatma Gandhi Media Lecture (MGML) took place in 2005. The three main coordinators were DUT Journalism, Gandhi Development Trust (GDT), and the Office of the Consul General of India. The two issues discussed were media education in schools, and the lecture itself with the aim of promoting Gandhian ideals and values. Media literacy initiatives in schools were to be held to promote a greater understanding on the operation of the media and its contribution to society. The general thrust was the raising of awareness of the media industry at a school level. The schools' programme was to target the disadvantaged to promote journalism as a career, develop a culture of reading and writing among the students, and to craft a code of ethics to govern the process of writing. The aim was to also promote intellectually-stimulating competitions, and encourage schools in the compilation of newsletters.

The purpose of the MGML is to take a deeper perspective from routine news reporting to a media focused on societal change. The ambitious plan for the first lecture was to have President Nelson Mandela as the keynote speaker. But this did not materialise. The MGML was inaugurated by former Minister of Communications Jay Naidoo. He initially spoke with journalism students, and then presented the lecture, sharing many thoughts about the profession itself, and the responsibilities of journalists. Through the years, many distinguished speakers addressed a range of topics that stimulated vibrant discussions. Some of the topics were *The power of non-violence in a violent world with special reference to North Africa* by Advocate Vasu Gounden, executive director of the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes and a GDT trustee. The lecture focused on the revolution in Egypt as well as on issues faced by students. Advocate Anil Nauriya, from India, presented a lecture on *Our legacy of nonviolence – a reflection on the ANC centenary with reference to the relationship with Gandhi.* He gave an extensive account of the various meetings between Gandhi and some of the African National Congress leaders.

In 2013, the lecture was aimed at raising critical issues facing journalists, and to help journalism students begin to contemplate the pivotal role that they would be playing in the development of the media industry, particularly in respect of gender issues. Angela Quintal, the first woman editor of the Witness in its 167-year history, was the guest speaker on *The role of journalists in promoting non-violence and challenging patriarchy.* The following year, Dr Yacoob Abba Omar, director: operations at the Mapungubwe Institute, a Johannesburg-based research institute focused on socio-economic, political and scientific challenges being faced in South Africa. The topic was *Going back to the future: Reflecting on twenty years of media freedom.* Pertinent issues were raised in respect of the role of journalists both at the time and in the future. Other prominent speakers included the executive director of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, Dr Sello Hatang and the editor of City Press, Mondli Makhanya.



Mahatma Gandhi

Robin Sewlal

Over the years, there have been controversial issues raised by students at the lectures about the image of Gandhi. He has been portrayed by some as "racist" and "sexist". There are many with hard evidence that prove the contrary. However, the issue has never been the focus of the lecture as we believe that people are entitled to their views, and they should be subject to wider investigative journalism without a one-sided perspective. This is the essence of good journalism.

"purpose of the lecture is to take a deeper perspective from routine news reporting to a media focused on societal change"

The focus of the lectures has been on important issues, and not on personalities. While reference is made to some of the views espoused by Gandhiji, the lectures have not been to promote his life, but rather to concentrate on some of the universally-accepted and important thoughts he espoused.

The annual MGML offers a window of opportunity for journalism students to think deeply about their role in industry, and to prepare them for the challenges that surface. It also serves at building responsible journalism practices through raising awareness on the vital role and responsibilities of journalists. Dubbed the 'fourth estate', the media has the power to shape public opinion and influence society, making it imperative that journalists report on news responsibly. Responsibility is about reading widely, looking at issues from all angles, and being fair and just in the presentation of facts. It does not mean conformity, it does not mean accepting what others are saying, but rather being able to develop a critical perspective by building a strong knowledge base. Finally, a cornerstone of good journalism is being able to accept another view from our own, and being objective in our appraisal. The lectures are necessary to build such objectivity and independent thought especially for students who will be leading journalists of the future.

Ela Gandhi, was a social worker and political activist in South Africa. She retired after serving two terms in the South African Parliament as a member of the National Assembly representing the African National Congress. She has served as the chancellor of the Durban University of Technology, and presently works in an honorary capacity as chairperson of the Gandhi Development Trust as well as Phoenix Settlement Trust, and is co-president of the World Conference of Religions for Peace. Ela has received four honorary doctorates, and published many articles in international journals. She has received many awards, including a Bookchat Award as one of Jay Heale's "1994 South African Books of the Year", Community of Christ Award from Independent Missouri, Paul Harris Award by the Durban North Rotary Club, Living Legends Award from the KwaZulu-Natal province, Amadelakufa Award from the South African Veterans-Association, Premio Nueva Civilizacion award from Universitas Nueva Civilizacion in Santiago, Chile, and the Papal Medallion from His Holiness Pope Francis.

10. Cultivating a culture of consumer rights

Fakir *Hassen*

This is an opportunity to share some random personal experiences in the media industry, both print and electronic, for over 45 years. Respect for or infringements of rights, eventually, impact on consumers as end-users. "Consumer" has been used interchangeably with "audience/s", "listener/s", and "viewer/s". I have been involved at different levels of consumer rights and responsibilities in my career. These have ranged from advocacy through radio and print media to defending allegations of consumer rights being trampled on at various regulatory bodies.

Legislative protection for all South Africans, and, more importantly, awareness of such rights and obligations only came about post the first democratic elections in 1994. The Consumer Protection Act of 2008 took effect when it was signed on 24 April 2009. Prior to that, there was very little awareness created about consumerism for the majority of South Africans, which led to the African component of the black community being most exploited. There were some disjointed efforts at educating consumers pre-1994. Among them was a quasi-state Consumer Council with information officers selected by racial category to conduct education programmes about consumer rights in the respective communities to which they belonged. In the early 1980s, one such officer was Kishore Bedhesi who was tasked to spread word about consumer rights in the Indian community. At the time, I was presenting programmes on the still-fledgling Radio Lotus (now Lotus FM). The other radio informational service for the Indian community at the time was the weekly *Saturday Mirror* show hosted by Jughadeesen Devar. Both were broadcast from the Durban studios of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Together with Kishore, we ran a series of short informational talks about the rights of consumers. The impact the series might have had was hard to tell as it was in an era of strict control when live radio interaction was still prohibited by the SABC. There was a limitation on landline telephones as imposed by the monopolistic national carrier, now known as Telkom. With the advancement in technology, any radio service today that does not have interactive listener participation is likely to lose ground rapidly to competitors. I did receive a special commendation from the Consumer Council for the informational talks though!

My next official trysts with consumer rights through radio came as democracy dawned in 1994. The newly-appointed chief executive of radio, Govin Reddy recalled me to SABC headquarters in Johannesburg from my decade of service at Radio Lotus in Durban. I was identified to head up a new Educational Radio Division as Govin embarked on the transformation of the public service broadcaster. Initially, I protested my lack of qualifications for the position, but Reddy felt that my four years of teaching in the early 1970s coupled with my then 14 years of radio experience qualified me for the job from among the existing management. The new position would turn out to be daunting and challenging. The right to equal education, with radio as a support medium for both children of all ages and adults, was the basic brief that I received. My television counterpart Nicola Galombik and I set about engaging the Department of Education which was revamping its structures to a national entity combining the education departments that were previously segregated on racial lines. Until then, only the African indigenous language stations had been broadcasting the programmes which had become known to two generations as *Skoolradio.* It was designed by almost exclusively Afrikaans-speaking producers at the SABC to further the aims of the apartheid-consumed government of selective education for the black community.

Reverend Hawu Mbatha, the regional manager of the SABC in Durban, was also brought to Johannesburg at about the same time as head of radio. His first brief to me was, "If you can shut down *Skoolradio* tomorrow, I will lick your boots." I quickly realised what he meant as I went about the task, which did take more than a day!

There was resistance from some producers, and joyful acceptance from others whose hands had been tied in trying to reform the process. There was also the issue of over a million rands worth of programmes on tape ready to be sent to the stations in the regions for the next few months, as well as contracts with producers and voice artists. But the programmes were stopped immediately as we prepared new ones for the changed environment. Buoyed by support and funding from the Department of Education, we set about the task, and introduced, among others, adult education programmes, which included awareness about consumer rights. Those early days saw us getting a huge amount of consumer complaints, which eventually translated into a host of programmes on both the radio and television services of the SABC.

It was also during my stint as head of Educational Radio at the SABC that I became involved with the novel idea by Advocate Robin Sewlal, head of the Department of Public Relations and Journalism at the then ML Sultan Technikon, to organise the

International Radiocracy Conference. He has a particular passion for radio as a primary medium for education, information and entertainment especially in developing and underdeveloped countries. The contacts made through the conference resulted in global cooperation in diverse broadcast areas, including education, from countries such as Australia, Canada and the United States.

"It was the emergence of a new era where the rights of all had to be respected"

My next job at the SABC was to start up the Broadcast Compliance division of the newly-established Policy and Regulatory Affairs department at the SABC. The broadcasting regulatory environment was becoming vibrant with the Broadcasting Act taking effect and bodies such as the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa), National Association of Broadcasters, Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) and others playing prominent roles. I was appointed as the official Complaints and Compliance Officer for all matters related to the SABC's services, as required by Icasa regulations. Suddenly, I was thrown into a completely new level of consumer education and awareness that none of us had previously given much thought to. But I should say that the last 13 years of my 35-year career at the SABC before retirement in this position were probably the most fulfilling. One of the first tasks was to highlight to audiences the rights and obligations which they had in terms of broadcast services. Gone were the days of banning programmes on television, complete prohibitions on anything remotely sounding blasphemous or offensive, censorship of any dissenting voices, and deciding which race group could watch which movies. It was the emergence of a new era where the rights of all had to be respected, and freedom of speech implemented across the board. As I led the consumer awareness campaign through adapting the existing classification principles used for television internationally, the basic premise used was that there should be consumer education around the appropriate warnings on screen for all relevant programmes, as decreed by the BCCSA. A second premise was that the watershed broadcast hours stipulated by the BCCSA would allow for the screening of material previously considered inappropriate for various reasons.

Post-1994, the need arose for audience education on the electoral processes and rights championed by the Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa. The broadcast regulator was tasked with engaging the SABC as the public broadcaster to effect this. I was entrusted with the task of assisting the authority in developing regulations for the public service broadcasts that would become known as Party Election Broadcasts. Principles of equity and fairness amid the huge plethora of parties, with just a few dominating, posed a major challenge. Needless to say, the resultant complaints from both political parties and audiences, initially, came in fast and furiously, but it became a learning process for the SABC and the regulator as we refined the regulations to address loopholes for the ensuing elections.

With the establishment of the National Consumer Commission (NCC), I became the SABC representative for complaints received around alleged harassment for non-payment of television licences, which the NCC took on as a consumer-related issue rather than an actual broadcast content or signal distribution one, and which the BCCSA or Icasa respectively would deal with. Regular visits to the NCC offices in Pretoria would result in an officer there calling up the complainant in my presence to discuss the matter in an effort to find a resolution. This usually involved an explanation of the legislation relating to ownership of equipment that is capable of receiving a television signal.

In conclusion, a personal anecdote: I handle bad customer service by store attendants or cashiers by asking the person in question when they will have a day off again because I want to invite them to free classes of just five minutes each. They can choose from How to Say Please and Thank You to Customers; How to Avoid Talking to Your Friends While Attending to Customers; and How Not to Discuss Personal Matters on Your Mobile Phone While Trying to Serve Customers. It works without attending any such course, because the next time in the store, I get a huge smile and great service from the person, and, hopefully, they remember it for others too.

Fakir Hassen, a freelance photojournalist and author, has been instrumental in supporting numerous community development projects across South Africa through his work in the print and electronic media. He worked for 35 years at the South African Broadcasting Corporation in various capacities, including that of station manager, head of educational radio, and head of broadcast compliance. Fakir has published 23 books that reflect a wide range of community achievements and successes. He has received several accolades, most prized ones being the Indian of the Year for promoting culture among all communities, Nelson Mandela Leadership Award, and Lifetime Community Service Awards from the Tamil Business Warriors and Mahatma Gandhi Remembrance Organisation. Fakir has been inducted into the prestigious Liberty Radio Awards Hall of Fame.

11. Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Jaimal *Anand*

Former National Party leader and Deputy President FW de Klerk said that apartheid was not a crime against humanity. This statement, from any perspective, flies in the face of the definition of a crime against humanity, and the atrocities committed in South Africa. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings demonstrated this picture, and, from any lens, renders de Klerk's statement absurd. Apartheid, as a doctrine, was built on racial supremacy, and relied on brutality to enforce that mission. Under-development. poverty, violence (including against woman and children) and structural inequality remain a reality especially among South Africa's black communities where societal problems continue to torment and devastate lives, generation after generation.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

However, the under-development and deprivation that the apartheid system induced had to be maintained by a strict social order. To achieve this order, the system was required to oppress, and the means was brutal violence. Apartheid taught South Africans to be strong, but strength was not defined by the capacity to do what is right. It was defined by the *might is right* logic, which is the only means to control a society illegitimately. The racist and discriminatory laws systematically damaged society in many ways. A black worker who was destined to use a pick and shovel to build a road, a police officer who was required to control humans like cattle, the soldier who was expected to secure our borders by launching raids in neighbouring states, and the like, formed the bedrock of a system devoid of sense and reason. Nelson Mandela set the tone that strength is not necessarily the ability to impose your will through violence, and that literally changed South Africa overnight.

The role of the media was critical in recording and detailing the events as testimony at the TRC unfolded. A keyhole view was provided into the atrocities that were committed on a personal and societal level. Such a process needs decisive and bold leadership that is credible, and the Madiba-Tutu (Nelson Mandela-Archbishop Desmond Tutu) dynamic held sway. Both leaders were principled, selfless, bold and uncompromising on the attainment of a South Africa that is united in its diversity. International convention pointed to apartheid being deemed a crime against humanity. The TRC process provided further concrete evidence, and was a crucial component of the transition to democracy in South Africa. Despite some critique, it is generally regarded as very successful, and represented a beacon of hope for humanity.

The TRC was chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Alex Boraine as deputy chairperson. The mandate for the commission was set up in terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995. The Act empowered the commission to bear witness to, record and in some cases grant amnesty to the perpetrators of crimes relating to human rights violations, thus facilitating reparation and rehabilitation. The formal hearings began on 15 April 1996, and made international news as many sessions were broadcast on television. The media has the power to create and ensure constructive engagement that will support national and international transitional justice efforts. There is general consensus that the best and most well-known example of publicised transitional justice is South Africa. The coverage across print and electronic media was broad and inclusive.

There are two images that many would recall in connection with the TRC. The 'wet bag' was a method of torture used by former Western Cape security policemen. The method was elaborated upon during the hearings where the officers sought amnesty for having tortured Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres and activists in their regional jurisdiction. Tony Yengeni, who was one of his victims, wanted Jeff Benzien, the security branch officer, to demonstrate his technique. Benzien responded by describing the manner in which the police used a cloth bag known as a 'prisoner's property bag' to torture activists. The bag would first be submerged in water, while the detainee would be handcuffed with his hands behind his back and forced to go down, face to the ground. A policeman would then straddle the detainee while pulling the wet bag over the victim's head, closing it around the neck 'to cut off air', and then interrogate the victim. Such forms of torture were deliberately planned, and executed with the sadistic intention of interrogating the victim under the threat of a slow and terrifying death through

suffocation. This would violently, loudly and sharply throw the individual into the natural human instinct to survive or die. The second image is that of Archbishop Tutu breaking down in tears on a number of occasions during the TRC hearings. But it was his emotional breakdown with the painful stories of the killing of the 'Cradock Four' that made world headlines both in image and narrative.

The visuals provided by media coverage tell of a horrific tale that wrenches hearts and numbs minds leaving us to question our humanity. Nomonde Calata was accompanied to the commission by her friends and fellow widows, Sindiswe Mkhonto, Nyameka Goniwe, (wife of Mathew Goniwe, leader of the Cradock Four), Nombwyselo Mhlawuli, and her 19-year-old daughter Babalwa. They spoke in a dignified way of their grief and struggle to provide for children without a father's help. They wanted to know who was responsible for the killings. Having been moved to tears by Babalwa Mhlawuli's testimony, Archbishop Tutu broke down completely as he then listened to Sinqokwana Malgas, the 30-year-old victim who, as a result of his imprisonment, harassment and torture, was wheelchair-bound. While these images most stand out, there are thousands of victims - some dead, some alive - who remain tormented by this history.

"The media created an image of a South Africa as a beacon of peace, freedom and equality"

South Africa's public broadcaster launched a weekly show called the *TRC Special Report* which was managed by some of the country's most respected and credible journalists. South African journalism, at the time, had to tell the *stories behind the stories* of the TRC to ensure that all concerned understood the context of engagement. Television and radio allowed for an unprecedented and rich access to the hearings. Television, in particular, created a unique visual impression with tone of voice, body language and facial expressions which generated a special kind of response from the viewer in South Africa, and the world at large. Radio and print brought the human elements daily to the poor and rural people. who would otherwise not have been privy to the hearings.

In reality, the victims seeking truth and justice, the perpetrators requesting amnesty, the spectators in the hall and the commissioners presiding over the proceedings were taking their experiences, the feelings and the tone of the hearing to the world. These stories were becoming part of the daily discourse of the millions of viewers worldwide, and the stories gradually become personalised as 'our stories' as South Africans. The commission recalled stories that brought to the fore levels of brutality that many South Africans were not aware of, even those close to the victims. These revelations saw the nation brim with emotion.

The decisive impact of the TRC coverage by broadcast media comes to light especially when contrasted with the critical, and, at times, hostile tone of reporting by most of the country's print media.

South Africa had been beset by criminality of unparalleled proportion like massacres at Boipatong, Bisho, and Shell House as well as the ongoing violence in the hostels and townships. The execution of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement) fanatics who tried to invade Bophuthatswana, resulting in the iconic, and globally-viewed images of slain men lying beside their vehicles, raised fears of a civil war. On a global and domestic level, the TRC was located in a decade when the world was helplessly standing by while genocide replicated itself, and South Africa was no exception. But more so, and in contrast, who could forget the 'white doves', designed to symbolise peace that became the crest of the emerging, but battered and bruised South African psyche? The 1994 elections, 1995 Rugby World Cup and adoption of the Constitution of the Republic in 1996 were the ingredients of a country that was optimistic about its future. The TRC, therefore, became the basis of looking forward to a new, peaceful and prosperous South Africa. The success of the TRC was entirely dependent on its framing, and receptiveness by the public - the media seemed to have understood this.

By the sheer force of morality, much of the world media was somehow mobilised or co-opted to represent this hopeful nation led by Mandela. The media created an image of a South Africa as a beacon of peace, freedom and equality for the world at large, which was probably the most significant achievement of the coverage of the TRC. Stories emanating from the TRC demonstrated to the world that peace and reconciliation were indeed possible and, irrespective of the pain, the human spirit will triumph. It was at this point that South Africa, in all likelihood, took a turn towards a truer and deeper existentialist independence, liberating the souls of the vanquished, both oppressor and oppressed, living and dead.

It is my view that reconciliation is an important subset envisaged for South Africa's transition. The media latched on to this amazing story in a country that was on a knife's edge, with wounds still fresh, yet able to speak up, and confront the demons of the past. South Africa survived, though tales of torture, murder, cruelty and hideous tactics created mistrust, strife, divisions and tensions within communities which led to violence and division.

The aura that the media created around the TRC process was among the only glimmers of hope in a period when civil war and strife were already defining material conditions both in South Africa and in several countries on the continent. The relationship between the media and transitional justice is as crucial today as it was in 1996.

The sharing of experiences endured by victims and inflicted by perpetrators takes immense courage, especially if there is a possibility that one may have to face consequences. The South Africans who testified seemed to understand, or at least

hoped, that should this process succeed, this may be the last time that they would have to muster the level of courage needed to exhume the experiences and pain of the past. The media did not disappoint, and remained faithful to the integrity and credibility of the process as it was always fundamental to ensure the success of transitional justice. Unfortunately, when it comes to many transitional justice practitioners in the 21st century, the awareness and value of engaging with media is treated like a minimalist outreach programme for many. The media, above all, are crucial as agents of social change as they are fully aware that their impact gives rise to responsibilities regarding transitional justice efforts.

If the goal of the TRC was to impact positively on the South African transition and unburden a nation of its core anguish, the media's role in circulating information and influencing public discourse must be understood. Additionally, the media's role in shaping collective memory and an understanding of the past is one of the greatest challenges facing post-conflict societies. Transitional justice efforts rely on the media to encourage consensus about the past, and this is central to ensure a credible and peaceful transition. This consensus is essentially about friends, family, colleagues, comrades and enemies entering a process which delves into the deepest most intimate zones of thinking among victims, perpetrators and society at large. To this end, the media has a fundamental responsibility.

The crowning glory will be the lasting image of Madiba and Tutu as the leaders who navigated an outcome with courage, and a fidelity to humanity that may never be replicated again. This leaves us with that which we should always strive to emulate. The media played a crucial role in demonstrating that a crime against humanity can be displaced by the real strength of a people choosing survival.

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12. Television's fight for survival

Jeremy *Maggs*

It would be both meaningless and unproductive not to reflect on the impact television has had on the South African social and political dynamic since its delayed introduction in 1976. It is a well-documented journey. To an information-starved population, the decision to hold back would have seemed ridiculous and sinister, which it was. But at the time, if you lived in the ruling National Party's fantasy political laager, the justification probably made twisted sense. Back then, the state-run South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) had monopoly on radio broadcasting and believed television posed a major threat to the influence and hegemony of the Afrikaans nation, where the English language would inevitably be promoted due to programme availability, and that news content and advertising would create unfair competition for the Afrikaans press.

Interestingly, change was forced by an event not only way beyond our shores, but beyond our planet. When Neil Armstrong landed on the moon in 1969, South Africa was one of the few countries unable to see the event broadcast live. Odd it now seems in a broadcast environment where any news event is inevitably played in live and real time! Insidious pressure started, and the minister in charge at the time Dr Albert Hertzog, who famously called television "the Devil's box," and who was worried about mixed race images and aspirational advertising that would make the population dissatisfied with its lot in life, was forced to start rethinking his strategy. The upshot was the population (mainly white) being given the famous test pattern at first, and then a steady diet of entertainment carbohydrates – the trough of which has never been emptied. Those who made the teenage transition from radio to television will forever have programmes like the *Brady Bunch, Bonanza* and actor Tobie Cronje's *Willem* etched in our pre-frontal cortex.

As much as I'd like to devote the rest of this observation to a trip down television's hall of fame and infamy, it's best to confine my observations mainly to television news, its current role in South African society and where it might be heading in the future. On the latter, I strongly believe – and not because I work in the medium and need an income – that it still, inspite of the powerful threat from social media, has a vital role to play in terms of influence and information dissemination. Television news, by virtue of its ability to go live to a hotspot, stays with the story, and having it related by someone who is not only familiar to audiences, but has, hopefully, earned their trust. This makes the information more real, tactile and believable through the images that are being captured and relayed. Right now, the medium remains in survival mode, and its future depends on its ability to integrate seamlessly with other mediums. As the live story is being broadcast, it's now incumbent on the television news service to make sure its pipe of information from the field is also being sliced and diced in order to accommodate and feed other platforms from Instagram to Twitter. Furthermore, it's critical that those who are presenting the news (anchors) are using social media for optimum interaction with an audience that is now well versed in concentrating on more than one screen – the other being the ubiquitous smartphone.

In an executive media strategy and coaching course I have been running for 30 years, I tell business and political leaders that, in times gone by, a 24-hour news cycle was utilised where radio initially reported the story, newspapers and magazines gave background and context, and single 30-minute 7pm or 8pm television bulletins provided time-dated pictures. With the advent of 24-hour television news channels harnessed with social media, this has reduced the time quotient to a 2.4 second news cycle where all engagement happens in hyper-accentuated real time, and where a news anchor is interviewing a newsmaker with one eye on a Tweetdeck. Observations, questions and criticism are noted, processed, and can be used to add value (and entertainment) to the conversation.

It is now not only incumbent on television news stations, but also general entertainment services to make sure they are corralling their audiences from every angle. As I've mentioned, this is all part of what has to be a survival strategy. The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism states that television viewing in countries like the United Kingdom and the United States has declined by 3 to 4% per year on average since 2012. These declines, it says, are directly comparable to the declines in print newspaper circulation in the 2000s and, if compounded over 10 years, will result in an overall decline in viewing of 25 to 30%. The institute also notes that the decline in viewing among younger people is far more pronounced both for television viewing in general and for television news specifically. The upshot, according to the institute, is that the loyalty and habits of older viewers prop up overall viewing figures, and risk

obscuring the fact that television news is rapidly losing touch with much of the population. While comparable decline figures in South Africa are hard to come by, one must assume that the local market will eventually, if not already, start to feel the erosion of the medium. It's worth considering the data – a known fact is that television reaches well over 90% of the South African population across all ages and demographics, while digital penetration, as of late-2019, was about 20 percentage points lower. So, when it comes to elephants in the room, television still has the loudest trumpet call. In television's favour, according to global research and insights company WARC, over 70% of the available television audience is actively engaged with the medium, and people spend more time watching the big screen than the small screen. For now. But conventional wisdom says the game is changing and changing fast.

There are over 20 million smart phones in the country. The technology in one's hands is improving with frightening acceleration and, most importantly, the cost of data is now coming down – by 30% in Vodacom's case. This means a new pipeline of content delivery is being re-opened after some shaky forays in the past. Cell C's doomed content platform, Black springs to mind. But, in essence, not only will the network providers up their efforts in creating bespoke content, but brands are also raising their game. The mantra in the past few years in brand communication has been content and story creation direct to social media, mostly via the YouTube channel. As someone who observes the brand and advertising world for a living through my television programme *MaggsonMedia,* I've noticed an astonishing improvement in quality. It poses a real threat to television as we know it. My own consumption habits have changed, and I'm now prepared to give a brand a chance to inform and entertain me if the content is well produced and compelling. So, if television for the moment maintains its high ground and dominant position, but acknowledges that its fight for relevance is underway, how does it regroup and persevere?

Again, I want to confine my argument to the television news sphere where I have been a full-time anchor for over a decade, and the editor-in-chief of a leading news channel for 12 months before opting to stand down. Let me start with content. Television news needs to move beyond the parity that often exists among competing local services. It's a difficult and fine balance to manage. When the president addresses a news conference on a matter of national importance, all rival services will and must carry live coverage. The failure though is often in the post-event analysis in which the viewer needs to be told why a decision or pronouncement is important, and what it means for society at large. And then into phase three, which television news services often fail to do, and that is to take the viewer into the lived reality of the population where such a decision will either impact lives positively or negatively. Too often, television news dies on the alter of policy pronouncement without interrogating purpose or impact. Aside from the critical integrative approach that I have already referred to, television news also needs to understand its unique role not only as a purveyor and explainer of serious information, but that it has a role as an entertainer. Some years ago, I interviewed a senior staffer at Sky News in Britain who likened his service's offering to a supermarket where all food groups were available. So, if monetary policy was the roughage we need, show business and/or human-interest stories are the carbohydrates. The secret, he said, was to find the balance on a daily basis. In a country like South Africa, beset daily with tragedy and difficulty, television news either fails to find the carbs or believes it will reflect badly on our high-minded ethical principles if we lighten up or dumb down slightly. As someone who has reported the South African story from the frontlines for over 30 years across all platforms, it is a relevant and worthy argument. But in order for television news to survive, it has to understand that it competes alongside YouTube cat videos. As I tell my media coaching clients, television's real power always lies with the remote control in the hand of a distracted viewer with attention deficit disorder. If we are not offering variety and constant change of mood and tone, they move on with the click of a button.

"24-hour television news has been reduced to a 2.4 second news cycle"

Television's immediate survival also depends on advertising against the backdrop of many brands opting for a digital-first marketing strategy. Whether that is effective or not is another debate, but advertising revenue is a key component in television's fight for survival. If television advertising revenue declines on a steep curve, it means television services including news will be forced to trim back costs. In the news space, that means less travel, less investigative capacity and more parity as stations rely on set-piece news (media briefings, media releases) which is then detrimental to the fundamental raison d'être of television news – *to act as a powerful societal watchdog.* Imagine the fallout if cost-cutting prevented the media from carrying wall-to-wall coverage of the Zondo Commission?

So, the remaining question is – and one I get asked all the time - will television be around in 20 years? The best answer I can give is – did you imagine that Netflix would be around five years ago? One doesn't know. But television, by its very heft, has all the tools to survive. However, unlike the once dominant Tyrannosaurus, it has to learn to adapt much quicker than it is doing right now, and understand it occupies a shared future which, as I've mentioned several times already, depends on how successfully it understands and utilises a strategy of meaningful integration.

Jeremy Maggs, an alumnus of DUT Journalism, is a television and radio presenter who has been in the business for over 30 years. Currently, he is the host of eNCA's weekday lunchtime news programme. He also hosts *MaggsonMedia,* a programme with an emphasis on media and advertising. Jeremy acted as editor-in-chief of eNCA for 12 months before stepping down. Prior to that, he was editor of Radio 702's Eyewitness News for eight years. He writes for the Financial Mail on the advertising industry and edits the publication's annual review *AdFocus.* Jeremy has also worked for SAfm and Power 98.7 where his show *The Power Update* won best current affairs programme at the Liberty Radio Awards. He has been inducted into the Radio Hall of Fame, and he presented the award-winning television quiz show *Who Wants to be a Millionaire.* Jeremy is the author of a bestselling book *Win! Compelling Conversations with 20 Successful South Africans,* and is currently completing his second book titled *My Final Answer.*

13. Looking in from afar

Joe *Ritchie*

My experience paying attention to the press in South Africa predates the end of the apartheid era, back to when, as an assistant foreign editor at The Washington Post, I was given much of the responsibility of handling copy from our correspondents based in Africa. I was on the foreign desk between 1977 and 1986, with a brief leave of absence in the early 1980s. In 1986, I left The Post to join the Detroit Free Press, where I eventually ran its foreign news operation, including directing a Southern African correspondent.

While on The Post's foreign desk, I became familiar through our correspondents with the Rand Daily Mail and its strong anti-apartheid stance until its ownership decided, under financial pressure, to tone down its coverage, and ultimately it folded. But that led to good fortune for our coverage, because the ousted editor of the Rand Daily Mail happened to be one of the best journalists South Africa ever produced, Allister Sparks, who became a special correspondent to The Washington Post, which enhanced the paper's report immensely. It also gave me an opportunity to meet Allister on one of his visits to our newsroom in Washington. I made my first visit to South Africa in 1996. By then, he was focused on developing the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism, a professional development training ground for journalists that he modelled after the highly respected Poynter Institute for Media Studies in Florida, United States, and which he affiliated with the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

"South Africa has some of the clearest constitutional guarantees of press freedom on the planet"

After leaving The Free Press in 1992 to take up the Knight Chair in Journalism at Florida A&M University (FAMU), I had less pressing need to follow developments in South Africa's media from the standpoint of an editor. But as a journalism educator, South Africa still was close to my heart, and I had several personal interactions that kept me connected. The first was an opportunity suggested by my friend Joe Davidson, who had been a correspondent in Johannesburg for The Wall Street Journal. He connected me in about 1993 with Rich Mkhondo, who was then still a reporter with Reuters, the first black South African reporter the international news agency had hired to report on his country. Rich had recently finished his first book, *Reporting South Africa*, a clear-eyed look at the early stages of South Africa's transition to democracy, and the challenges faced by journalists trying to cover it. We were able to host Rich as a visiting journalist in residence for two weeks, which gave many students first-hand contact with an accomplished international reporting professional. (It also gave Rich a good first taste of the America he would later report on from Washington for the Independent Media group.). Rich would also be a key figure years later in a reporting project I led for six FAMU students and six Chinese students from Shantou University for more than six weeks in 2010 during the FIFA World Cup in South Africa.

Nicolas Maingot, Head of FIFA Communications and Rich Mkhondo

Personal connections like that would colour my observations of the South African mass media, especially the press. In 1994, with the help of Adam Clayton Powell III, a media expert with a long-time interest in South Africa, we brought five black South African journalists to FAMU for about a week during a longer tour of the United States. They were mostly up-and-coming journalists from different media. Philani Mgwaba, at the time a young reporter with The Mercury in Durban, Ike Motsapi who was covering business and horse racing at the Sowetan, Eddie Mbalo, then a videographer and television engineer, Shado Twala who was already on track to become the well-known radio icon she is today, and Suzette Mafuna, who was a correspondent and feature writer for the New Nation.

Philani's history perhaps is the best lens through which I have followed — albeit not perfectly — some of what's been going on in the South African press in the past quarter-century. Two years after his US visit, I sought him out during my first South African visit and met him in Durban. Philani

was already moving up the ranks at The Mercury, taking on some editing responsibilities. I do recall the enthusiasm with which he related his role in 2002 in launching the isiZulu daily Isolezwe, which I saw as an important milestone. He then held top positions at the Pretoria News, Sunday Tribune, and became editor of The Mercury before leaving Independent Media. It's no surprise to me that Philani would return to community-based journalism in isiZulu, becoming editorial director at Ilanga.

This idea of independent journalism, I believe from afar that my old acquaintance remains so committed to, is the cornerstone of the craft, and one of the reasons I am cautiously optimistic that the South African press may thrive despite difficult financial challenges and attempts by government and other political figures to stifle or intimidate journalists.

South Africa has some of the clearest constitutional guarantees of press freedom on the planet embodied in Section 16 of the Constitution. It has teeth, better perhaps, than the vaguer protections offered by the First Amendment of the American Constitution. Better yet, South Africa has put in place what I believe is an effective, independent Press Council operated by respected journalism professionals who rule on disputes between parties covered in the print and online media. While not a cure-all, I've occasionally read through cases adjudicated by the Press Council, and have been impressed with its thoroughness and fairness. The ombud system, favoured by Scandinavians, is not universally acceptable to journalists, but I think it works well when run by such competent people.

This may help explain why, even as America's ranking slips to historic lows, South Africa has maintained a respectable "mostly free" ranking in the Worldwide Press Freedom Index of Reporters Without Borders. However, the commentary to the index does have cautionary language about South Africa under the heading "Press freedom guaranteed, but fragile." It notes that state security does spy on some journalists, and others are harassed or intimidated if they cover "certain subjects involving the ruling ANC, government finances, the redistribution of land to the black population or corruption."

Of course, what government welcomes aggressive reporting on topics it deems sensitive? I just hope that the strong tradition of media freedom and journalism excellence that I know some of these independent-minded friends in the profession have tried to follow will prevail over the things that render the press fragile.

Joe Ritchie's experience includes over a quarter-century as a working journalist and nearly as long in journalism education. Most of his career has been as an editor in international affairs. He has spent the past seven years in Hong Kong, most of it as an editor with the international edition of the New York Times, or that edition's predecessor, The International Herald Tribune. When Joe was a journalism professor at Florida A&M University, he spent many summers returning to newsrooms: three summers at the Paris newsroom of the International Herald Tribune, two at the main office of the New York Times (a summer on the foreign desk and one on the sports desk), three at The Washington Post, and four plus on an extended sabbatical year in Hong Kong before deciding to settle there permanently. A graduate of Calvin College (now Calvin University) in Grand Rapids, Michigan, with an undergraduate degree in German, and of The Ohio State University, with two separate master's degrees in Germanic languages and literatures and journalism, Joe has covered or edited coverage of five FIFA World Cups. During the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, he directed a multimedia reporting project with students. Joe has travelled widely, having visited all 50 US states and about 50 countries. He speaks and writes German with near-native fluency, and is also fluent in Dutch (which helps him read a bit of Afrikaans). He has been a visitor to DUT Journalism.

14. Making a case for freedom of expression

Karthy *Govender*

Years ago, I was privileged to be invited as a Colenso Fellow to St. John's College Cambridge and had the benefit of meeting many interesting people, including an eminent scientist, Dr Viru Banakar from Goa, India. One day, he knocked on my door and evocatively and movingly shared his experience of seeing a painting at the local art gallery. His voice trembled with emotion as he described the sensation of seemingly being absorbed into the painting as if his physical being had been transported elsewhere momentarily.

Mandy Rossouw, a journalist at the Mail & Guardian, travelled to Nkandla to speak to the local residents about whether their lives were affected by living in the same area as the then president. She stumbled on the massive development taking place at former President Zuma's homestead in Nkandla and alerted the world to these events by publishing articles in the Mail & Guardian. Mendacious attempts at clarification, such as the project was paid for by Zuma and his supporters and latterly, including the infamous fire pool video, that all the upgrades were necessary for the security of the president and his family, were exposed as unconvincing attempts to deceive us. At the end, we were told that the upgrades to the homestead cost the country some R246 million. It was generally accepted that this was an obscene amount to pay for what was received. The coffers of the state had been plundered.

"constitutional democracy enshrines and protects freedom of expression"

The Constitutional Court (CC) felt it imperative to remind the then president, a supine Parliament and the country that we adopted the values of accountability, respect for the rule of law and the supremacy of the Constitution to make a decisive break "from the unchecked abuse of state power and resources that was virtually institutionalised during the apartheid era." [1] One of the findings that the court made was that the National Treasury must determine the reasonable costs of the upgrades that did not relate to security and must further ascertain a reasonable percentage of those costs to be paid personally by Zuma. This mirrored the findings made by the then Public Protector, Advocate Thuli Madonsela.

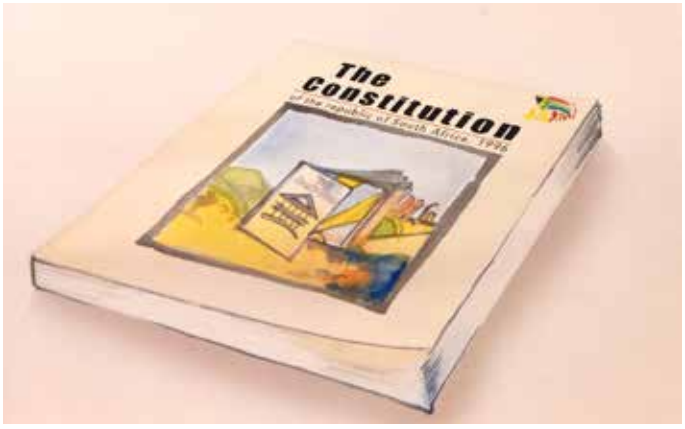
These incidents provide concrete illustrations of the adage that the freedom of expression is protected both as means to an end and also as an end in itself.[2] When Dr Banakar was enveloped into the painting, he was responding to the communication by the artist with him through the painting. Human beings communicate with each other for no reason other than we should be able to, as it enhances the experience of being human. We, therefore, protect the freedom of expression as an end in itself as it allows us to enjoy and participate in the human experience of interacting and communicating with each other. On the other hand, Rossouw's exposure was instrumental in nature as her articles shone a light on the abuse of power by those in positions of power when they authorised the payment of the upgrades at Zuma's homestead at Nkandla. Her reporting and subsequent actions by various role-players achieved the end of revealing abuses of power which resulted in Zuma being held partially accountable and placed the malfeasance that occurred before the South African people and the world. Our system of governance, based as it is on accountability, the rule of law and the supremacy of the Constitution, finally held firm, but it needed a jolt from an intrepid journalist and, thereafter, from various facets of our society to do so.

It is this important dual purpose, among others, that has resulted in virtually every constitutional democracy enshrining and protecting the freedom of expression. It is an indispensable feature of a democratic state, and, without it, a state ceases to be democratic. Section 16 of the South African Constitution protects the freedom of expression in the broadest possible terms. It is expression that conveys a message, and not just speech that is protected.[3] Colin Kaepernich, the quarterback of the San Francisco 49ers, an American football team, knelt during the playing of the national anthem, as a protest against racial injustice and police brutality in the United States. He did not say a word during the protest, but his conduct communicated a powerful message.

The First Amendment to the US Constitution prohibits Congress from making any law that abridges the freedom of expression or of the press and is regarded as the pre-eminent and predominant right in their bill of rights. In the landmark judgment of *New York Times v Sullivan,*[4] the US Supreme Court formulated the actual malice test that made it extremely difficult for public officials to sue in defamation. The court held that the First Amendment prevented an official from suing in defamation except if it can be established that the publication was made "with knowledge that it was false or with reckless

disregard of whether it was false or not." [5] Early on, the CC in South Africa took a much more nuanced attitude to the freedom of expression in our bill of rights. In *Mamabolo,* [6] the CC affirmed the importance of the freedom of expression in any constitutional democracy, but held that unlike the US, it is not the pre-eminent right ranking over all other rights in the bill of rights. Instead, the court emphasised that our Constitution proclaims three "conjoined, reciprocal and covalent values to be foundational to the Republic: human dignity, equality and freedom." [7] This meant that the right to human dignity is as least as significant and worthy of the same protection as the freedom of expression.

Since the advent of democracy, freedom of expression has been a catalyst of major changes in legal principles regulating both the relationship between the state and individuals, and between individuals themselves. Section 16(1) protects the right to freedom of expression which includes the freedom of the press and other media, the freedom to receive or impart information or ideas, the freedom of artistic creativity, academic freedom and freedom of scientific research. The list is simply illustrative of some aspects of the rights that are protected and is not meant to be exhaustive. Section 16(2) expressly withdraws constitutional protection from expression which amounts to propaganda for war, incitement of imminent violence and the advocacy of hatred based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion and that constitutes incitement to cause harm. If the expression falls within section 16(2), the state is free to regulate and even prohibit it as it is not constitutionally protected.



Parliament enacted a convoluted and confused definition of hate speech in section 10 of the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000. The Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) in *Qwelane v SAHRC and others,*[8] held that the section 10 defined hate speech in much broader terms than section 16(2) of the Constitution, and thus restricted or limited some aspects of expression protected by section 16 of the Constitution. Section 10 prohibited hate speech on many more grounds than those specified in section 16. According to the court in *Qwelane,* section 16(2) envisaged an objective standard. The first part of the test was whether the advocacy of hatred was based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion and the second part of the test is whether the advocacy "constitutes incitement to cause harm." [9] Both the advocacy of hatred on the defined prohibited grounds and the incitement to cause harm must be objectively established for the expression to be deemed hate speech. By way of contrast, section 10 of the Equality Act adopted a vague and overbroad standard. It is now firmly established that the term "harm" is not restricted to physical harm and includes psychological harm. The court found that the restrictions on the freedom of expression were not justified in terms of the limitation clause and declared section 10 of the Equality Act inconsistent with the Constitution and invalid. The court decided that it would be appropriate to read-in the text of section 16(2) of the Constitution, but added the ground of "sexual orientation" in order to give effect to the right to equality and dignity. The reformulated section 10 now reads "No person may advocate hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender, religion or sexual orientation and that constitutes incitement to cause harm." At the time of writing, the declaration of invalidity and the reading-in has not as yet been confirmed by the CC as it needs to be in terms of section 172 (2) of the Constitution.

Thus, if the state seeks to limit or restrict expression falling within the purview of section 16(1), its law or conduct would be inconsistent with the Constitution and invalid except if it can justify the infraction in terms of the limitation clause.[10] Section 36 of the Constitution allows rights to be limited only in terms of a law of general application and to the extent that the limitation is reasonable and justifiable in an open and democratic society. There are thus procedural and substantive requirements that must be met before the state can successfully rely on section 36 of the Constitution and justify the infringement of the rights. The substantive stage of the enquiry, according to the CC, in *S v Makwanyane,*[11] involves the balancing of different interests and the proportionality test. The nature of the right that is being limited must be balanced against the purpose or reason for the limitation. In addition, regard must be had to the extent that the right has been limited, the relationship between the limitation and the purpose sought to be achieved and whether there are less restrictive means to achieve the purpose.

The operation of the limitation clause in respect of an infringement of freedom of expression of the press and the media is best illustrated by the CC judgment in *Print Media SA and others v Minister of Home Affairs and others.*[12] Amendments to the Films and Publications Act compelled the publishers of material that contained sexual conduct to refer these publications for approval to the Films and Publication Board prior to publication. This requirement did not apply to newspapers that abided by a code of conduct administered by a press ombudsman. Sexual conduct was defined in extremely broad terms and included written descriptions. The court described the requirement of seeking pre-publication approval as administrative prior classification. This vested in an administrative official the decision as to when and whether the material should be published, and the court concluded that this form of prior restraint inhibited the freedom of expression.

Many courts throughout the world have found prior restraints

on publications to be constitutionally impermissible.[13] Some of the reasons for this judicial antipathy towards prior restraint is that the discretion as to when publication occurs and whether the material will be published is transferred from the publisher to a state official. The delay occasioned by seeking prior approval may mean that the public are denied timeous access to important material which may, in turn. become redundant when finally published.

The issue then in *Print Media* was whether this limitation on the right of the press and other media to publish was justified in terms of the limitation clause. The main purpose of the limitation, according to the state, was to limit the dissemination of indecent material. The purpose of the Films and Publications Act was to provide consumer advice to adults, prohibit child pornography and to protect children from exposure to harmful or age-inappropriate material. The court held that as the publication, distribution and possession of child pornography is a criminal offence in terms of other sections of the Films and Publications Act, the important state objective of prohibiting child pornography was already addressed. The court went on to find that there were less intrusive means open to the state to protect children from exposure to harmful or age-inappropriate material. The state could apply for an interdict stopping publications that are harmful and, unlike prior administrative restraint, would have to convince a court of the need for an interdict. Further, publishers could request advisory opinions. Given the serious intrusion on the freedom of the press and the existence of alternative less intrusive means to achieve the purpose of the limitation, the CC held that the state had failed to establish the requirements of the limitation clause and set aside section 16(2)(a) of the Film and Publications Act.

One of the most significant freedom of expression cases decided by the CC involved the interplay between section 16 of the Constitution and the truth and reconciliation process, one of the fundamental compromises that made the transition from the apartheid order possible in South Africa. Section 20 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995 (the Reconciliation Act) provided that once a person convicted of an offence with a political objective is granted amnesty, an entry into official records shall be deemed to be expunged and the conviction shall be deemed for all purposes not to have taken place. In *Citizen and others v McBride and others,*[14] the CC had to decide whether a person who had been convicted of murder and had obtained amnesty could be referred to as a murderer in the light of this provision. In 1986, Robert McBride carried out a car bomb attack outside Magoos' Bar in Durban killing three people and injuring 69 others. McBride was convicted of multiple murders and sentenced to death. He was, subsequently, reprieved and applied for and received amnesty for the murders. The Citizen opposed the proposed appointment of McBride as police chief of Ekurhuleni and in a series of articles described him as a "murderer" and a "criminal". McBride sued The Citizen for some R3.6 million in damages for defamation and impairment of his dignity. In order to sustain the defence of fair comment, pleaded by The Citizen, it had to be established that the defamatory statements were comments or expressions of opinion, that they were fair, that the facts being commented upon were true and that the comments related to matters of public interest.[15] Much of the debate in the case focused on whether it was legally and factually permissible to describe McBride as a "murderer" even though he had received amnesty and his convictions were expunged. McBride argued that once his convictions were expunged, he could not factually be described as a "murderer" and, therefore, the comments were not based on facts, and hence the defence of fair comment cannot be upheld. The CC adopted a purposive interpretation and avoided what it described as an acontextual and literal approach to interpreting the Act. The CC held that it was inconceivable that the Reconciliation Act, which was premised on truth-telling in the pursuit of national unity and reconciliation, would intend to render false, events which had in fact occurred historically. The court held that the Reconciliation Act simply expunged the previous conviction and reinstated McBride to the status of a person who had not been convicted of murder. It did not render untrue the fact that he was convicted of murder which remains true as a historical fact. The Reconciliation Act was never intended to obliterate or erase facts that had occurred and could never have intended to prevent the families of victims from talking about what happened to their loved ones and who was responsible for their torture and deaths. The Act did not intend to "mute the voices of those seeking to discuss the deeds"[16] of the perpetrators. To do so, according to the court, would have given the perpetrators a disproportionate share of the benefits of the process. The freedom of expression, which factored in the deliberation of the court, also supported the interpretation that historical facts remain historical facts and are not air brushed from the pages of history. Finally, the majority preferred the term "protected comment" as opposed to "fair comment." Judge Cameron held that the comment does not have to be fair or just as commonly understood, but held that comment and criticism is protected "even if extreme, unjust, unbalanced, exaggerated or prejudiced, so long as it expresses an honestly–held opinion, without malice, on a matter of public interest on facts that are true." [17] The defence of "fair" or "protected" comment, therefore, succeed in the case. The granting of amnesty to McBride meant that he was deemed not to have been convicted of murder, but it did not mean that as a historical fact he did not murder the victims of the bombing at Magoo's Bar.

Most constitutional democracies have had to formulate norms that protect the freedom of expression of the media

while also recognising and protecting the individual's right to dignity and reputation. As stated earlier, the US Supreme Court adopted the "actual malice" test which tilts the balance heavily in favour of the freedom of the media. South Africa like many other democracies, has adopted a more nuanced approach. Section 16 of the Constitution has had a major impact on our law of defamation as the courts have sought, in terms of section 8(3) of the Constitution to develop the common law in order to bring it into line with the Constitution. The common law norm prior to 1994 was that once the plaintiff established that the defendant had published a defamatory statement about him or her, the publication was presumed to be both unlawful and intentional thus justifying a finding that the plaintiff had been defamed. However, there were defences open to the defendant. The defendant could rebut unlawfulness by proving that the publication was true and in the public interest, that the requirements of fair comment were satisfied, and the publication was made on a privileged occasion. The defendant bore the onus of proving that the publication was true, and this had the effect of stifling and chilling expression, as the media would not publish if they could not prove the truth of the contents. The Vrye Weekblad bravely published allegations made by Dirk Coetzee that General Lothar Neethling had supplied him with toxin to be used on anti-apartheid activists. Neethling sued the Vrye Weekblad for defamation and Judge Kriegler held that the newspaper rebutted unlawfulness by proving truth and in the public interest. On appeal, the decision was reversed on the basis that the appeal court was not satisfied that the newspaper had discharged the onus of proof.[18] This finding bankrupted the newspaper, and it went out of existence. It was clear that these common law defences were far too constrained and not consistent with the freedom of the press and media as protected in section 16 of the Constitution. As pointed out by the US Supreme Court, the necessity to prove the truth of the publications serves to deter the publication of not just falsehoods. [19]

This was recognized by the SCA in *National Media v Bogoshi* and a further defence was added in an endeavour to attain a more appropriate balance between freedom of expression on the one hand, and the right to human dignity and privacy on the other. The court held that the publication of false defamatory allegations of fact will not be unlawful if it was found to have "been reasonable to publish the particular facts in the particular way and at the particular time." [20] The CC in *Khumalo and Others v Holomisa* [21] confirmed this approach. It had the beneficial effect of ameliorating the concern that the media would be deterred from publishing for fear of not being able to prove the truth of the facts while still requiring them to publish in a manner that was not negligent. This responsibility not to publish negligently would provide protection to the individuals affected by the publication. *Bogoshi* [22] suggested that in determining whether the publication was reasonable, regard must be had to the nature, extent and tone of the allegations, the manner in which the allegations are presented and whether they carry an unnecessary sting, the nature of the information on which the allegations were based and the reliability of their sources, and steps taken to verify the information which would include affording the affected parties a right of reply.

State-run media tribunals have a shoddy history and from a perspective of advancing the values of our Constitution, the proposals by the African National Congress for a media tribunal were alarming. An innovative system of self-regulation designed to ensure the media functions in accordance with its constitutional rights and obligations and that the rights of the public are protected has been adopted under the auspices of the Press Council of South Africa. The Council consists of retired judges, members of the public and members of the print and online media. All members of the Press Code subscribe to a code of ethics and conduct. At its essence, the code requires the media to take care to report news truthfully, accurately and fairly and "only what may reasonably be true, having regard to the sources of the news, may be presented as fact, and such facts shall be published fairly with reasonable regard to context and importance." [23] The Press Council commits to dealing with complaints against publications in a professional, cost-effective and expeditious manner. The detailed code is administered by a Public Advocate, a Press Ombud and an Appeals Panel. The Public Advocate seeks to achieve a speedy settlement of the complaint through conciliation while the Press Ombud adjudicates complaints that are not successfully mediated by the Public Advocate. Parties dissatisfied with the findings of the Press Ombud may appeal to the Appeal Panel which in terms of the Press Council Constitution is to be chaired by a senior legal practitioner, preferably a retired judge. The system is managed and administered by an executive director. An effective self-regulatory system such as this, is much more preferable to a system controlled by the state as it is inherently more capable of balancing conflicting rights in an impartial and non-partisan manner.

The rights in the bill of rights are, of necessity, protected at the level of principle. In functioning democracies, these rights are interpreted and applied over time resulting in a body of knowledge and jurisprudence being created that overlay the right. In a sense, it is similar to an inverted pyramid with the right at its base and the knowledge generated lying above it. This means that if we are to understand what the freedom of expression really means we need to be familiar with the jurisprudence and the way in which the right has been interpreted. Reciting the right in a mantra fashion, without this knowledge, is fruitless.

This chapter attempts to deal in a truncated way with some of the knowledge generated on the freedom of the press and other media. At one level, it is easy to be profoundly demoralised by the allegations and revelations of corruption, maladministration

and sheer sloth that are being revealed at the Commission into State Capture and other commissions. While oversight by the political bodies such as the portfolio committees during this period appeared to be illusionary, cynical and partisan, the other key components of a constitutional democracy held firm. A vibrant civil society, a free press, an effective public protector and independent courts allowed us to lift the veil of secrecy and reveal this very bleak picture. As a country, we now have the option of holding accountable those that plundered our country and safeguarding and reinforcing those institutions and organs of civil society that acted as a bulwark against the abuses of power. Had it not been for these institutions, we would not even have had this option. Our lived experience over the past decade is ample proof that the freedom of the media and the press is indispensable in a constitutional democracy.

Footnotes

1. Economic Freedom Fighters v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others [2016] ZACC 11 para 1.
2. See O'Regan J in South African National Defence Union v Minister of Defence 1999 (4) SA 469.
3. Phillips and Another v Director of Public Prosecutions and Others 2003 (3) SA 345
4. New York Times v Sullivan 376 U.S. 254 (1964)
5. It should be emphasised that the court reached this position in the latter part of the twentieth century after decades of permitting officials to stifle expression by using criminal and civil defamation laws.
6. S v Mamabolo (ETV and others Intervening) 2001 (3) SA 409 (CC)
7. S v Mamabolo para 41
8. Qwelane v SAHRC and Others 2020(3) BCLR 334 (SCA)
9. Qwelane at para 62.
10. These principles were confirmed by the CC in Islamic Unity Convention v Independent Broadcasting Authority 2002 (4) SA 294.
11. S v Makwanyane 1995(3) SA 391(CC) para 104
12. Print Media SA and Others v Minster of Home Affairs and others [2012] ZACC 22
13. See Near v Minnesota 283 U.S. 697 (1931); Attorney-General v British Broadcasting Corp[1981] AC 303 CA at 362; Little Sisters Book and Art Emporium v Canada [2000] 2 SCA 1120.
14. Citizen 1978 (PTY) Ltd v McBride and others [2011] ZACC 11
15. Citizen v McBride para 80.
16. Citizen v McBride para 59
17. Citizens v McBride para 83
18. https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/general-lothar-neethling-sues-vrye-weekblad-and-weekly-mail. Accessed on the 24th of June 2020.
19. New York Times v Sullivan (1964) 376 US 254 at 279
20. National Media Ltd & Others v Bogoshi 1998 (4) SA 1196 (SCA) 1212
21. Khumalo v Holomisa 2002 (5) SA 401 (CC)
22. National Media Ltd & Others v Bogoshi (note 17) 1212 to 1213.
23. Section 1 of the Code of ethics and conduct of the Press Council.

Karthy Govender holds law degrees from England, (LLB - London), from South Africa (LLB – Natal - *Summa Cum Laude*), and from the USA (LLM Michigan). He won a Fulbright Scholarship to the University of Michigan and was also the recipient of the Colenso Scholarship to St. John's College Cambridge. Karthy was a professor at UKZN for more than 20 years before retiring in 2016. He is a barrister of the Middle Temple (England) and an advocate of the High Court of South Africa. Karthy was appointed to the South African Human Rights Commission by President Mandela in 1995 and re-appointed for a second term in 2002 by President Mbeki. Further, he was the chairperson of the Film and Publication Appeal Tribunal and is a senior arbitrator with the South African Local Government Bargaining Council. Karthy has published in the fields of constitutional and administrative law and has presented papers and lectured on six continents. He is a regular visiting professor at the University of Michigan. Karthy is a commissioner on the South African Law Reform Commission and is a panel member of the Appeal Panel of the South African Press Council. He has also acted a judge of the High Court. Karthy has participated at several forums at the Durban University of Technology.

15. Capital Radio closes . . . "no, no, no"

Kenny *Maistry*

As the South African political climate started to change in the late 1980s and early 1990s, with the unbanning of political movements like the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation, the freeing of Govan Mbeki and others from Robben Island, and, finally, the release of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, changes were taking place at Capital Radio. Programme Manager Anthony Duke was on the lookout for new talent locally. The trend at Capital was to recruit British broadcasters like Tony Blewitt and Tony Murrell to replace presenters such as Kevin Savage, Brian Oxley and Martin Bailie who were lured by 5FM, a South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) station.

When Tony Blewitt left for 5FM, management at Capital decided to recruit campus radio presenters. There were no community and in-store radio stations at the time. Capital Radio's management had the foresight to realise that they needed to recruit young black (used in the broadest context of "previously disadvantaged") talent. Purely ethnic-based commercial radio would soon be a dinosaur of the apartheid era. They came up with the idea of an early Saturday morning slot called *Give It a Go.* Campus radio jocks recorded their shows during the week, and they were played on-air at the weekend. This is the way I got my break on 25 July 1992 as a presenter on the station that played "all the hits and more".

After the failed Afritude experiment of 1993, a contemporary hit radio, high rotation playlist of only 45 songs was adopted to win back listeners – this had limited success. In mid-1995, management agreed with senior presenters to implement an urban contemporary music format. Capital Radio appeared to have been resurrected from the ashes with a new sound and direction embracing its longstanding, faithful black listeners. It was one of the first stations to play kwaito and hip-hop. This was uncharted territory for commercial radio because these genres embraced South African black township and American ghetto/urban cultures which may have been too "radical" for some listeners. The station was looking ahead to building the "New South Africa" through a medium that brought people together despite the divided past. Being a pioneer of non-racial radio was challenging because old mindsets and ways of radio broadcasting had to be disrupted to move forward. Within six months of Capital Radio implementing its urban contemporary music format, a drastic increase in listenership from 19 000 to 116 000 was recorded. This was achieved without a marketing budget and FM licence. Fresh off the success accomplished with our new format, a campaign commenced in 1996 for an FM licence in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal (the traditional broadcast footprint of the station). Meetings with the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) were held, and prospects were positive.

Concurrently, political changes saw the former black homeland states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda & Ciskei (TBVC) being reincorporated into South Africa. Consequently, radio stations based in the homelands had to either be incorporated into the SABC or sold off/closed down, depending on what was best for the state coffers. The proposal to the SABC and government was that Capital Radio should be given an FM licence. The SABC should "warehouse" the station in the interim whilst it became profitable through the increase in listeners and revenue generated with the FM frequency. The station could then be sold off at a higher price given its brand equity.

At the time, the station was owned by the Transkei government. With reincorporation of the TBVC states, the 'owner' didn't have a governmental budget which, in turn, meant that assets such as Capital Radio did not have money to operate. For a period of about three months, staff did not receive a salary. The commitment of the staff could not be faulted. I'd say we did some of our best shows during this time which reflected the character and spirit of the station. Despite the immense odds stacked against Capital, it delivered great radio to its listeners. The management and staff formed a committee to save the station from closure. Given our activist backgrounds and political savvy, Cassandra Moodley, Justice 'Just-Ice' Ramohlola, and I played a huge role in driving the process, along with other colleagues. The committee launched a *Save Capital Radio Campaign* that drew support from print media, campus radio stations and the listeners to sign a petition calling on the IBA to grant Capital an FM licence. Things appeared to

be moving in the right direction as the first democratically elected South African government granted the station an operational budget, and appointed Thembekile Ndlovu, station manager of Radio Ciskei, as the interim station manager of Capital Radio. He was tasked with overseeing the warehousing of the station, while the FM licence application was being processed. He was given the mandate to appoint an interim management team to the ailing station which had lost some key personnel. Mr T (as we used to call him) approached me to become the interim music manager. This position gave me oversight of the playlist and the station sound. There was also a line-up change and I was moved to the afternoon drive show - Steve Bishop was given the breakfast show. There was a renewed spirit at the station as listenership grew. The dream of Capital Radio being on the FM dial looked a distinct possibility.

"shows on the station were saturated with sadness, memories and tears"

Sadly, the many years of hoping to one day be given an opportunity to compete on an equal footing on FM with the SABC stations was not to be. I am not aware of the politics behind the decision to deny Capital Radio an FM licence, but it was a devastating reality that we had to accept. Former Minister of Communications, Jay Naidoo will be able to explain the reasoning behind that decision. I remember finishing my afternoon drive show and was busy packing my material away when Mr T and the station's lawyer (appointed to apply for an FM licence) walked into the office looking dejected and defeated. They sat me down to explain that it was over. The ANC-led government decided to close the station on 29 November 1996 with my show ending transmission at 6 pm. The next day a staff meeting was called, and Mr T broke the humiliating news to everyone. By this time, morale was at an all-time low, and longstanding staff wanted to cash out their pensions and move on with their lives. The activist in me wanted to continue with the struggle for Capital's FM licence, but I yielded to the majority.

Day zero finally arrived. It was a sweltering Friday afternoon, and I was psyching myself up to be a consummate professional and do my show without breaking down or faltering on air. Shows throughout the day on the station were saturated with sadness, memories and tears. Our listeners were gutted, and could not believe that their bridge that saw them over the troubled waters of apartheid was being dismantled without due recognition and reward.

Alan Khan and I hosted the final show on Capital Radio. I have a vivid memory of a wheelchair-bound listener bidding a tearful farewell to the station which had become a constant companion. His raw emotions on air summed up the way the staff felt as a radio family.

I felt that the final words to be heard on Capital should appropriately be that of Alan Mann (aka Alan Wolfson). He presented the first show on 26 December 1979 on Capital Radio. I played his recorded farewell message and followed it with Simon & Garfunkel's *Bridge over Troubled Water*, the first song played on the station. It was a full circle moment, and the end of an era in South African radio!

Well not quite… I could not just end the broadcast so simply and quietly. I had to demonstrate some defiance and NOT observe the 6pm shutoff. Our technical manager at the time, a former officer in the video unit of the apartheid police, was adamant in wanting us off air at the allocated time. As the song was approaching the end and with a few seconds before 6pm, with everyone in the studio shedding tears (including myself – I held it together up until that moment), I started to play the old 604 jingles back-to-back. Good backtiming is a mark of a professional broadcaster, and I was well trained in getting my timing right so that I could introduce the news at the top of the hour (or in this case go off air). However, I continued playing the jingles, fighting back the inevitable for three minutes and shouting "No, no, no…"

Despite the heightened emotions and the technical manager reaching for his firearm in a studio filled with over 20 people, I noted that 6:03 pm was approaching and faded in the signal tone as the last jingle ended. The station frequency on medium wave was 603 kilohertz (not 604 which rhymed with the payoff line, "all the hits and more"). I ended the last show on Capital Radio at 6:03 pm on 29 November 1996.

Kenny Maistry has worked at several stations in South Africa. He cut his teeth on campus radio before joining Capital Radio. Kenny has had two stints at both 94.7 Highveld Stereo and Metro FM. He currently works at Radio 702. Kenny had made several appearances and also hosted shows on television. His versatility and cross-over appeal as a broadcaster, communicator, voice-over artist, brand ambassador and master of ceremonies make him a huge asset in the world of media and entertainment. Kenny was a guest speaker to the journalism students at ML Sultan Technikon.

16. A young black writer's perspective on the publishing landscape

Khulekani *Magubane*

One of the most heralded and revered literary works in the publishing history of South Africa is *Long Walk to Freedom,* an autobiography of the life of the country's first democratically elected President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. The story of this elder statesman was one of the first to be published in a democratic South Africa in 1994. Even among those who have read the book multiple times, it might not be commonly known that the publisher was Back Bay Books that was established in 1993. Arguably, it was the most famous book that they released, and they had to have it republished in 1995.

"though challenges persist with publishing, there is great reason for optimism"

Renowned Nigerian author Chinua Achebe famously said during an interview with the Paris Review, "Until the lions have their own historians, the history of the hunt will always glorify the hunter." The quote alluded to the narrative of Nigeria and, by extension, African society in the post-colonial context. That said, storytelling has been the most powerful driver of narrative in human society for centuries. Civilisations will always tell stories, including those of the people they vanquished. Numantia was an ancient province of the Roman empire, which was in what is Spain today. This city decided to rebel against its rulers from the city on seven hills. Their rebellion was ultimately crushed, but is remembered with romantic nostalgia. However, the plays, writings and narratives that are available from that point in history come from the Romans. South Africa has gone through great deal of social change in the past quarter of a century, and nobody has documented this as accurately and as dutifully than our nation's own storytellers.

While some of the greatest literary bodies of work in South Africa's history got their time in the sun by publishing at the advent of democracy, the country's literary golden age was already at hand during the nation's darkest years. While Steve Biko's acclaimed book *I Write What I Like* contains essays written by the black consciousness intellectual dating back to 1969, United States-based publisher Heinemann published the essays as a complete book in 1987. South African readers' appetites point heavily in the direction of non-fiction and contemporary issues affecting the country. In the current literary landscape, social commentary and politics have become more prominent in terms of the subject matter of South African bestsellers. Books, including *The President's Keepers* by veteran journalist Jacques Pauw, *Blessed by Bosasa* by Adriaan Basson, *The Enforcers* by investigative journalist Caryn Dolley, and *Balance of Power* by political journalist Qaanitah Hunter, show South Africans' visceral interest in matters political. Over the past few decades, books of a political and autobiographical nature have been well received by readers. First-hand perspectives of South African life have also been welcomed in recent years. Books such as Biko's seminal work, comedian Trevor Noah's autobiography *Born a Crime,* Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country,* and *No Future Without Forgiveness* by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu have been landmark bestsellers, celebrated in South Africa and around the world.

The publishing industry in South Africa has transformed considerably over the past 25 years. One phenomenon that has been particularly pronounced in the current landscape of book publishing has been the democratisation of authorship, and the way it has become more accessible over the years. However, despite its rich history, revered titles, and celebrated authors, business has been tough in the country's retail book industry. Despite these challenging times, the indication is that the academic and education book publishing sectors have managed to sustain income. This is borne out by the *Annual Book Publishing Survey 2016,* compiled by the Publishers Association of South Africa, and released in 2018 through the University of Pretoria's School of Information and Technology. The research, compiled by Elizabeth le Roux and Laetitia Cassells, shows that the income of the total publishing industry in South Africa moved up from R2.7 billion in the 2015/16 financial year to R3.2 billion in 2016/17. In this period, the Technical and Vocational Education and Training book publishing sub-sector enjoyed a 46% year-on-year growth in income, from R194 million in 2015/16 to R234 million in 2016/17. General educational books also showed a strong increase in income from R1.3 billion to R1.9 billion year-on-year. However, the Adult Basic Education and Training sub-sector showed a sharp decrease in this period of 74%, from R3.2 billion to R2.7 billion year-on-year.

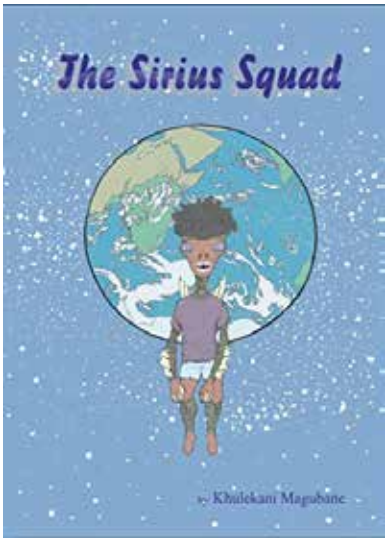
Researchers have expressed grave concern on the lack of a "reading culture" in South Africa. This, compounded by the low-reading levels among school children, has considerable implications for publishing in the country, and literacy in

general. According to the 2016 *Progress in International Reading Literacy Study,* 78% of schoolchildren in grade four could not pass the lowest benchmark in reading for comprehension. Statistics South Africa raises more alarming figures. A 2017 general household survey points to as much as 44.7% of South African children from the ages of one to four who have never had a parent or legal guardian read with them or to them. The challenges of child literacy do not only affect publishing, but also the further development of school children and the prospects of their economic activity in the future.

My journey as a published author began in 2004 when I was fortunate enough to meet Felicity Keats through my mother, who was a teacher at the time, and had met her on a youth literacy retreat. Felicity started UmSinsi Press, which champions the Dancing Pencils initiative. It guides the establishment of writing clubs across the country, mostly of young school children, and assists by getting their books published. Felicity has been an advocate and pioneer for a creative writing technique known as "right-brained" writing. This is a special writing technique that she taught to children, teachers and anyone looking to improve the way they write. This technique is about the brain's cognitive functions being divided into two hemispheres: the left brain, which governs logic, rules and information, and the right brain, which governs feelings, intuition and creativity. When writing creatively, the left brain can be a hinderance to the process, because it is incapable of suspending its disbelief and commitment to learnt rules and conventions. By performing breathing exercises and creating a tranquil environment, a writer can shut down the critical left brain, giving room to the more creative right brain to express itself freely during an exercise that involves non-stop writing for extended periods of time. The idea behind right-brained writing is that for a piece of creative writing to be allowed to reach its full potential, the left brain must be put to sleep, and the right brain must be allowed to create without the interference of rules and norms. After the creative process is complete, the critical aspects of writing can come into play: writing that follows the rules, edits spelling and grammar as well as divides a story into multiple parts and chapters.

At the time, I was still in high school and creative writing was a favourite hobby. However, after sending my material to publishers and magazines through registered mail, I struggled to get any of my writings published. When Felicity read my work, she committed to helping get my work published. Two short story books for children were published followed by a graphic novel in 2004. The next year, I released another three children's books, along with a Christian teen novella, which was written with two of my Sunday school learners at Saint Matthew's Anglican Parish, in my hometown of Estcourt, KwaZulu-Natal. *Angel's Anointing* was the first in a trilogy of Christian short novels which tackled social issues confronting South African teenagers of all religious backgrounds, including drugs, peer pressure and abuse. The second title, *Angel's Redemption,* was released in 2006 followed, a year later, by *Angel's Salvation.* By then, I was already credited as an author of or contributor to 15 published titles.

I enrolled for a National Diploma: Journalism at the Durban University of Technology (DUT) in 2008. During the three years of study, I was afforded the latitude to pursue my passion for creative writing, and given resources to promote my fiction writing. A symbiotic relationship began to develop between my creative writing and journalism career. I am convinced that the opportunity to engage in creative writing, and have work published at an early age played a role in my choosing a career in journalism. Likewise, my journalism career has helped broaden my horizons as an author, and link me with networks and resources needed to continue writing creatively. Being a published author has afforded me opportunities to attend prestigious literary events, and represent South African literature internationally. It has allowed me to connect with journalists and academics from abroad with regard to my work.



I was invited to participate in the 2012 Cape Town Book Fair where I launched my 16th solo novella titled *Racers, Rats and Rubbish Bins.* The book was a short, modern fable which told the story of prejudice and rigid class structures in post-apartheid South African society. Nasiha Khan of the DUT-based Journalism *Iziko* called it "a fascinating allegory of ambition and prejudice", while Quanta Henson of Dancing Pencils described it as "a shocking metaphor for life, one in which we, as human beings, both eat and are eaten". In 2014, I was invited to take part in a panel discussion at the Time of the Writer festival. It was titled *From the Mouth of Babes,* and focused on the importance of fostering literacy among young children by creating literature that they can relate to and enjoy. I also made it to a panel discussion at the Storymoja literary festival in 2015 in Nairobi, Kenya. It raised the awareness of African publishers across the continent on African writing talent, especially among the youth. South African academic Alan Muller, who was studying in Germany, interviewed me in 2017 about my fiction book *The Sirius Squad: Earth's Last Defence.* It was released the same year. The contents of Muller's interview were included in an academic paper he wrote on African fiction.

In 2018, I was interviewed by the German academic magazine Das Goethe on the use of mother tongue literature to cultivate a culture of reading among the youth and improve literacy

outcomes in basic education. In the interview, I pointed out that children, in many instances, are more comfortable in conversing, reading and writing in their mother tongue, and that this should be taken into consideration when teaching them with a view to improving their literacy. Incorporating mother tongue literature in the classroom has great potential to improve outcomes for school children as many from disadvantaged backgrounds must first learn to converse in the language of instruction before they can read and write in that language. It was also the year in which I released a novel *This Love Thing: A New Age Love Story.* It's the story of three information technology final-year students who design an online dating app that is attuned to the algorithm of truth. I wanted to write a story which gave affirmative roles and positions to young, black (by broad definition) South African women characters. For generations, men have been represented as strong, intelligent, virtuous and resourceful protagonists in the tropes of mainstream literature, while the most common depiction of women was as damsels to be saved by the male protagonists, with little compelling narratives, world views or ideas of their own.

Though challenges persist with publishing, general education outcomes, and childhood literacy, there is great reason for optimism in South Africa. At the time of writing this chapter, I am working on the sequel to my 2017 *Sirius Squad* novel, titled *The Sirius Squad 2: Between Enemy Lines.* I use the medium of science fiction to unpack current geopolitical challenges, such as the rise of nationalism in several countries around the world, and efforts by current leaders to curtail democracy.

The power of literature in reinforcing representation has made itself abundantly clear not only in my own writing, but also in the work of contemporaries in South Africa. The number of people participating in the formal publishing sector, throughout the value chain, has grown and diversified. Not only are there more black authors as well as women authors, the faces of book publishers in South Africa are also looking more diverse than ever. The outcome is that the stories told by authors in their literary work are more diverse and relevant to South Africans. This can be seen in the work of authors like Penelope Mashego, Niq Mhlongo, Sfiso Mzobe, Eskinako Ndabeni, Zak Mlaba and Sihle Mthembu. The more authors are given a platform to publish, the more represented South Africa's broader readership base will feel. The more represented readers feel, the more likely they'll participate to the overall benefit of South Africa's publishing terrain.

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17. The left field of a study tour

Kiru *Naidoo*

There are two stories from my eventful semester teaching on the Journalism programme at the Durban University of Technology (DUT) in 2005. The one involves a young man, who few years earlier, had run away from DUT after just two weeks. "They were damaging me, bru," was his assessment. It did not stop him claiming front page leads week after week at the Sunday Times. Credible stories. Not cooked up fantasies that the paper had to apologise for in time.

The second story is my own. There was a student who appeared on the register, but never in class. Her assignments were turned in on time, and she diligently sat for the tests. Bumping into me on a polished stairwell at City Campus, she sheepishly apologised for her practised absence. "Not at all," I gushed, adding that anyone who routinely scored an A+ for her papers should avoid the classroom at all costs. No teacher should have the dubious privilege of inflicting harm on an outstanding student. It turned out that she was holding down a job at a 'knock-and-drop', while registered as a full-time student. It should be a lesson for the 'career' students who overstay their welcome on our campuses, studiously avoiding both pass marks and getting a job.

The manner of my getting appointed to teach the young woman, and 50 or so others, arose in curious circumstances. As I recall, a lecturer at DUT Journalism left midstream for one or the other reason. I had a job in the university administration, lodged just up the road. In the historic tension between the administration and the academy, there was the (erroneous) assumption that we had our 'bums in butter', while academics slogged at the coalface. That is another story for another time. My job did, however, come with the privilege of a rather lovely leather wingback on brass wheels, and a salary package that enabled me to feed my children more than just pap and Kool Aid. Those details have a bearing on this storyline as one will discover.

I recall being cajoled into filling in by a charming 'full-time' socialite, academic and an advocate, to boot. The sweetener was that I could lay claim to some paltry *togt* wage that had oppressed legions of slave labour before me, and remains a favoured practice common in both unfettered capitalism and the South African higher education system. "Nah," said I turning up the nose that was delicately chiselled above my stiff upper lip.

Lest anyone suspect that I was a man of independent means just passing my time in the hallowed portals of the DUT, I spurned both the insult and the few extra bob for good reason. The one was that I had already, from the comfort of my choice seat in the executive offices, been raving about the habit of academics having a side hustle and thereby double dipping. I could not possibly connive in a practice that I was already firmly on the record as opposing. The second was that the additional silver would have created unrealistic expectations among the said children already accustomed to a little more than smooth maize and toxic beverages. Be that as it may, I plunged head-first into the double-volume lecture hall once graced by the well-fed Duke of Connaught, clicking my bespoke Bruno Maglis and twisting my stifling silk necktie.

At first glance, I was greeted by a sea of 17-year-old faces consumed by sheer boredom. I was later to marvel at the diversity in race, class, gender, ethnicity, faith, age and sexual orientation in the group. On entering the class, I pulled out my painful lecture notes and a PowerPoint presentation. That was the death of them. Were it not for the intermittent whirr of the ancient air conditioners, they would surely have turned into corpses. The topic, as I recall, was 'Apartheid Destabilisation in Southern Africa'. I flashed slide after slide of heavily-burned soldiers lugging RPG7s, rusty fields and the pockmarked buildings littering Mozambique's coastal skyline. I droned so eloquently that I too could have knocked myself to sleep. There was not even a restless whimper. From somewhere deep among the smokers on the raised bunks, a polite young woman asked me to spell that. "Have you ever been there?", I asked. She shook her head in the manner best demonstrated by Bharatanatyam dancers. "Would you like to go to Mozambique to see for yourself how apartheid armies devastated that country?" The slumber miraculously transformed into a high-energy 'prom committee' as they excitedly gathered around. They hung onto every word as I quoted from Machel to Mondlane to Tambo to the effervescent Marcellino dos Santos.

Mozambican flag

As I described the Costa do Sol and the poolside at the Polana and, of course, the lively clubs that brought everything from kwasa kwasa to kwaito to town, there was wide-eyed wonder. Almost to a person, these students had never been anywhere beyond a few kilometres of their hometowns nor did they have passports. "You have six weeks to get a passport," I bellowed. A formal organising committee was constituted. I volunteered to raise the funding provided that each was prepared to make a small contribution. The 45 minutes that was originally going to be a whole graveyard shift flew out the window.

My next order of business was the protocol of clearing the

matter with the sparkling socialite, academic and advocate. "Robin, you know the togt wages you had offered me, I want to talk to the finance chaps about reprioritising that in the budget, and putting it into a teaching and learning fund." Being of genial disposition and unwilling to lose his willing slave, the head of department readily agreed. It took some convincing to get the finance chaps to think outside the spreadsheet, but they graciously did, and our Journalism Study Tour of Mozambique was on track.

Every class that followed was a meeting of the 'prom committee' with healthy lashings of political theory and comparative politics lobbed in. It was a left field approach to teaching politics to journalism freshers. In an earlier incarnation at another university, I led a small group of third years on a field tour in South East Asia. There, they were introduced to dissidents from countries like Burma, and introduced first-hand to one of the great struggles for democracy of our time. Burma has since degenerated into a bizarre blend of Buddhist extremism cavorting with reclothed soldiers and a hapless Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

"the slumber miraculously transformed into a high-energy 'prom committee' that took care of the logistics"

The experience of that study tour enabled me to craft a programme that was simultaneously educational and entertaining. In planning initiatives of this sort, local information and local contacts are first prize. It was fortuitous that a son of the president of Mozambique was also a student at the university. It also helped that our ambassador in Maputo was introduced via a third party as were several of the embassy staff. Then, there was Madame Graca Machel who had the distinction of having married two African freedom fighters who later turned president. She herself had played a powerful role in the Mozambican freedom struggle, and served as a minister in its first cabinet.

Through another avenue, best not disclosed even now, we made contact with colleagues of the murdered journalist, Carlos Cardoso. There was an Umkhonto weSizwe exile, who having fallen in love and married a Mozambican, remained in that country even after South African liberation. The link was to prove very useful in visiting the site and graves of the 1981 Matola Massacre when 15 MK cadres were killed in a raid by apartheid security forces who had crossed illegally into Mozambique.

An accidental programme came together quite nicely. The 'prom committee', even though still teenagers, masterfully developed budgets, checklists, enquired about immigration rules, checked out the accommodation and transport, and a host of other logistics. Those were all learning outcomes not necessarily factored into an ordinary journalism curriculum. A key part of the organising was discipline. Not a soul was left under illusions that the provisions of the liberal South African Constitution, more especially the sections that dealt with corporal punishment, were suspended once we crossed the (then) Swaziland border. The skilful reprioritisation of the budget by the finance chaps enabled the 'prom committee' to hire a bus with enough capacity for all of us. The morning of our departure saw legions of parents and guardians descend on the City Campus toting tears and tupperware. The tears were for their treasured toddlers. Needless to say, I had to hug and comfort more than one mother who reminded me of the precious cargo she was entrusting to me. No tupperware was refused, more especially those with piping hot samoosas. Mercifully, the bus was loaded within the hour. Some students brought the kitchen sink, while others suspiciously might not even have bothered to pack a change of underwear. We had barely left the city limits, when it became evident that the beverages were responsible for the bus listing to one side. I pretended to look the other way, while a few lads and not a few lasses rectified that mechanical defect. The problem of the listing bus returned when we stopped at Big Bend in Swaziland ostensibly for a pit stop. Enough said.

The border posts were memorable events to get one's first stamps in the passport. Promises were babbled about filling up the whole travel document. The driver was an old hand at travelling in Southern Africa, and shepherded us to a backpackers' lodge in the centre of Maputo with no difficulty. The next morning we were on the road. The first stop was to our mission in Maputo, and a briefing with the High Commissioner. The detailing of the history of African liberation movements, acting in solidarity since the 1950s as well as the impact of such support, proved an eye-opener for those unaware of the background. When we took to the streets of Maputo to visit the bombed buildings and roads, the immense devastation suffered by the people of Mozambique became even more apparent. A visit to the graves of the martyrs of Matola brought tears. A monument was subsequently built and is now a place of pilgrimage.

Armed with classroom study, extensive background readings and the first-hand briefings, the students were able to obtain a fuller picture of apartheid destabilisation in Southern Africa. This unusual methodology, quite unfamiliar in South African classrooms largely due to resource constraints, has without any doubt had a lasting impact on the students who participated in the study tour. The majority of the group remained in journalism careers and have excelled in their spheres of endeavour.

DUT Journalism has long enjoyed a stellar reputation, which was enhanced by the introduction of this left field teaching methodology.

Kiru Naidoo was born and raised in Durban. After his schooling in Chatsworth, he read for degrees in Politics, Economics and History at the universities of Durban-Westville and Cambridge. He prides himself in being a historian of the South African freedom struggle, and writes extensively in the local and foreign media. His more recent publications in 2019 are an edited volume of poetry marking 25 years of South African freedom as well as a semi-autobiographical collection of short stories titled *Made in Chatsworth.* He is the co-author with Paul David, Ranjith Choonilall and Selvan Naidoo of *The Indian Africans,* published to mark the 160th anniversary in 2020 of the first Indian indenture in South Africa. He is currently a civil servant in the provincial government of KwaZulu-Natal.

18. An activist's personal take on media diversity

Lumko *Mtimde*

The defiance campaign in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the country led to the strengthening of community newspapers like Saamstaan, birth of community broadcasting, and transformation of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) from a state broadcaster (the mouthpiece of the then white minority National Party apartheid system) into a public broadcasting service.

As the youth under the banner of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), fronted by Peter Mokaba, we were also part of the South African National Students Congress (Sansco), South African Students Press Union (Saspu), United Democratic Front (UDF) and Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). President of the African National Congress (ANC), Oliver Tambo referred to us as the "revolutionary intelligentsia". We were active and militant in community work, liberation and youth struggles, and campus politics. Youth activists involved themselves in community newspapers, campaigns for democratizing the airwaves and, later, shaping the projected policy framework for a future democratic media dispensation.

"President Oliver Tambo referred to us as the "revolutionary intelligentsia"

Campus radio like UWC Radio and Turf Radio played music banned by the SABC, and allowed engagements with peers to speak about anything and everything. Student newspapers such as Students' Voice by the South African Students Congress (Sasco) carried unmediated views. These outlets provided the inspiration to demand a free and diverse media landscape. Saspu held a gathering called the Multi-media Mindblast and launched the *Freedom of the Airwaves* campaign. As part of the Saspu National Executive Committee, I was part of a delegation with its president Katharine McKenzie and Caroline Green that went to Stellenbosch University to submit proposals to Professor Christo Viljoen, head of the Viljoen Commission established by President FW de Klerk following pressure to transform the SABC. I joined the South African team to the Netherlands in August 1991 to attend the *Jabulani! Freedom of the Airwaves* conference.

Youth activists from the various organisations were central to the MDM's Campaign for Independent Broadcasting (CIB) which engaged in several protest actions that included the transformation of the SABC. I became the chairperson of the CIB (Western Cape), and was part of a group leading negotiations for 'freeing the airwaves' with the National Party at the Union Buildings.

In early 1990, we decided to spearhead a campaign to transform the 'music jukebox' UWC Radio at the University of the Western Cape into a community radio station. This was part of the Sansco national transformation agenda for changing campuses *From ivory towers to people's universities.* The Media Subcommittee of the Sansco was chaired by Satch Radebe (Sansco had become Sasco after the merger with the white students' National Union of South African Students (Nusas)). Little did we realise that we were writing the history of media diversity in South Africa. We were setting up one of the first community radio stations in South Africa.

Engagements were held with the Cassette Education Trust (Caset), a non-governmental organisation led by Edric Gorfinkel – he trained us to produce radio programmes. We came up with cassettes on struggle activities, including the Defiance Campaign that was led by the MDM and UDF. We played these cassettes on UWC Radio, distributed them in taxis, buses and at rallies, as a way of providing progressive content. This was an alternative initiative to the propaganda broadcast by the SABC. UWC Radio was changed to a community radio station based on campus, and we were supported by the Students Representative Council, Executive Director of Students Affairs Saleem Mowzer, management represented by the Rector Professor Jakes Gerwel and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. We got permission from UWC to apply for a broadcast licence from the Department of Home Affairs headed by Minister Danie Schutte, who had twice refused us a licence.

Later, Caset "adopted" and dissolved into Bush Radio with its assets. Bush Radio was then supported by the Frederick Ebert Stiftung (FES), Australian Agency for International Development (AusAid), Independent Media Diversity Trust (IMDT), Kgaso Fund (a partnership between the South African government and the Danish Government), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) and many other international donors. We focused on using the broadcasting equipment in continuing to produce cassettes, train people on radio broadcasting skills, among other activities. The training became the strength of Bush Radio - trainers included Joe Mjwara of the ANC's Radio Freedom, Libby Lloyd and

Robin Sewlal

Tracey Naughton.

In 1993, Bush Radio decided, as part of the Defiance Campaign, to pirate and broadcast "illegally" as it was refused a licence by the apartheid government. The plan went ahead on 25 April 1993, and the station was visited by the South African Police which shut it down, and confiscated the equipment. Two leaders, Mervyn Swartz and Gorfinkel were arrested. On my way back to campus at the Salt River train station, I was arrested, and released, after a few hours, from police custody. Bush Radio trained a number of people from several organisations, and facilitated workshops on the setting up of a community radio station. These gave momentum for a "common vision" workshop at Chapman's Peak, Cape Town where discussions revolved around aspects, such as the understanding of community radio as well as its ownership and control. The workshop generated input towards the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) Act that came into being in October 1993, and the launch of the National Community Radio Forum (NCRF) in December 1993 in Soweto. The Act contained a definition of community radio, and made provision for a one-year temporary licence to ensure the broadcasting playing field was levelled in relation to the historic 1994 elections.

The *Community Media 2000* conference was convened in 1995, and gave birth to the National Community Media Forum, an organisation for radio, print and television activists from the community sector. Further, the Open Window Network for video and television, and Community Print Media organisation were set up. The conference consolidated input into the Reconstruction and Development Programme which recognised the need for media diversity and development. This was implemented through President Thabo Mbeki's establishment of Comtask 1996 and transformation of the South African Communications Service (SACS) into the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS), which spearheaded and sponsored the enactment of the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) in 2003.

Amendments to the IBA Act led to the issuing of temporary community radio licences. Community radio has substantially grown to more than 200 stations licensed by Icasa. Sadly, community television, and community and small commercial print media have not grown at the same pace as community radio.

The MDDA is mandated to promote media development and diversity, support and fund community and small commercial media. At its 10th anniversary, the MDDA made known its deliverables and successes, These included clean governance, 570 media projects supported through grants worth R275 million, more than 247 bursaries awarded in media studies, advocating and ensuring more than R30 million government adspend annually allocated to community and small commercial media, community radio commanding 25% of radio listenership, reduction of signal distribution costs, production of research reports on media ownership and control, and the production of easy-to-use toolkits on governance, advertising and marketing. The MDDA *Trends of Ownership and Control of Media Research Report* (2009) and *Print Media Transformation Report* (2013) exposed the challenges faced by the media in respect of transformation, and necessitated interventions like Judge Pius Langa's *Press Freedom Commission: Report on Press Regulation in South Africa* (2012) and the Nkwenkwe Nkomo *Report on the Transformation of Print and Digital Media* (2013). As the MDDA heads to its 20th year of existence, it will be an opportunity to reflect and review its value, benefit and impact in promoting a diverse media. Moreover, it will be a good time to look at the reconfiguration of state entities, given the possible synergies with regard to the MDDA, Universal Service and Access Agency and the proposed Digital Development Fund in terms of the National Integrated Information and Communication Technologies White Paper.

It is evident that new technologies are leading to a digital economy becoming inevitable in the future. The digital media has become real - digitisation and e-learning are becoming a new reality for our education system. New media strategies and models are needed in order to sustain the policy objectives of media diversity and press freedom for all.

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19. Is the media's coverage of the law sufficient?

Mapula *Sedutla*

It goes without saying that the role the media plays in society is an important one, more so in a democratic society. Press freedom is one of the pre-requisites of a flourishing democracy. Every freedom or right comes with a duty, therefore, the responsibility that comes with press freedom is that the media must fully fulfil its role of being the watchdog of society.

Arguably, South Africa's media enjoys more press freedom as compared with the media in other democratic countries. However, does this press freedom fully extend to coverage of law-related issues? 25 years into South Africa's democracy, is the media (as the 'fourth estate') sufficiently covering the law? The term 'fourth estate' was first coined by Edmund Burke in 1787 when he was referring to the opening of the House of Commons of Great Britain to press reporting. Thomas Carlyle in his book *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* states, "Burke said there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important far than them all" (Coetzee, 2016). The term 'fourth estate' refers to the media industry, including those who work in it. Although Burke said the above in mockery of the press that was present at the House of Commons on the day, the term has remained throughout the years to describe the role the media plays in society. The media's job is to ensure that society, including the three pillars of government (namely the executive, legislative and judiciary) do not exploit the democratic system. The media does this by keeping society informed on what is happening in the country, and reporting on all matters in an objective, balanced and fair manner. The apartheid government understood the power of the 'fourth estate', hence the non-existence of press freedom during that time.

The way in which the media reports on matters is important because this speaks to its credibility. Once the media loses its credibility, then society might be less likely to consume the information it reports on because society would fear the information to be false. Therefore, for the media to enjoy freedom and fulfil its role as the 'fourth estate', particularly in a democratic dispensation, it needs to report reliably on matters.

Since the dawn of democracy, South Africans have been exposed to live coverage of law-related proceedings such as commissions of inquiry and court cases, beginning with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1996. The TRC was set up by the South African government to help deal with the gross human rights violations that happened during the period 1960 to 1994. At the time the TRC was set up, it became apparent that the media would play a critical role in the perception of proceedings by the public.

"coverage of the case has changed irreversibly the manner in which the media and the justice system converge"

Holding the TRC proceedings was one of the most crucial steps South Africa was to make towards a just and democratic society. This meant that the reporting of the proceedings needed to be truthful, but as Constitutional Court Judge Richard Goldstone said, in a speech delivered in his absence at a conference held in April 1996, that reporting the truth was not as simple or as easy as it sounded. Since the TRC proceedings were complex and politically sensitive, this meant that the media had a difficult duty, and the success and failure of the TRC depended on the calibre of reporting.

Volume one of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report states, "A distinctive feature of the Commission was its openness to public participation and scrutiny. This enabled it to reach out on a daily basis to large numbers of people inside and outside South Africa, and to confront them with vivid images on their television screens or on the front pages of their newspapers. People saw, for example, a former security police officer demonstrating his torture techniques. They saw weeping men and women asking for the truth about their missing loved ones. The media also helped generate public debate on central aspects of South Africa's past and to raise the level of historical awareness. The issues that emerged as a consequence helped the nation to focus on values central to a healthy democracy: transparency, public debate, public participation and criticism" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, 1998).

It is clear that had the TRC proceedings not been broadcast,

South Africa would have missed an integral step in the process of uniting a very divided society. The fact that the proceedings were broadcast live added an element of authenticity, which other reporting methods cannot achieve. The country was able to discuss matters that they would not have been privy to had it not been for the broadcast.

Another commission that has gripped the attention of the international media is the ongoing Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of State Capture, which began in 2018. By their nature, commissions of inquiry make non-binding recommendations, and in this instance, the inquiry was first suggested by former public protector Thuli Madonsela in her 'State of Capture' report of 2016, to investigate allegations of state capture, corruption and fraud in the public sector including organs of state. Much like the TRC proceedings, South Africans received a 'blow-by-blow' account of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of State Capture proceedings. For lack of a better word, the 'drama' that unfolded in the live broadcast of the proceedings ensured that the country received first-hand information.

Deputy Chief Justice Raymond Zondo

Although other commissions of inquiry are ongoing, the state capture commission is the one that is being broadcast live because of the impact the subject matter of the inquiry has on society. The intricacies of all the parties involved in the allegation of state capture involves almost all the spheres of the South African government. During the testimonies presented at the inquiry, there have even been allegations of state capture levelled against the 'fourth estate'. Given the fact that the allegations of state capture touch on every aspect of the lives of South Africans, it would have been remiss of the media if the inquiry was not covered in a fair manner that presents all aspects of the truth.

Since the state capture commission is ongoing, it will be interesting to see the media's coverage of the proceedings once the inquiry is completed. There had been instances when the presiding officer, Deputy Chief Justice Raymond Zondo cautioned the media in its coverage of the proceedings because of the publishing of false facts and leaked material. Inasmuch as South Africa has press freedom, the media need to exercise the right in a responsible manner that is in accordance with the codes of conduct of media organisations, while ensuring that the process of the commission of inquiry is not infringed upon.

Two other commissions of inquiry were set up in January 2019, namely:

1. The inquiry into the fitness to hold office of two top National Prosecuting Authority advocates, Nomgcobo Jiba and Lawrence Mrwebi. It was presided over by former justice of the Constitutional Court Yvonne Mokgoro;
2. The commission of inquiry into the Public Investment Corporation (PIC) looking into allegations of impropriety regarding various investments, was presided over by former Supreme Court of Appeal President Lex Mpati.

One of the most famous cases to come out of South Africa is that of Oscar Pistorius, which took place in 2014. The trial attracted coverage all over because an international athlete was accused of murder. For the first time in the history of the country, the court proceedings of the trial were broadcast live on a dedicated television channel. Before the court proceedings were broadcast live, the Pretoria High Court was asked to rule on whether media agencies could access all the evidence as it was presented in court. All the applicants relied on the high public profile of the accused as the basis for the argument that it was in the public interest for the trial to be broadcast by the media. This was not the first instance where permission was sought from the court to broadcast trial proceedings live. In opposing the media application, Pistorius argued that the live broadcast would infringe on his right to a fair trial, which is guaranteed by the Constitution. The papers of the case state, "Pistorius contends that the live broadcasting of his criminal trial, through audio (radio), audio-visual (television) and still photographic means, will infringe his right to a fair trial. His view is that the mere knowledge of the presence of audio-visual equipment, especially cameras, will inhibit him as an individual as well as his witnesses when they give evidence. He has also asserted that his Counsel may also be inhibited in the questioning of witnesses and the presentation of his case. He further is of the view that covering his trial as is sought by the applicants will enable witnesses still to testify to fabricate and adapt their evidence based on their knowledge of what other witnesses have testified. In his view, the requested broadcasting of his trial will have a direct bearing on the fairness of the trial and contends that should the relief be granted he will most certainly not enjoy a fair trial," *(Multichoice (Proprietary) Limited and Others v National Prosecuting Authority and Another, In re: S v Pistorius, In re: Media 24 Limited and Others v Director of Public Prosecutions North Gauteng and Others [2014] 2 All SA 446 (GP))*. Judge President Dunstan Mlambo presided over the media application. He held that section 16(1)(a) of the Constitution guarantees everyone the freedom of expression that includes the freedom of the press and other media as well as the freedom to receive and/or disseminate information and ideas.

In the past, South African courts have grappled with the

notion of permitting the exercise and enjoyment of the freedom of expression right in court proceedings. The judgment further states that any accused person who appears in a court of law facing any charge has the constitutionally-guaranteed right to a fair trial, which includes the foundational values of dignity, freedom and equality, which are central to a fair trial. In balancing the conflicting rights in the case, the court was enjoined by section 173 of the Constitution to ensure that the interests of justice were upheld. The judgment notes that the phrase 'interests of justice' does not only relate to an accused person's right to a fair trial, but also to the prosecution's right to the same right. Every person's rights in the same proceedings should be promoted. The court was not persuaded that Pistorius' objections should be upheld in their entirety, as that would fly in the face of the principle of open justice and the South African constitutional values. The applicants were given permission to set up recording equipment in the courtroom. The court attached various conditions to the granting of that permission. Its order set out technical specifications, and the portions of the trial which could and could not be recorded.

The National Press Club and North-West University declared the Pistorius trial as the Newsmaker of the Year for 2014. The award was handed to former Deputy Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Justice Dikgang Moseneke. Speaking at the award ceremony, Justice Moseneke said the nature of the coverage of the case "has changed irreversibly the manner in which the media and the justice system of our country converge". Speaking about the media application, Justice Moseneke said that the public is entitled to have access to the courts and to obtain information pertaining to them.

The live broadcast of the Pistorius trial enabled South Africans (who would not necessarily have had the opportunity) to be part of the court proceedings. This type of exposure enabled citizens to see justice in action. and enhance the public's trust in the justice system, while also ensuring the public's trust in the media.

Court cases and commissions of inquiry do not encompass all aspects of the law. Legislation, particularly that which is new or amended, plays an important part of the legal process and cannot be ignored. The media seems, however, to be concentrating on court cases and commissions of inquiry because of their attention-grabbing capabilities, which will generate high audience figures. There have been many instances when the public has complained that the government does not give new or amended legislation enough time for public comment. This means that legislation is amended or newly enacted without public participation or buy-in. However, is this the fault of government or the media because it has failed to inform the public that there is pending legislation? There is a school of thought that suggests that the public consumes whatever the media presents to it, regardless of the fact that the information may not be important to the public at the time. By extension, this means that the media is not entirely objective when selecting the information it reports on. This could explain why information on new legislation is not given a 'blow-by-blow' account in the media as are other legal matters. Court cases and commissions of inquiry that are of interest to the public are reported on sufficiently. However, the media needs to play a more active role in ensuring that the public is well informed about all the steps in the legislative process.

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20. On being a business journalist

Martin *Challenor*

A person who is willing to employ other people, and thus feed their families, is a national hero. Therefore, people in the media who report on job providers reflect upon the lives of heroes. To own a business in South Africa today – actually, in any country – is a great, multi-faceted undertaking and challenge. A business owner needs a range of skills and character traits. Business journalists, therefore, also need a range of skills and character traits to be able to do their job. It is up to academics at journalism schools at universities and other institutions to equip their students to be business reporters, writers and interviewers, able to understand what heroes do.

An initial step towards being a business journalist is understanding the terms of business. There are many terms. And that is a problem. Stripped of the burden of the terms, business is about making, transferring, and using goods and services - all clouded with a host of personal agendas and interpretation on the part of the people involved. Top of the list of requirements to be a business journalist is an ethical stance. Media people filling the business columns and programmes need to know what is right and wrong, what is good for a country and what is not good. The question of an issue being right or wrong for a country is not determined by what a political party may say or do, nor the noise around an issue. Right or wrong is determined by asking who benefits from a decision and who loses. The next question is why are some people benefitting and some people not. Business journalists know and respect corporate governance. It is a pity that not everybody in business and government can say the same. Appreciating right or wrong enables writers to gain insight into an issue. Sadly, not all people in business are always honourable. At times, perhaps far too often, some people in businesses do things which do not help society. It is the task of business journalists to be able to see this and publish as need be. There have been many impressive business journalists over the past 25 years, people with integrity, who have exposed misdeeds. They are to be saluted.

Media people must know the difference between companies owned and managed by one or a few people, and companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE), which is where pensions, medical aids, unit trusts and insurance funds are invested. South Africa is greatly served by, and will always be grateful to, business journalists who understand strategy, can read budgets, understand income statements and balance sheets, who can interpret trends in economic data, and know the relevance of the price of a share.

One of the instincts that all media people have is to know when something is failing. So, business journalists who focus on share prices and similar trading, for example, watch the sale of shares of companies. They would know what the normal weekly sale was and the prices. If sales and prices not seen before emerged, an alert media person would know that something was amiss. As important as being vigilant is the need to follow closely the workings of businesses, big and small, listed on the JSE and not listed, so is there a need to be vigilant in the face of government money matters as well, to detect when state spending has gone wrong, or not happened at all. So, business journalists are also in the front line of the battle for democracy. Business journalists have done and will continue to turn their keyboards to a range of issues, beyond the buying and selling of goods and services, which is the essence of business. In most instances, the context of business is more newsworthy than the transaction. By context is meant what a government does to promote or impede business, and to see whose interests are served at any point in the process. Great insight is needed to make sense of the context within which business operates.

Johannesburg Stock Exchange

Academics who help their media students interpret the world around them and make sense of the context are making a great impact on society. The academics are offering great benefit to society.

To expose the misgivings of government and business, media people need to be exceptionally brave, which is something they need to take into their profession as bravery cannot be taught. People, who do wrong in the world, tend to continue to do wrong until they are caught. People like this are not going to look kindly at a person armed only with a keyboard, or a microphone or a camera who wishes to expose wrongdoing. No good article on improper behaviour ever started with a journalist timidly asking, please may I write about your bad ways?

There is much focus on the business pages and programmes on the character, personality and behaviour of people in business. Business is a tough place, and, to rise to the top, business people need to also be tough. More people get hurt in the

battle to reach the top than actually reach the top. Chief executive officers are resilient, and persevere. Thus, business journalists would be advised to be able to read the thinking of the people they write about. Business writers would be advised to know and be able to recognise a chief executive officer who tended to be a narcist or a sociopath, and be schooled enough to know what the terms mean and do not mean. Knowing the personality type makes reporting on them more credible. Business writers, at all times, would be advised to understand the concept of demographics, which involves studying the classification of people in a society by age, activity, occupation, lack of occupation, qualifications or absence thereof. One needs this skill so as to be able to work out how much of the education budget is apportioned to each pupil, and how to compare that with how much the government spends on each prisoner. These articles do not appear on pages by magic - a skilled media person has to be equipped at journalism school to appreciate the way spreadsheets full of facts and figures can be simplified into articles on the number of people a farmer can feed on average. By sharing their talent for analysis, business journalists can make a great impact on society.

"Business journalists need a range of skills and character traits to do their job"

Business journalists need to have an appreciation of something Karl Marx wrote about 160 years ago, and that is the class struggle. Any journalism school worth enrolling at will cover such matters. The class struggle appreciates that a society is divided into four groups, the people who own business, the bourgeoise; the people who work in businesses and who support the concept of ownership, the petite bourgeoise; and the people who work in business but may not necessary support the concept of ownership, the proletariat. And then there is the fourth group, the unemployed and probably unemployable people who go by the label of lumpen proletariat. A business journalist worth their byline would know about the different interests each group has in an economy and the shared interests they have. Media people daily record the reality that the lumpen proletariat is growing in South Africa, and the disquiet this gives rise to.

So, what issues will business journalists write about, and thus need to prepare for, in the next 25 years? The first issue of the future has to be the rebuilding of South Africa. At the moment, the country is down. But this situation will change. A business journalist who has been in my classes will know that only a large dose of entrepreneurship will be able to restore South Africa. It is a time now for heroes in business and people who report on said heroes. These entrepreneurs will be capable, independent and self-motivated. They will build their business inspite of what their critics say. And, dare it be said, many of the entrepreneurs needed to save South Africa from hunger, despair and poverty will be from other countries. People who come to South Africa to trade on the streets should be encouraged, not hunted.

No number of additional and new public servants will lead to the rebuilding of South Africa. Were employing public servants the way forward, South Africa would be the most developed land in the world as we have more public servants than we can ever afford to pay. No, the possibility of a better future lies only in the minds of entrepreneurs who provide jobs for other people and create wealth to share.

Talking of paying, there is the question of the rising national debt. South Africa now has a mountain of state debt bigger than Table Mountain and the Drakensberg Range combined. The great grandchildren of people reading this article will still be paying off this debt. The payment of this debt will become a political football, championed especially by people still to be born. We may not see the headline *Students boycott against State debt* just yet, but business journalists will write to this sooner rather than later. One headline that has until now never been true is the one that says *Reform of laws to improve business*, or something similar. If there has ever been law reform that improves business, I missed that story. However, the headline better come true in the future.

As entrepreneurship spreads and South Africa picks up, a new problem will develop, namely the drawbacks of unlimited material consumption. Just because one employs hundreds of people, and has a large bank balance, does not always lead to happiness. But that is far away. Such is the fare of business journalism. A well-educated business journalist offers great value to a society. They are able to make the connections in our society that the rest of us need so as to be able to make more sense of our world. It is the task of academics to add the term *well-educated* to this paragraph.

As a lifelong learner, Martin Challenor's career has been a combination of study, media work and teaching. He obtained a Bachelor of Social Science and an Honours degree from the University of Natal, and a Master of Business Administration (MBA) and PhD from the University of Durban-Westville (UDW). Martin worked at the Daily News (on several occasions), Rand Daily Mail, Surrey Daily Advertiser, Business Day and The Star. He lectured at the University of Fort Hare and Durban University of Technology (teaching business journalism), and served as senior lecturer at the UDW. Martin worked at the Higher Colleges of Technology in the United Arab Emirates, and became a head of department and high school teacher at St Dominic's College in Welkom, Free State. While a school teacher, he acquired a postgraduate certificate in education (PGCE) through the University of South Africa and a Masters of Education through the Central University of Technology. Martin taught at the Ningbo Huambo International School in China, and serves as editor of Ningbo Focus magazine. He is an academic member of the Faculty of Foreign Languages at Ningbo University.

21. Development of community television: Growth or stagnancy?

Mashilo *Boloka*

The vision for community broadcasting in South Africa, of which community television is part, was ushered in by the White Paper on Broadcasting in 1998. The vision introduced a three-tier broadcasting system, which classified community television within the broad aegis of community broadcasting services, to include community radio services whose objective is to meet the broadcasting needs of a community or communities living in a specific geographic area at the local level. The history of services such as Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) [1] confirms that community television, one of the oldest sub-sectors of broadcasting in South Africa, predates the vision outlined in the 1998 White Paper on Broadcasting. The station was licensed by the South African Department of Telecommunications, prior to 1994, to serve the former homeland governments of Ciskei and Transkei. However, in terms of development, community television was slow, and played second fiddle to its radio counterpart. This is despite its licensing being enabled as far back as 2004 by the Community Television Broadcasting Services Position Paper.

"Community television has reached stagnancy to a level where it is both unsustainable and disruptive to the broadcasting system"

The slow start could possibly be attributed to the initial Inquiry into Local Television process undertaken by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa), which revealed that community television will not be sustainable (2003). It is on this basis that the first set of licences, except TBN and Soweto TV, were issued on a test basis for a one-year period. These included 1KZN (Richards Bay), Tshwane TV, Bay TV (Port Elizabeth) and Cape Town TV. While this paved the way for other licences to sprout in various parts of the country, it did not conceal the weaker foundation on which community television was established, and continues to define the sector to this day.

The progress/growth of community development in South Africa should be looked at in two phases: The first early phase ranges from 1994 to 2013, and starts with the realignment of media policies in a democratic period. Key was the recognition of community broadcasting, through its licensing, and the establishment of measures to support community media, including the statutory Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA). The second phase, commencing in 2014, was a major turning point when a presidential proclamation was made separating broadcasting from other areas of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) through the establishment of the Department of Communications (DOC) housing the MDDA and Government Communications and Information System (GCIS) into one entity. This changed the community broadcasting landscape completely.

The White Paper on Broadcasting (1998) and the resultant Community Television Broadcasting Services Position Paper (2004) paved the way for the introduction and licensing of community television in the country. Of major importance in the policy provision is the ownership of community television by the community which has, as its mandate. to appoint the board. The board has to account for the activities of the station to the community at annual general meetings (agm's).

The Electronic Communications Act further provided for mechanisms on granting and renewal of licences. In addition, the Act further exempted community television from contributing to the Universal Access Fund, and payment of licence fees. The Broadcasting Digital Migration Policy makes provision for community television on Multiplex 1 catering for the SABC's regional broadcasting services during a dual illumination period wherein it has been allocated 15% of that Multiplex 1.

The challenges facing community television are not unique. Community radio had similar challenges, but was rescued by a huge and timely government support initiative, without which many of the stations would have collapsed, particularly those in the rural areas and non-affluent townships. With the number of community television stations increasing, pressure mounted for the government, particularly the DOC and the MDDA, to replicate the community radio support with community television. However, a number of factors dissuaded government to support community television:

Firstly, there was lack of a policy framework for such support. Secondly, there was uncertainty regarding the licensing framework as many of these stations were licensed

with test licences for one year. This was further dampened by a licence moratorium imposed by Icasa in March 2010 until after the analogue switch-off. According to Icasa, the moratorium was informed by the scarcity of the radio frequency spectrum. Thirdly, the fluid business model prevented government support. For any organisation, a business model is important as an indicator of its sustainability. Given various business models in operation within the sector, ranging from quasi-community to purely commercial enterprises, it was difficult to understand which one was better suited for public funding in a manner that could ensure accountability and value for money. Fourthly, the increasing takeover of these stations by unscrupulous individuals who used them as their businesses, and their increasing migration to pay-television platforms. At that time, almost all the stations, except Cape Town TV, were available on pay-television. The benefit of being on pay-television was carriage fees that they received monthly. Therefore, a simple replication of the community radio support to community television would have given public funds to individuals and private companies, some of which were listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Fifthly, declining public funding and new priorities in government played a role. This situation was further compounded by the dearth of donor funding in the post-apartheid South Africa, which was the bedrock of community media for a long time. The DOC's support programme was established on the back of donor funds by the French government.

Major steps were taken to seek ways in which community television could be accommodated within the context of the factors raised herein. One such important step included a consultative process initiated by the DOC in 2011. The process started with commissioning a study to Pygma Consulting to investigate the impact of the support programme and measures for improvement. This study was followed by another by the Sol Plaatje Institute for Media Leadership at Rhodes University in 2012 to specifically analyse the community television environment and ways it could be assisted. These seminal studies were followed by a consultative community television summit in Johannesburg in 2012. It sought to develop a sustainable business model that was not only eligible for public funding, but was also located within the country's policy framework to ensure that community television fulfils the mandate that it has been established for, while maintaining its community attachment in terms of governance, community participation and contribution to community development, both socially and economically. Unfortunately, the recommendations of these studies and the outcomes of the summit could not be followed through owing to a myriad of factors, including but not limited to:

- New priorities and changing fiscal position in the public sector, which brought about budget cuts to the support programme;
- Comprehensive policy review which sought to look at the entire ICT sector anew, including broadcasting, especially on the policy question of regional broadcasting services;
- The 2014 institutional realignment following the presidential proclamation. The integration of the MDDA into the new DOC meant it was no longer logical to continue with the department's support programme and MDDA separately. The DOC's support programme was then transferred to the MDDA in 2015. This, as also recommended by the Pygma Research, [2] was an efficient way to overcome double dipping and competition between the programmes. However, it had its own downside. The MDDA only focused on the stations that were on its support programme as approved by its board, thereby leaving many of those on the DOC's in limbo. In contrast to the MDDA's support accessed through application, the DOC's support was largely based on identification by the department itself or through consultation by the communities themselves without any prescribed application process. The MDDA has not been able to continue with some of the strategic projects that the department handled, including the revision of the support scheme, and finalisation of the model for community television that could be funded through public means;
- Again, by the time the environment stabilised, momentum was already broken, and new challenges had emerged, making community broadcasting not a priority anymore. All the attention and focus that this sector enjoyed since 1994 dissipated.

Community television emerged during a buoyant period of the South African media industry. Despite the global economic recession ravaging many nations, the South African advertising base remained stable, suffering a paltry 0.6% decline. While this provided an opportunity for community broadcasters to survive, the sector was very unstable owing to poor governance and accountability. While many were licensed, a huge number were being switched off by the regulator owing to failure to comply with licence conditions. Others closed shop due to lack of resources. This situation battered the reputation of a promising and fledgling sector, resulting in it being shunned by the mainstream advertising industry (Misa-SA, 2003). This situation laid a poor foundation for the development of community television. Thus, the negative image associated with community radio shaped the entry of

community television on to the broadcasting market, impacting on its survival over the years. While community radio could afford this unsatisfactory reputation, the same could not be said of community television given its capital-intensive nature and the risk associated with it.

Despite earlier promise, community television has reached stagnancy to a level where it is not only unsustainable, but has become a disruptive force to the three-tier broadcasting system in South Africa. Comparatively, the country has one of the most innovative and futuristic policy frameworks that provides an enabling environment for community television to thrive as a tool for socio-economic development. The allocation of 15% of Multiplex 1 for community broadcasting and the 2019 Community Broadcasting Services regulations underline the continued existence of community television as part of South Africa's broadcasting mix. As confirmed by ATKearney International (2018), the country has one of the most resilient media sectors in the world as evidenced by:

- Consumer media spend as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita per annum being just behind the United Kingdom at 2.9%;
- Advertising spend as a percentage of GDP being 3rd, behind the United Kingdom and United States.

These market conditions present immense opportunities for community television to prosper in South Africa. However, as the current vulnerable position of community television continues to show, this will require getting the fundamentals right. This is important in view of the rapid market changes characterised by proliferation of new platforms distributing content and driving audiences from traditional television, and the capital-intensive enterprise that it is relative to community radio which could survive its less than acceptable reputation. For a resilient community television sector that can take advantage of these opportunities, a number of things have to happen. Internally, this requires consistent stability to totally overcome the disruptive governance challenges and negative perception, which bedevilled community radio since its inception. Externally, this will require an aggressive marketing drive to showcase the potential of the sector to drive socio-economic development and attract audiences.

Concomitant to these points of actions, the following recommendations are made:

- Cleaning the community television register and maintaining a channel provider distinction;
- Developing a fit for purpose and sustainable business model that is provincial in scope;
- Ensuring governance and accountability especially in the early years of establishment;
- Implementing strong government support;
- Detaching from pay-television so that it can have its own identity and cultivate its audience;
- Strengthening regulatory monitoring and enforcement.

Any regulation is as good as the measures to enforce it. Without regular monitoring and issuance of credible compliance reports detailing how these licences are governed, no external investor can risk investing in the community sector. It is important that measures be taken to strengthen enforcement in the sector so that non-complying licensees can be rooted out.

Finally, the majority of the current stations may be content with the carriage fees that they currently receive. They may not see the need to address the recommendations made, such as their business model, governance and accountability, and detachment from pay-television. Carriage fees do make a difference to the day-to-day running of the stations, but they will never know their actual worth, and will, therefore, continue to be an undervalued platform that lives from hand to mouth. Neither will they grow beyond the current levels. The sector must look at the bigger picture.

The South African government has policy options. They can choose the current sedentary approach to community television hoping that the law of natural attrition will take its course. Admittedly, many of the stations will disappear, but as recent trends have shown, this will not stop new ones from emerging. As this happens, chaos will prevail in the entire broadcasting fraternity and investor confidence will be eroded. It will continue to create instability in the sector and render the three-tier broadcasting system meaningless.

If this sector is remodelled as per the recommendations provided, community television will not only thrive, but will also become competitive and attract investment, thus creating enormous opportunities for young people, women, and people with disabilities to hone their skills across the entire value chain.

Footnotes

1. When the new 1994 dispensation arrived the two operations were combined and became jointly known as TBN Eastern Cape. Originally, no "conditions" were attached to the initial licenses. Only after the formation of the IBA (Independent Broadcasting Authority) and subsequently the ICASA (Independent Commu nications Authority of SA) were a series of "conditions" attached to the licenses. and TBN was classified as a "Community "licensee.
2. Pygma Research was commissioned by the Department in 2011 as part of its process to review its support programme in consideration of the changing environ ment characterized by growing demand amid public funds, advent of community TV, and multichannel environment ushered by broadcasting digital migration and other Over The Top (OTT) platforms. One of its key recommendation was the transfer of the DOC programme to the MDDA.

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22. Is it the content or the cash?

Mathumo *Manaka*

A radio broadcaster's programming policy has always been a chicken and egg situation. The question to be asked: do you deliver to the needs of the advertiser, or do you provide content to the satisfaction of the listener? In short, should the news bulletin (in the interest of the listener) be sponsored, and, if so, does that mean a client can further spend money for a one-hour feature on a platform?

This (behind the scenes) 'war' is quite prevalent in most sales, marketing and programming (SMP) meetings at a broadcast station. For instance, a client may want an opening and closing billboard for the news on the drive time show, and a desperate account executive will sell this to the client just to meet the weekly target, with scant regard given to the station's programming policy. While these boardroom disagreements persist, all the listener wants is favourite songs to be played on the station, and has no concern about the haggling by the SMP people. As a matter of fact, airing spots/advertisements are a big irritant, and, from my perspective, a huge 'tune-out' factor. This leads to the listener's engagement in channel-hopping. However, the generation of revenue is important for purposes of sustainability and competitiveness.

Apart from the hit songs, the listener wants to hear the time the mobile clinic will be in the area to supply medication, arrival of water tanks, and delivery of food parcels, as promised by the local councillor. And they expect the information to be broadcast in their mother tongue. This is the value of radio to the people. Just like in football, particularly in the South African context, the programme manager, like the team manager in the sport, could soon be filling in unemployment forms if he does not deliver on the mandate of increasing the audience figure.

The inauguration of Madiba as president in 1994 brought with it a different pattern of media consumption as socio-economic standards improved for the majority of people. This created a bigger pool of the working group with disposable income. The newly-affluent listener needed broadcasting content to match this enhanced status. The government's introduction of social grants for the under-privileged brought another dimension into the mix as the poorest of the poor were able to afford some basic needs, including a mobile phone that needs airtime and data for interaction as well as electrification. This meant less reliance on rechargeable batteries to tune into the evening radio drama. These were titled "living standard measures", a technical tool for determining affordability, across the broadcast landscape.

The mid-1990s saw the unbundling of the public service broadcaster whereby six radio stations were snapped up by private investors. The regulator also started to open up the playing fields nationally by issuing greenfield licences to new consortiums. Commercially, the likes of P4 Radio, one in Durban and the other in Cape Town, Kaya FM, North West Radio, YFM, Vuma FM and Rise FM became available to the listener. A boom in community radio, intended for local audiences, made the industry more exciting because, having a national footprint, was no more a guarantee to print money. An advertiser with only a local presence requires a rate card that meets its needs and budget. Traditional public broadcasters like SAfm and Radio 2000 had to evaluate and revisit their relevance and rate cards for competitiveness as new entrants were raking in a fair chunk of the advertising spend. To remain relevant and to pluck a piece of the advertising pie, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) came up with a regional tool that was called "ad split", and, as a presenter with a marketing and advertising background, I knew the idea would never see the light of day. The execution was destined to be tricky and quite technical as both the on-air talent and technician were based at the headquarters in Auckland Park, Johannesburg, while the advertisement itself had to be tailor-made for the client based far away in one of the provinces.

Radio had to stay attractive as social media platforms developed a new type of audience. Anyone with a smart phone became a journalist or an influencer. Online radio has surfaced in recent times, but the cost of data is an inhibiting factor to its higher listenership. Traditional media consumption has become a thing of the past as there is no need to wait for the 7pm news to get the day's happenings - it's all in the palm of your hand every minute of the day. The scramble for the advertising pie became even harder as outdoor, radio, television and print all wanted their share.

The organisation that had been tasked by the broadcasting industry to providing audience research got itself in a tangle. The South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) was accused of inflating audience research numbers in favour of certain media houses. Corruption charges were laid thereby leading to its credibility being dented and deeply compromised.

As a result, the SABC reached a decision to terminate its membership, taking away 18 radio stations and four television channels. This was the death knell for SAARF. This led to the formation of the Broadcast Research Council of South Africa (BRC) in 2015 to provide the necessary information to the industry.

"Radio will always be a warm intimate friend to my uncle and aunt"

Digital terrestrial broadcasting was supposed to have been in place and rolled out in the late 1990s to the early 2000s in South Africa. When I left the employ of the public broadcaster, the digital migration debate was a song on repeat. Our east African counterparts have moved swiftly in this regard, and their speed cannot but be applauded. This hampers development in more ways than one. The data connection fee has been a challenge for the majority of the people. Let's not forget the #datamustfall movement that swept across the land, especially in most of the institutions of higher learning.

Today, the talk is of social media influencers and the like, who are riding the narrowcasting crest of the wave, but broadcasting still rules. Radio will always be a warm intimate friend to my uncle to catch his latest horse racing results, and my aunt to hear about the increase in her pension grant, all these in their native language.

The regulatory authority plans to licence additional community radio stations nationwide. Greater choice and diversity will not only mean more outlets for advertisers, but also more opportunities for listeners to enjoy. The radio dial continues to enthral.

Mathumo Manaka is a seasoned broadcaster, radio lecturer, communication specialist, marketer and commentator on African socio-political issues. He has participated at a *Radiocracy Roundtable* at the Durban University of Technology. In the late 1990s, Mathumo was one of presenters when Kaya FM commenced broadcasts. He, thereafter, hosted the afternoon drive show on Gagasi FM. His next port of call was at the public broadcaster's SAfm where he was also involved in the station's brand marketing. Mathumo, subsequently, became the communications manager for the South African Broadcasting Corporation in Durban before moving across to Vuma FM. He was then offered the breakfast show on Thobela FM followed by another stint on SAfm.

23. A perspective on Greater Durban Television

Mikhail *Peppas*

The television monitors went dark. The room erupted in sadness and joy, tears flowed, much vigorous hugging, heartfelt congratulations and promises to keep connected forever. It was midnight on 11 July 1995. Greater Durban Television (GDTV) was off the air. The broadcast of Africa's first community access television station had ended. I switched off the lights in the 'Growth Laboratory' studio, shut the door, and with mixed emotions found my way down the long flight of stairs into the air.

As the originator of the GDTV project, I strongly recall the powerful impact of the liberation chants on the wider community rising from alternative media organisations agitating against the strict controls over public communications in apartheid-era South Africa: Freedom of the Media! Freedom of the Airwaves! Jabulani! Restrictions on television were particularly harsh, presumably linked to the rousing emotional potential of moving images and the power of pictures to affect behaviour. Radio and television broadcasting were largely government-owned, controlled and financed under the auspices of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). In contrast, the mission statement of GDTV included the following pointers to:

- Foster the democratisation of the airwaves;
- Provide a platform for citizen access to the film and television sector;
- Establish the GDTV Film and Television School;
- Build community capacity to broadcast and provide access to production technology.

A passion for community television harks back to my early fascination with filmmaking. In the late 1980s, I started the Free Film School in Central Durban. The school welcomed a diversity of community participants, and was at the forefront of progressive media practice in Durban linked to aspects of the moving image. Production equipment was becoming less expensive, lighter, easier to use, and the quality was advancing rapidly. The times were right to support 'self-generative' indigenous filmmaking based on storytelling by ordinary citizens that might eventually end up on the small screen. The school evolved into the Visual Voice, a grouping of alternative practitioners offering training for stage, television, scriptwriting and video production linked to cultural dialogue and the oral tradition. Multicultural video production, originated by community members, was a relatively new process to Durban. Visual Voice became the vehicle that activated my long-held vision of a citywide community television station in Durban. The station would provide a platform for ordinary citizens to 'get their message out' and to deliver their stories to an audience that had rarely seen their neighbourhood represented in visual media. Television could be there for 'our' use and cover 'our' news, whilst providing a tool for social change and citizen cohesion. The formation of the community news gatherers (CNG) within the GDTV structure, that included novice video trainees from the townships around Durban, highlighted the possibility that the news could indeed become 'our' news.

"Community television provides for social change and citizen cohesion"

The release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 ushered in the "rainbow nation" and encouraged me on the relentless path towards community television. I enrolled as a master's student at the then University of Natal to research aspects of visual anthropology, ethnographic filmmaking and community media. I anticipated that the insights gained would contribute towards widening the scope and deepening the level of citizen involvement in documentary production. I felt the university environment might provide the catalyst to speed up the application process for a community television station. Freedom was in the air. The Independent Broadcasting Act of 1993 was an astonishing and unexpected media achievement. The Act provided for an Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) that would champion the democratisation of the airwaves, and contained a section that permitted and encouraged community television. The establishment of the IBA was the impetus that led to the Visual Voice conference in 1994. The theme for the conference was *Visual Anthropology, Community Communication and Social Change.* Fortunately, the University of Natal was supportive of the conference, and offered the use of Studio 5, a raked venue in the speech and drama department. An additional aspect that widened the scope of the Visual Voice conference was that it coincided with 100 years of world cinema in 1995. The conference occurred at the time when the Film and Allied Workers Organisation (FAWO), a key role player, was transforming into the Open Window Network (OWN) and that went on to provide invaluable guidance in the development of community media across South Africa. Dumi Ngubane, the community television coordinator of

OWN, arranged ongoing meetings linked to encouraging discussion and support around the benefits of community media and access television.

At the community television forum held as part of Visual Voice, I announced to an astonished and somewhat skeptical audience that a community television station for the City of Durban could be up and running in June 1995. After the conference, the convoluted process began of formulating a grouping to apply for a temporary broadcast licence from the IBA. I gave a positive update on work-in-progress at the Community Access Media conference in Durban on 25 November 1994. The programme ended with a screening of clips from community television stations around the world. The project gained significant momentum when the Durban Arts Association, a city-supported cultural and arts initiative, agreed to assist with logistics, communication, liaison with the IBA, and to provide some kickstart funding. Durban Arts became a nerve centre for the licence application process, ably coordinated by Projects Manager Lindi Gross, with support from fellow staffer Big Boy Patrick Zungu. The chairman of Durban Arts, Mi Hlatshwayo and the director Noel Fairhurst offered the boardroom for GDTV meetings, a gesture that proved invaluable. Additional organisational support was provided by Lou Haysom from Audio Visual Alternatives (AVA), an initiative aimed at empowering women filmmakers. The application process was consolidated when the three organisations – FAWO, AVA and Durban Arts – evolved into a grouping of co-conveners, and were joined by the University of Natal as the fourth player. The licence document from the IBA covering the inaugural GDTV broadcast indicates the following:

TYPE OF LICENCE
Short-Term Temporary Community Broadcasting and Signal Distribution Licence

LICENSEES (Jointly and severally)
FILM & ALLIED WORKERS ORGANISATION – NATAL (FAWO)
DURBAN ARTS ASSOCIATION (DAA)
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
AUDIO VISUAL ALTERNATIVES (AVA)
(hereafter referred to as the licensee)

STATION IDENTIFICATION
GDTV

A groundswell of support for GDTV included practitioners and volunteers who offered production skills, equipment, training opportunities, and technical facilities. A collective of students at the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies (CCMS), University of Natal and from Technikon Natal provided valuable input on programming that would appeal to a youth audience, and contributed topics and ideas towards outreach programmes. Auditions for presenters, newsreaders and documentary filmmakers were held at the studios of the Department of Video Technology, Technikon Natal. A major factor in the progression towards a switch-on date for GDTV was that the term 'Video Journalism' was trending in production circles. The 'self-generative' method used hi-tech, small-scale video production tools that allowed for hand-held cameras that were fairly easy to operate and appeared less intrusive than bulky television cameras. Following the unfolding international model, the Daily News set up a video production studio at their premises, and started training their print journalists in video news gathering. Rob Greaves, the Video Journalism coordinator at the newspaper offered to provide GDTV with a daily 15-minute news programme. The project gained additional traction when M-Net agreed to send their new state-of-the-art outdoor broadcast (OB) van to Durban for the duration of the GDTV transmission. Natal Racing Club's Television operated a broadcast centre at the Greyville Racecourse and provided technical assistance when Vince Vesey, the director of their OB facility was assigned to design the transmission system in conjunction with SABC engineers. Vince was a vital contributor to the project as he was registered for a management diploma at Technikon Natal, and his case study revolved around setting up a community television station. Another major step forward was the approval by the University of Natal to use the rooftop laboratory in the engineering building as a transmission facility and studio space. The venue had numerous advantages and provided a clear line of sight across the bay to the Bluff water tower where SABC engineer Siza Mbongwa had set up the microwave link and transmitter. The station waited for his go-ahead that the signal was technically perfect and that a switch-over from the test pattern to scheduled programming could proceed. To much jubilation, the licence finally arrived from the IBA.

Durban Mayor Councillor Sipho Ngwenya

The launch event for GDTV was held at the Durban City Hall. The first black mayor of Durban, Councillor Sipho Ngwenya in the company of Sebiletso Mokone-Matabane (co-chairperson of the IBA) flipped a switch and GDTV was on-air. The presenters were Thulani Mkhize and Jeffrey Ntuli from the townships of Durban. They introduced the appropriately- selected first item on the programme schedule – a documentary about isicathamiya (to dance like a cat), a traditional dance form with hushed vocals that originated

with hostel dwellers who worked for the mining companies in South Africa.

The GDTV transmission was a milestone in the democratisation of the airwaves representing the first time a community television station had been on the air in Africa. The feedback from respondents was awe-inspiring and motivational. A follow-up personal communication to me from Ida Jooste, regional editor, SABC-TV, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) (dated 22 August 1997) stated, "I thought you'd like to know that the GDTV example is being used extensively to illustrate the potential of community television and explore ways of co-operation between the SABC and other parties." Various memoranda of understanding between the SABC and community television bodies indicated that the national broadcaster was fully committed to assisting community television stations by way of training, facilities and transmission expertise. Sentech, the major signal distributor in South Africa, would offer special rates to community television. In the spirit of collaboration, the SABC provided a designated broadcast studio (M2) at its KZN regional headquarters in Durban that allowed GDTV to take to the airwaves for special-event broadcasts – the first in June 2004 was linked to the 10th year of democracy celebrations and 25 years of the Durban International Film Festival (DIFF), and received substantial support from the festival director Peter Rorvik. The second transmission over the festive season (December 2004-January 2005) in Durban celebrated 10 years of GDTV, and strongly focused on road safety and HIV/Aids. A third transmission was scheduled for 18 June to 17 July 2005. The special event highlighted the 50th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, the DIFF, and the inaugural Salt March for Global Peace and Non-Violence. In parallel with the SABC facility, GDTV had a back-up office and production studio based at the BAT Centre, a venue that fortuitously provided access to a wide range of artists and community activists.

Notable highlights from the 2004 and 2005 transmissions:

- The Durban City Council was fully supportive of the GDTV project. Following the momentous 1995 launch of GDTV by Mayor Sipho Ngwenya in the City Hall, the 2004 kickstart event initiating a series of transmissions, was opened by Mayor Obed Mlaba on the grounds of the SABC;
- The Durban Film Office (DFO) played a central role in promoting the efforts towards a permanent station. The DFO secured KPMG to assist with registering GDTV as a non-profit organisation. The DFO chief executive, Mandle Ndimande was appointed chairman of the GDTV committee.
- The SABC was crucially involved in offering technical advice, transmission facilities and the indispensable studio M2 for the series of three special broadcasts that started in 2004. The SABC offered free use of material from their extensive archive. KZN regional manager Zakes Dube was always available with reassurances during particularly strenuous phases, and when exhaustion seemed insurmountable. The 1996 'Declaration of Intent' (with OWN) recognised the natural partnership in which the SABC committed to joint projects with community groups;
- Sentech assisted with the GDTV transmissions and agreed to look favourably on community television stations regarding fees for transmitter hire and to offer extended services, training and guidance;
- The Centre for Cultural and Media Studies; The head of the centre, Professor Keyan Tomaselli, staff and students provided indispensable academic guidance and practical support in the formation stages of GDTV. Research materials have been generated that articulate the historical significance of the first transmission;
- The then Durban Institute of Technology (DIT); The head of the Department of Journalism, Advocate Robin Sewlal, provided letters of support for GDTV and approved the use of two professional cameras from the department to be used in the studio news set-up. The cameras were operated by DIT Journalism students and by other crew under their guidance. An additional benefit was that I was the lecturer in broadcasting in the department, and was able to draw students into the project.

The following quote by Pallo Jordan highlights the potential of community access television and emphasises the urgency of working towards permanent licences, "The most vital facet of our media could be community television. Rooted in civil society rather than in political parties, community television has the potential of becoming a key player in shaping South African democracy and giving real content to the empowerment of communities (Opening address at the launch of the Cape Film and Video Foundation on 12 January 1995)."

The time is opportune for the introduction of a city television station that covers eThekwini Metro. Students at the Durban University of Technology, other educational centres, and community media groups are well-positioned to start the initiative. A revival of GDTV – 'The Legend' - could even become a reality.

A proposed celebratory event is scheduled for 2020. The event will recall the original '95 broadcast of GDTV, a momentous and historical precedent.

Mikhail Peppas holds a PhD in Visual Anthropology. He has been a lecturer at DUT Journalism and, thereafter, an honorary research associate in the Faculty of Arts and Design at the Durban University of Technology. A media entrepreneur and film historian, his interests include screenwriting, graphic narratives, comic book production, board games, photography, theatre, streets as living texts, city identity and sustainable living activations. He was awarded the 2017 Simon 'Mabhunu' Sabela Film and Television Award for Lifetime Achievement. Firsts for Africa originated by Mikhail include the Free Film School, and a community station, Greater Durban Television

24. Attached to the soil: Portraits of South Africans

Peter *Glendinning*

Can we put ourselves in Nelson Mandela's shoes for a moment, the shoes he wore on 9 May 1994, and think about the massive decision he had to make that day? What was he going to say on 10 May 1994…. and what would we say in a similar situation were we to have to begin a speech today? In essence, that was the challenge I presented to the young people of South Africa with whom I collaborated during my seven months of teaching, research, and service as a United States Fulbright Scholar in 2019. In the 25th anniversary year of Nelson Mandela's inauguration as the first freely-elected president, I was committed to research collaborations that would result in works of art, with the foundational content being statements formed by "Born Frees," by "Democracy Babies", intent on projecting their perceptions of the past, or present, or future, or all three, regarding South Africa.

I returned to South Africa 20 years after my first visit, to collaborate with young people who were either very young children in 1994, or perhaps not even born. They live their lives today, as all young people do no matter where they live, in a country that has been moulded by the conceptions that were in the minds, and acted upon, by the people from generations past. My interest was in these young persons' conceptions regarding South Africa today, as they will form the future of the nation just as surely as past generations' conceptions have formed the present.

Those young persons' conceptions, cast in the form of a metaphor that was related to "soil," were the foundation for the research project titled *Attached to the Soil*. Consisting of photographic portraits of persons whom the young people felt had a story from their life that related to their chosen metaphor, along with oral history recordings of those stories, the project will return in 2021 as an exhibit of 50 photographic portraits, accompanied by excerpts from the subjects' stories to be exhibited in South African university galleries and museums, and also available online.

Mandela was to be inaugurated on 10 May, after many years of imprisonment, activism, and other activities that ranged, depending on who was interpreting or reporting, from the anarchistic to the communistic to the democratic to the capitalistic to the legal to the illegal and on and on. In no way could he be deemed a non-controversial person. After 27 years in prison, he was, to some, no more than an ex-convict, no less than a messianic figure. Yet, whatever opinions the broad spectrum of people in the "rainbow nation" held, whatever identity others cast on his persona, he was to be inaugurated as the first democratically elected president of the Republic of South Africa in one day's time.

Here was a man who many considered then, and consider still, a person whose "shoes would be hard to fill," and indeed as the presidents of South Africa have come and gone after him, I am sure that each of them would agree. Many of the citizens of South Africa today, and those who call other countries home as well, would also agree. But at the same time, there is certainly a goodly number who would disagree, who would see Mandela as a person who did not leave as large a footprint as he might have, whose tracks did not lead in the direction or at the pace or in the manner they should have. Whatever their opinions about his footprints, there was 100% unanimity among all the thousands of people I met and spoke with that the problem he faced on 9 May 1994, what he would say, was one that he was uniquely prepared to solve.

"President Mandela was no more than an ex-convict, no less than a messianic figure"

What were the very first words he would say on the next day to his compatriots, after the oath had been taken, after he had sworn "So help me, God," after his hand had been lowered, and once he was finally and officially, and forever to be remembered as, the first president of the new Republic of South Africa? How could he create a symbolic gesture in word form, one that would, in the very opening sentences of his address, convey his perceptions about the nation he was to lead to that broad range of people?

What would they hear, this assembled overflow crowd of dignitaries from across the globe, the many past and present political leaders of the "rainbow nation"? What tone would be set, what message would be shared, what effect would the words have on these representatives from the widest range of religious and intellectual and academic and tribal social spectra, the millions listening intently through television and radio and other means across the world?

Most importantly, what message of authoritative direction, what guidance, and what response, would be felt by those average South Africans, the working men and women, and the unemployed

men and women, and all the children, each of whom were so critical to the future of the nation?

Whether those who listened with bated breath for those first words were in the audience at the Union Building in Pretoria, where he stood inaugurated before that large assembly, or listening elsewhere in South Africa sor across the world, Madiba knew that whatever he said would mark his presidency, and the path forward for the nation. Talk about pressure!

In response to such an immense challenge, soon-to-be President Mandela formed a metaphor to deliver, as he put it, to his "compatriots," as follows:

"I have no hesitation in saying each of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the Bushveld. Each time one of us touches the soil of this land, we feel a sense of personal renewal."

While one may have their own opinion as to what President Mandela meant to convey by that profound metaphor, that word-symbolism (and indeed there are many opinions and they range as wide as a rainbow itself), it should be clear to any South African who engages the intellectual exercise of creating their own soil-related metaphor regarding their country that his was no small feat.

It was for the purpose of giving the opportunity to young people in South Africa to walk in Madiba's shoes, to create their own soil-related metaphor, that I spent seven months in South Africa in 2019. By putting themselves in his shoes, not in the context of an older man speaking in 1994, but in the context of a young person freely expressing themselves in 2019, they could feel the same pressures that Mandela felt to form their own metaphor, to define some significant aspect of South Africa, something meaningful in terms of their own lives.

By making a firm decision concerning an essential and personal understanding of South Africa's past, present, or future, arising from their own unique perspectives as young people, and forming their own soil-related metaphor, they could truly walk in his shoes. And they did, walking not alone, but with a portrait subject and with me, all three collaborating to bring each of the 50 projects to fruition.

In my lectures across the republic at 16 universities to approximately 1 000 young people, I shared this opportunity, this challenge to form an opinion, and then to create an appropriate metaphor about their country, and an art project based in that exercise. 48 of them put themselves forward to collaborate and create the 50 projects, each with their intellectual and creative problem-solving resulting in metaphors that, like Madiba's, were related in some way to the "soil." They each also had decided on a person who had a story from their life that was related to that metaphor, with whom we could collaborate to make the metaphor literally come to life, through a photographic portrait and recording of the subject's oral history.

Without those young people's passion for South Africa, their individual unique perceptions and creative expressions through metaphor, and the willingness of the subjects whose stories related to those metaphors, *Attached to the Soil* would not exist. While I was formally hosted as a Fulbright Scholar by Tshwane University of Technology and Nelson Mandela University (and the support of the administrators and faculty members of those institutions cannot be understated), without the participation and support of faculty from 10 other institutions, there would have been very few projects indeed. *Attached to the Soil* consists of collaborations in partnership with Durban University of Technology (DUT) Journalism students, under the mentorship of an excellent staff of teachers and researchers whose professionalism and passion have created an impressive academic environment. I am greatly indebted to DUT administration, teaching and research staff, and students for the rigour and enthusiasm with which they extended themselves to collaborate with this representative of Michigan State University, the Fulbright Scholar program, and the United States State Department.

Ultimately, the goal of *Attached to the Soil* is three-fold. First, to convey the specific creative expressions in photographs, metaphors, and stories that resulted from each of the 50 collaborations with subjects and students. Second, for both the individual works and the group as a whole, to serve as a vehicle for the voices of the young people themselves, their hopes and dreams for the future, their sense of the realities of the past and present. Thirdly, I hope that through the works of art, and the expressions of young persons' sensibilities regarding South Africa, conversations will be sparked between and across the spectrum of South Africans today, as they learn of stories like their own, and stories very different from their own as well. The three works that follow, all of which are the result of collaborations I shared with DUT Journalism students and their subjects, are representative of the entire set of 50 that comprise *Attached to the Soil.* I hope that the young persons' metaphors, the stories from lives of our subject collaborators, and the photographic portraits created in locations across KwaZulu-Natal in these three examples, motivate the reader to place themselves in President Mandela's shoes, and those of the young people as well, to contemplate their own impression of meaning in the conception of South Africa, and a soil-related metaphor that would convey that to others.

Blessing Xaba

Young person's soil-related metaphor by Blessing Xaba: Those who do not like you may bury you, but they do not know that is a great favour, since you are a seed.
Subject: Ela Gandhi

Story: One Sunday in 1975, Ela Gandhi was in her kitchen at the Phoenix Settlement, Inanda, KwaZulu-Natal. "I was at home making cakes and getting everything prepared for a party that we were having later that day for my son's eighth birthday. His friends and their families would be arriving in a few hours, and I had so much left to do! He was so excited, I was so excited, and then there was a knock at the door, and the excitement changed." A uniformed officer presented her with an order of "banishment", which meant that from that moment until almost nine years later she was not permitted to be in the company of more than two other adults, whether they were family members or not. She was also put under house arrest. All of this for following the peaceful protest footsteps of her grandfather, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, with her cause being his as well, a continued objection to the institution of apartheid. She was not alone in receiving that punishment. She was also not alone in feeling, on the day of her release from that sentence, "When that knock came on the door again, this time a good knock, I felt free, as free as a bird."

Bridget Ngcem

Young person's soil-related metaphor by Bridget Ngcem: In a harsh landscape, just one strong tree can provide shelter from heat and famine for many.
Subject: Nokwe Bain
Story: Mrs Bain holds a managerial position at a Pick n Pay store in Durban, and is the sole source of income, of shelter, for three families, her own immediate household and two others. "When I was growing up, I was taught that the little you have you should share with others. I make it my duty that whatever I have I share with other families." Like so many others in the current economic environment, she lives with the pressure of knowing that her one income is the rock, the stable force in a swirling world of hope and also desperation on which the very lives of others depend. She is also seen as a source of strength in mind and spirit, giving shelter from the storms of life to the unemployed and to elderly pensioners alike, who visit the store not so much to purchase anything but simply to have someone to talk to. "We have a lot of old people, and I feel it is my duty to share my time with them when they are lonesome. I work in retail. I see different types of people every day. Elderly people are alone. In the community where I stay, there are a lot of unemployed people who live on the streets. They come into the store, but I don't ignore them. Life works this way, whatever I get working here, getting in contact with other people, I can give them hope, just by talking to them."

Divani Coopoosamy

Young person's soil-related metaphor by Divani Coopoosamy: When a strong plant is uprooted unexpectedly, even violently, it does not die. It is strengthened, and extends its branches further.
Subject: Poobathy "Cookie" Gurappa Naik
Story: When her parents died, Cookie Naik was eight-years-old. She and her sister were taken by relatives to live with their family on a farm in KwaZulu-Natal. "Poverty is not the word I would use to describe my life at that time, it was more like slavery. We were abused physically, mentally, and spiritually. We were so poor, that even a bar of soap was difficult to come by. I was barely 16 when I was forced to get married, I had no choice in the matter, uprooted again. However, whatever life throws at me I can handle it, there's no problem too big or too small because God has taken me from the gutters and grime to a better place." Today, she is one of South Africa's most successful AVON representatives, an inspiration and empowering figure to other women. She feels most successful when she is able to empower others, to share with them that it is possible to emerge from a desolate past and blossom into an amazing flower. In a country where one's faith is so important to so many, she is passionate about sharing the reason she feels she did not wither and die as a result of her many upheavals in life. "My faith has taken me beyond my imagination. We serve an almighty God, praise be to Jesus, who has brought me from the pit of hell to where I am today. If it were not for the strength I gained from surviving my childhood, I could not today give back to the community, or bless somebody and make them happy, or help others to find their own joy in self-employment."

Peter Glendinning has served on the Michigan State University faculty since 1978, currently at the rank of professor, where he has taught the full gamut of photography coursework. He has taught hundreds of thousands of learners worldwide through the online course series Photography Basics & Beyond, (www.coursera.org/specializations/photography-basics). His fine art photographs have been widely exhibited in the USA and Europe, and his Fulbright Scholar project, *Attached to the Soil,* will be hosted by a number of South African galleries and museums in 2021-22. His works are represented in public collections such as the George Eastman Museum, University of Arizona Center for Creative Photography, Temple University, K-Mart Corp., and hundreds of private collections. Among his professional clients are Warner Brothers, General Motors, Fuji Film USA, United Auto Workers, Genovese Drugs, and Panasonic. He has served as president of the Midwest Region, Society for Photographic Education, and president/vice-president/board member of the International Photo-Imaging Education Association. He is regularly called on to serve on art exhibit juries, and has been a guest lecturer on professional practices in art at colleges in the United States and South Africa. He received the Paul Varg Arts & Letters Alumni Association Award for excellence in teaching. Other awards include Individual Artist Grants from the Michigan Council on the Arts and from Unicolor Corporation; the ADDY Award; Citations of Excellence and numerous Gallery of Superb Printing Awards; the American Society of Media Photographers Best of 2015 Award; and, the Fulbright Scholar Award (service in South Africa 2019).

25. The relationship between the judiciary and media

Chief Justice Pius *Langa*

It is a privilege to be here, and to have this opportunity to discuss with you, the relationship between the media and the judiciary in South Africa today. I have 20 minutes to speak and shall use them to make two points, which I believe are very important for every South African, and indeed for very many Southern Africans.

The first point is this. These two institutions - the judiciary and media - are of inestimable significance for the current and future well-being of this country. In the past 15 years, we have taken bold steps into a new political regime, and we should all rejoice that we have left behind many of the evils of apartheid. But, as we all know, much is left to be done and the future of our country is not certain. The Constitution is aimed at guaranteeing dignity, equality and freedom to every South African but, if we are honest, we must acknowledge that we are still far from achieving that ideal.

> "the media and judiciary exist in an unusual relationship of mutual dependence and symbiosis"

If we wish to continue to travel along that road - the long walk to freedom, as it were - we must ensure that the government, by which term I refer to both the administration and executive, acts in a way that is accountable, open, honest, and efficient, and treats every South African with equal concern and respect. The Constitution requires nothing less. Which is not to lose sight of the very great responsibilities resting on non-governmental and private elements of society in our long walk. But as a starting point, it is important to emphasise the very great need for open and accountable government.

The media and the judiciary are crucial in South Africa today, because they play a central role in keeping our government in check and holding it accountable for the exercise of its mighty power. The independence of the judiciary and freedom of expression are two of the pillars of an open and democratic society. The judiciary bears the responsibility of upholding the rule of law and ensuring that the government respects and promotes our fundamental human rights. The media bears the responsibility to report what has in fact happened and to provide the context within which that information can be thoughtfully evaluated and interpreted by ordinary South Africans. If the media and judiciary fail to fulfil these duties, it is very unlikely that we will keep to our path. The dream of a society of dignity, equality and freedom for all would remain an illusion.

The second point I wish to make is this. These vitally important institutions - the media and judiciary - stand in a relationship characterised by mutual responsibility and while they are at the same time completely independent of one another. Each depends upon the other to function well. Each can justifiably look to the other for support.

Let me, however, hasten to say - this relationship or independence must not and cannot take the place of a critical and honest appraisal of the work of each one. The courts do not want a media that is uncritical and that is over-respectful. That is because we have a judiciary of men and women, all imperfect creatures, trying very hard to deliver justice to an imperfect world, using imperfect implements. Likewise the media; you are fallible human beings, make mistakes, sometimes horrible ones, since you use imperfect sources and other tools.

Let me, however, consider this relationship from both points of view. First, what responsibilities does the judiciary have in respect of the media? Well, it is the job of judges to protect the freedom of expression of the media. Free speech is essential to enable members of the public to receive and impart information, and to enable us all to monitor the exercise of governmental and private power. All of that, in turn, is essential to ensure democracy. The media is important and deserves protection, because it acts as the eyes and ears of society; because it constitutes the market-place of ideas where we communicate with one another and engage in public discourse; and because it serves as a public watchdog that ferrets out corruption and reveals dishonest or inept administration and abuses of power. For all these reasons, the courts should jealously protect the media's exercise of their freedom of expression.

However, this freedom is not totally unfettered and unrestricted; it has its justifiable limits and is accompanied with responsibilities, including the duty to respect the reputation and dignity of all South Africans. So too, the judiciary has to decide whether and when the media has breached the limits of acceptable freedom of expression. In this way, the judiciary both supports the media, and disciplines it by keeping it within acceptable bounds.

Exactly what are the acceptable bounds of freedom of expression? That is a very difficult question, whether considered in the abstract or in a specific case, and reasonable people may disagree about any particular answer. Nevertheless, it falls to the courts to provide an answer. Judges - who are human - are obligated to decide, for example, whether and when expression harming someone's reputation or inciting violence or infringing privacy might nevertheless be justified in the public interest. It is up to the judiciary to draw the boundaries of defamation, hate speech, fair comment, and privilege. It is undeniable that these boundaries are controversial and contested; but it is also undeniable that they must be drawn, for the good of society as a whole.

This simultaneous controversy and necessity of judicially-drawn limits to media freedom is perhaps an apt point at which to turn to consider the opposite side to the relationship under discussion. In what way does the judiciary depend on the media? What duties do the media owe to the judiciary?

I have already mentioned the media's general responsibilities to provide accurate information, and to provide the context within which that information can be interpreted and evaluated thoughtfully by the public. That responsibility is all the more important when it comes to reporting the decisions of the courts, which itself has two aspects. The first aspect is that the media should report courts' decisions accurately. The second aspect is that the media should provide the forum for criticism and debate about what the courts should decide.

Robin Sewlal with Chief Justice Pius Langa

Let me dwell on those two aspects a little further, starting with the second. Because the courts have to decide so many controversial questions, including those relating to the boundaries of legitimate freedom of expression, it is imperative that their decisions be subject to public scrutiny. There is a powerful need for constructive dialogue and criticism about the substance of the judiciary's decision-making. Only if we engage in dialogue about the difficult problems that our society faces are we likely to reach shared understandings acceptable to many. I cannot stress enough the importance of vigorous and informed debate about what the limits and requirements of our newly established freedom and equality should be. The media must provide the forum for that debate, and should engage in the exchange of ideas.

Returning now to the first aspect of the media's responsibility to courts, I must emphasise that it is extremely important for the media to provide a balanced and fair account of what has taken place in court and what courts say. There is significant danger in selective, inaccurate or misleading reporting of judicial work. My view is that good journalists do not consider only what will sell their newspapers; they place far greater weight on whether a story is fair, balanced and sensitive in the broader context.

Misreporting can be harmful in a number of ways. It will undermine the public's understanding of the work and role of the judiciary. Where reporting is misleading in a negative or critical way, public confidence in the integrity and competence of judges is unjustifiably weakened. Unfair or intemperate attacks on judges undermine their independence and weaken respect for law. Misreporting will of course also prevent a proper understanding of the reasons courts advance for their decisions, which in turn will undermine the public dialogue and debate concerning the substance of those decisions. Finally, and perhaps most simply, inaccurate reporting can be unfair or harmful to ordinary people.

One example will suffice, taken from a recent criminal case concerning the shooting of a farm worker by a farmer. I shall say nothing more about this matter other than this. It was reported in the media that the farmer's defence was that, when he fired his gun, he had mistaken the deceased for a baboon. That, however, was not true. Instead, his defence was that he fired a gun into the bush in an attempt to scare off baboons. This distinction, while perhaps subtle, is important and should have been reported accurately.

I freely admit that good legal journalism is difficult. The law is complex and not infrequently esoteric, and legal journalists must be able to distil what is important about a case and to deliver it in an understandable way. But these difficulties can be no excuse. I assure you that judging, too, is difficult. We should not ask for sympathy. We should rather make sure we do our jobs as best we can. We should use available resources properly, in upgrading our standards of competence.

Let me sum up the two points I have made. The first was simply to emphasise how vital both the media and the judiciary are in South Africa today. I believe that the future well-being and prosperity of our country depends to a large extent on how well these two institutions fulfil their responsibilities. The second point was that the media and judiciary exist in an unusual relationship of mutual dependence and symbiosis. It is largely up to the courts to protect and promote media freedom, while the media are in a position to enhance public understanding of the courts and to engage in dialogue about the controversies judges must settle. Finally, let me make this obvious point. The right to freedom of expression and of the media is not really designed for the benefit of the media. It is for the people of South Africa. I would like to conclude my address by emphasising this final

point. I really do hope that journalists and editors such as yourselves are aware just how much the judiciary depends on fair and balanced reporting by the media. Justice, after all, must both be done and be seen to be done.
Thank you.

This address was delivered by Chief Justice Pius Langa on 20 April 2008 at the invitation of DUT Journalism and the South African National Editors' Forum, KwaZulu-Natal. It was held at the Hotel School, Durban University of Technology. The audience comprised members of the legal profession, media, captains of industry, university management, staff and students.

25 March 1939 - 24 July 2013

Pius Nkonzo Langa was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme (now High) Court of South Africa in 1977. He participated in many significant political trials, and was a founding member of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL) ascending to its presidency in 1988. With the establishment of the Constitutional Court in 1994, Justice Langa was appointed as one of its first judges. He became deputy chief justice in 2001 and was installed as chief justice by President Thabo Mbeki in 2005, a position that he occupied until his retirement in 2009. Chief Justice Langa was bestowed with honorary doctorate of law degrees by several universities, and in 2008, he was awarded the Order of the Baobab in Gold for "his exceptional service in law, constitutional jurisprudence and human rights".

26. Media's coverage of the elections

Ronesh *Dhawraj*

South Africans celebrated 25 years of democracy on 27 April 2019. There is no doubt that elections are a vibrant time in a country's political development. Although forming only one aspect of the democratic project, elections and campaigning force politicians vying for office to demonstrate to citizens whether they are attuned or not to some of the most pressing issues facing society. Politicians also need an avenue to articulate these issues for citizens to remain informed and have the necessary information needed to make sound vote choices. Without such information, citizens will struggle to distinguish among the different available political options. This responsibility becomes even more pronounced during national, provincial and local government elections. Since the ushering in of democracy in 1994, the country has witnessed six general (national and provincial) elections and five local government elections.

"elections are a vibrant time in a country's political development"

As a constitutional chapter nine body, South Africa's Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is tasked with a number of responsibilities when it comes to organising and managing complex elections. Perhaps the most important test for any electoral body, at the end of an electoral cycle, is the declaration that says the poll was 'free, fair and credible'. Of the 19 functions the IEC is expected to fulfil, seven relate directly to the dissemination of information, promotion of knowledge and communication, and liaising with different stakeholders. Integral to this mammoth task is the IEC's ability to promote the right conditions for credible elections to take place, maintain an updated national voter's roll, and ensure sufficient stakeholder engagement and voter education happens before, during and after an election (South African National Editors' Forum, 2019). While it is true that the IEC is charged with lubricating this information-sharing process, it is the 'fourth estate' – the media - that serves as the main repository, facilitator and conduit of these electoral voter information and voter education drives.

By implication, the media serves as an integral link between political party, politician and ordinary voters; and thus can be hugely influential in the shaping of perceptions and final voter decision-making (Duncan, 2014). In this respect, the media has four key nation-building roles to play in a democracy, namely the provision of accurate information, provision of fair and balanced analysis, facilitating a forum for open debate and discussion, and performing a 'watchdog' posture to ensure all players play fairly according to established electoral laws and regulations (South African National Editors' Forum, 2019). Here's a snapshot of the media's many responsibilities when covering electoral cycles:

Table 1: Roles and responsibilities of the media during elections

Disseminate accurate information	Registration information, the voting process, how elections work, the code of conduct, counting, results, seat allocations, objections, appeals, roles and responsibilities of the IEC and Electoral Court, information on the different political parties, their candidates and election manifestos; and information on election monitors and observers
Analysis and debate	Deeper analysis of each party's manifesto and promises, past performance of governing political parties, facilitating debate and discussion of competing viewpoints; and providing a platform for minority voices
Watchdog role	Scrutinising political party promises, ensuring political contenders are playing within relevant legislations and rules; and factually reporting on any electoral breaches

Source: Sanef: National and provincial elections 2019

At the time of the country's first all-race vote in 1994, South Africa's media landscape had limited print and broadcast choices. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), as an example, remained a dominant broadcast player with multiple television and radio channels that enjoyed maximum penetration levels in terms of language narrowcasting. This broadcast monopoly only began changing in 1995/96 with the opening-up of the airwaves, and the establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority – the precursor to the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa). Part of Icasa's responsibility is to issue licences and allocate spectrum to aspirant broadcasters. The organisation has since approved and distributed hundreds of licences to national, provincial and community broadcasters in a bid to diversify the South African radio and television media space even more (Lebone, 2017). This presence of hundreds of other media players meant that citizens were spoilt for choice when it came to multiple sources of election-related information. Additionally, this information could be received in languages other than English, considered a huge advantage especially when attempting to access fragmented

audiences outside the bigger cities and towns.

The SABC, though, remained a dominant disseminator of electoral information with its massive media footprint in terms of geography and language reach. SABC radio, for example, was still the primary news source for South Africans to access first-hand election information in their mother tongue. Today, SABC radio – language-based stations included – commands an overwhelming audience share despite relentless competition from community and commercial private players (South African Broadcasting Corporation, 2019). This is perhaps the reason the SABC is indeed heavily courted around election season. Politicians are fully cognisant that radio has a greater chance of delivering their message to the right target audience. Another reason for radio's importance during elections in South Africa was the fact that television advertising was not permitted between 1994 to 2009 (Mail & Guardian, 2009). Politicians and political parties relied mostly on radio and print political advertising (Duncan, 2009 and 2014).

Plenty has changed since the landmark court ruling permitting television political advertising for the 2009 general elections. While South Africa has been slow on adopting a digital-styled campaigning trajectory, the country's two dominant political players, namely the African National Congress (ANC) and Democratic Alliance (DA) did experiment with this, albeit cautiously, as early as 2009. Dhawraj (2013), for example, showed how current DA Federal Chairperson, Helen Zille used Facebook extensively to cement her brand and that of her party in the 2009 provincial and national elections. Her Facebook page – Dhawraj (2013) argued – was even more popular than the DA's own page in terms of comments, followers and 'likes'. Social media only began to seriously penetrate South African election cycles from 2014 onward. By this time, other political players apart from the ANC and DA, began harnessing the wide-reaching powers of social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram to tap into additional pockets of potential voting constituencies. Today, Twitter is viewed as an all-important political communication medium by a multitude of South African politicians, including Zille, and the Economic Freedom Fighters' (EFF) Julius Malema. Zille, for example, has 1.4 million Twitter followers, while Malema boasts approximately 2.7 million followers (Dhawraj, 2019).

Aside from being a blessing to politicians, one of the biggest advantages of social media is how it has simplified the work of media houses and deadline-chasing journalists. With political leaders criss-crossing the length and breadth of the country interacting with local communities, media editors are constantly confronted with bold editorial decisions on what to cover, who to cover and why him or her over another politician. Resources, such as recording equipment, travel to the destination, and human resource capacity are key determinants in the editorial decision-making process too as media houses cannot be expected to be everywhere. Thankfully, with the onset of social media avenues such as Twitter and Facebook on which most media institutions have a presence, the issue of resources is easily addressed by the media often taking live feeds and/or following that political party's own posts. Such material is then thrust into the public sphere for all and sundry to use, including sound files, video footage and still imagery. Often, key quotes from politicians are lifted straight from their social media accounts for reproducing on media reports.

This option is not without its fair share of challenges. Easy access to news and live feeds from political parties also means that ordinary citizens are empowered to be publishers themselves – without the necessary gatekeeping to verify such information first. Internet-enabled phone access adds to this dilemma too, sometimes leading to the instantaneous spread of so-called 'fake news'. This variation of social media journalism around election campaigns also means that media reports are often communicated without the relevant understanding of legislation or the applicable rules and regulations around elections (Duncan, 2014 and 2019). Furthermore, the lack of institutional memory has a knock-on effect when it comes to the absence of providing context, and a deeper understanding when tackling more complex issues at play. Journalism, as a result, becomes superficial with 'citizen journalists' rushing to 'break' the story first in a quest to get more retweets, likes, followers, and online praise.

As part of its broadcast regulatory functions, Icasa is charged with ensuring the electoral playing field is fair as possible in the lead-up to, during and after any major election. During the 2016 local government elections, for example, the body again had to monitor the electoral landscape for possible breaches by broadcasters. Part of its duties was to monitor election compliance of 104 different radio and television broadcasters, comprising national, free-to-air, and community stations. For Icasa, this number was "significantly representative" of overall licensee coverage (Independent Communications Authority of South Africa, 2016). Icasa, additionally, observed which issues penetrated the electronic media space during the whole election phase (pre and post the 2016 Local Government Election (LGE). Notable issues and/or themes which surfaced included service delivery, government wastage, the economy, Nkandla and ANC corruption, by-elections, the Public Protector, state capture allegations, local government matters such as nepotism, lack of accountability, and inaccessibility of local officials, the #feesmustfall campaign, education, the EFF's political gestures, a stronger opposition, and conversations around the country's vulnerable metros (Independent Communications Authority of

South Africa, 2016).

Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) is another body which regularly tracks media developments around elections. Unlike Icasa's 2016 LGE report - which focused solely on broadcast media - MMA tracked a wide cross-section of media outlets, including traditional and non-traditional platforms in that poll. Print media platforms, totalling 51, were observed, all of which were naturally absent from Icasa's report of electronic radio and television broadcasters.

The MMA report also confirmed the ANC and DA's persistent dominance of the South African media environment in the 2016 elections. While the ANC received the most attention across the media spectrum (50.5%), the DA was second (19%). Combined, the parties took up 69.5% of all election-related news between 1 June and 31 July 2016. Furthermore, this hegemonic command of this electoral media space meant that ANC and DA politicians continued to set the agenda instead of ordinary voters and other political parties.

South Africa will continue to be a fascinating country to observe when it comes to electoral voting behaviours. Despite not being an ideal research subject for the study of voter media effects because of persistent race-based voting, compared to issue-based vote choices (Ferree, 2011; Duncan, 2014), the country nonetheless provides a unique lens through which the concepts of race, identity and the so-called liberation narrative can still be examined.

Three defining moments have characterised the role of the media and how its role has changed when it comes to election coverage. These are the liberalisation of the airwaves in the mid-1990s, the introduction of television advertising in 2009, and the adoption of simultaneous digital political communication strategies for election campaigning since the 2009 general elections. While South Africa is far from fully and energetically embracing digital election campaigning like other modern democracies, its use in past electoral cycles has demonstrated that social media election campaigning will continue to be an important aspect of the media bouquet of politicians and political parties. With mobile telephony added to the picture, voters will continue to be accessed via their hand-held mobile phones giving politicians first-hand access to potential voters at any time of the day 24-7. This becomes especially true and significant considering that South Africans are poised to go to the ballot box in the 2021 local government elections and 2024 national and provincial elections. Media outlets, from both traditional and non-traditional platforms, will begin to assert their hold even more on the way voters receive electoral information, and, concomitantly, act on those primed voting cues.

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27. Does print media have a future?

Ryland *Fisher*

I asked my 20-something daughter whether she thought print media, especially newspapers, will continue to exist, and she immediately said "no". Her reason is that young people have other ways of finding news nowadays. Recent newspaper circulation figures appear to bear out this belief. In December 2001, the circulation of the Sunday Times, South Africa's biggest weekly newspaper, was 503 000. [1] Its circulation has dropped by more than 50 per cent to just over 240 000. [2]

Other newspapers have shown similar spectacular declines: The Star, once the biggest daily newspaper in Gauteng, was selling 163 963 copies in 2001. It has fallen, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulation, to 71 692, the Business Day from 33 388 to 18 377 as well as The Cape Times, which I edited until the end of 1999, from 48 748 to 29 530.

Not one publication has seen an increase in circulation in recent years. Even the Daily Sun, South Africa's largest daily newspaper which was founded by the brilliant newspaperman, Deon du Plessis in the early 2000s and caused a disruption in what was already a congested market, has seen its circulation declining gradually, and sometimes rapidly, over the past few years. It's on 105 131, [3] after having reached highs of more than 300 000 in earlier years. What is also significant is that the Daily Sun's readership has always been significantly higher than most other publications: at one point each copy had about 20 readers. [4] This high readership proved that literacy was not a problem as far as potential newspaper readership goes. Relevance and usefulness of the media were probably bigger factors.

"it is not the medium but the quality of the journalism that is important"

If this decline in newspaper circulation continues, it is likely that the prediction by the doomsayers – that the end of print media is nigh – will probably be realised in a few years' time, if that long.

I have spent most of my career in print media, mainly newspapers. I am one of those with ink in my blood, as they say in the industry. I have worked at and with many newspapers, and have seen a few close over the course of my career. The first newspaper I worked at, the Cape Herald, targeted the "coloured" community of Cape Town. It was owned by the then Argus Company, but it was a paper that understood its constituency and, during the time I worked there, I did not forsee that it would ever close. The Cape Herald closed in the early 1990s, when the trend was to close newspapers that served defined ethnic communities. In some ways, the Cape Herald became a victim of the non-racial society we were supposedly all trying to achieve.

When I was working for the Sunday Times, where I had first been tasked with transforming an Extra edition aimed at the "coloured" community into a non-racial Metro publication, I succeeded. I later was moved to Durban, where my editor asked me to do the same: transform the "Indian" Extra into a non-racial Metro publication. I failed hopelessly.

After the Cape Herald, I worked at a series of alternative, anti-apartheid community newspapers. They included Grassroots, South, and New Nation, all of which have since closed. But the reason for them closing was different to the commercial, mainstream newspapers. Most of these newspapers depended on funding from overseas organisations and countries which were sympathetic to the struggle against apartheid. When we became a democracy, many of these overseas funders no longer saw the need to support anti-apartheid organisations, and decided that they wanted to support the African National Congress government directly. This led to the demise of many non-governmental organisations, including community media throughout the country. The only alternative newspaper of that generation that still exists, but is also going through tough times, is the Mail & Guardian, which used to be known as the Weekly Mail. Another, Vrye Weekblad, was recently relaunched as an online publication.

As part of trying to redress the wrongs of the past, the relatively new government set up the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) - which was co-funded by the media conglomerates – as a way of funding community media. Community media at the time consisted mainly of newspapers, but there were also quite a few radio stations and even one or two television projects, such as Cape Town TV and Soweto TV. Most of the projects funded by the MDDA have been struggling, and some have closed because they were not able to attract advertising, which is the lifeblood of any media entity. None of the newspaper projects funded or started by the MDDA, I am afraid to say, achieved any remote success over the past 25 years of democracy. Most of them have been struggling, and hoping that government advertising would come to their salvation, but it has not.

The Association of Independent Publishers represents grassroots community newspapers (both online and print) throughout South Africa, but many of them have not been started with MDDA support. "There are over 200 AIP members who publish more than seven million copies per month (reaching close to 28 million readers). Over 70% of our publishers are black, and

our publications service the most rural parts of the country," says executive director Carol Mohlala. "AIP member publications are distinct from mainstream media owned by large media groups like Media 24, Independent Media, Caxton Group and Tiso Blackstar. Members publish primarily in rural areas and disadvantaged communities, in a diverse range of languages and service a diverse range of interests. 85 members publish in a combination of English, Afrikaans and a local language. 78% of publications are black-owned with 28% owned by women. Our geographical communities range from rural Cofimvaba to the urban people of Bonteheuwel, Heideveld and the Cape Flats, from Makhado to Gansbaai, Mangaung to Jozini and many more in between."

A worrying trend with community newspapers today is that they are still too dependent on government, and always look to it to come up with solutions to their problems. They fail to understand that, in order for newspapers to attract advertising support, it needs a decent circulation, and this will only come about if they provide their readers with relevant and engaging content. Too many newspapers, community or mainstream, seemed to have forgotten their mandate to "inform, educate and entertain".

There is another group of community newspapers in South Africa which would not qualify to belong to the AIP because they are owned by one of the big media houses, Caxton, which also has printing presses throughout the country. According to their website, Caxton owns about 120 community newspapers, some of it in partnership with local owners, but most of them directly. [5] Caxton, which was started by entrepreneurs Terry Moolman and Noel Coburn in 1980, also owns The Citizen newspaper and several magazines, and is one of the four big companies that have dominated the South African media landscape, and especially the newspaper industry, since the days of apartheid. The other companies are Independent Media, which used to be known as the Argus Company for most of its life (its first title, the Cape Argus, was founded in 1857), Media 24 (which was started as Naspers in 1915), and what is now known as Arena Holdings, but has gone through a succession of names over the past few decades, including South African Association Newspapers, Times Media Limited and Tiso Blackstar. Caxton's only major daily newspaper, The Citizen, was started as part of a secret propaganda project of the National Party government in the mid-1970s. It was later exposed as part of the Information Scandal which led to the resignation of several ministers. [6] The first "owner" of The Citizen, which he bought with government money, was Dr Louis Luyt. He later became the president of the South African Rugby Union, and who controversially summoned President Nelson Mandela to give evidence in a court case that he brought against the former statesman. Mandela attended court thereby demonstrating that he was not above the law,

Media24 was until recently the South African wing of Naspers, which has now grown into an international company. Naspers describes itself as "a global internet group and one of the largest technology investors in the world". [7] Naspers was reportedly founded in 1915, under the name De Nasionale Pers Beperkt, as a publisher and printer of newspapers and magazines. The company was set up to support Afrikaner nationalism, and immediately launched its first newspaper, Die Burger, followed by its first magazine, Huisgenoot, the following year.

Independent Media is still South Africa's biggest mainstream newspaper company, owning nine daily newspapers and 10 weekend titles. They also own 11 community newspapers, all serving local areas in the Cape Town metro. The company now describes itself as "one of South Africa's leading multi-platform content companies". [8] The company owns The Star, Pretoria News, Daily News, The Mercury, Cape Times, Cape Argus, Sunday Independent and Sunday Tribune, among others. It further owns the Zulu-language I'solezwe and the Xhosa version, I'solezwe lesiXhosa. The company has ownership of GQ men's magazine. Independent's forerunner, the Argus Company, was owned by Anglo American for decades until they sold the company in 1994 to an Irish company headed by billionaire Sir Anthony O'Reilly. It sold the company to a South African consortium, led by Dr Iqbal Surve's Sekunjalo Group, in 2013.

Arena Holdings is the new name given to the company previously known as Tiso Blackstar after it was bought by Lebashe Investment Group, led by entrepreneur Tshepo Mahloele. [9] Arena owns the crown jewel of newspapers in South Africa, the Sunday Times, along with other titles, such as the Sowetan, Daily Dispatch and Eastern Province Herald. It also owns business publications, Business Day and the Financial Mail. [10]

Most media companies now have websites and dabble in social media, but some are more serious than others. Media24 leads the way with everyone else trying to catch up. But this is a more contested market than newspapers, and South Africa's big media companies, with their long histories, now have to contend with a host of smaller local competitors along with major international competitors like Google and Facebook.

As someone who has been in the industry for almost 40 years, I have become accustomed to having to survive in changing environments. When I started out, we were still using manual typewriters, and had to type each story in triplicate. Nowadays, I sometimes type my weekly columns on my mobile phone. I have always been driven by a belief that what is important is not the medium, but the quality of the journalism. Despite the flood of information that is available on the internet and on social media, people will always be prepared to pay for good journalism, despite the platform it is on. Journalism, that people find

relevant, useful and informative, will always be able to find a home. As convener of the Vodacom Journalist of the Year competition, arguably South Africa's most prestigious journalism awards, I led the process a few years ago to grant awards based on content and not on platforms, which had been the case for almost two decades. The decision has been proven to be correct, because we have discovered news outlets that we did not know exist – and they produce excellent journalism.

So, to the question of whether newspapers or print media will exist for much longer, the answer is probably no. But what is more important is that good journalism should continue to exist, with or without newspapers and other print media forms.

Footnotes

1. Making the Media Work for You – Ryland Fisher (Ryland Fisher Communications, 2002)
2. 'Newspaper circulation: Look to your niche' Financial Mail Ad Focus, 22 August 2019 https://www.businesslive.co.za/redzone/news-insights/2019-08-22-newspaper-circulation-look-to-your-niche/
3. Media24 website https://www.media24.com/newspapers/daily-sun/
4. The Media magazine https://themediaonline.co.za/2014/10/a-day-in-the-life-of-the-daily-sun/
5. Caxton website https://caxton.co.za/about/
6. South African History Online website https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/information-scandal
7. From Naspers' website https://www.naspers.com/about
8. Independent Media website https://www.independentmedia.co.za/our-company/about-us/
9. Sowetan, Timeslive https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-11-06-its-official-arena-holdings-is-the-new-owner-of-sunday-times-business-day-sowetan/
10. From Arena Holdings website https://arena.africa/brands/

Ryland Fisher has almost 40 years of experience in the media industry as an editor, journalist, columnist, author, senior manager and executive. He is a former newspaper editor and works with several media companies in South Africa and abroad. Ryland was a guest speaker at the journalism Student Achievement Awards ceremony at the ML Sultan Technikon. He is the author of *Race* (published 2007), a book dealing with race and racism in post-apartheid South Africa. His first book, *Making the Media Work for You* (2002), provided insights into the media industry. More recently, Ryland wrote a book about the history of the Atlantic Philanthropies in South Africa, and his fourth book, about *The South Africa We Want To Live In*, will be published in 2020. He writes a weekly column for the Weekend Argus, called *Thinking Allowed,* dealing mainly with socio-political issues, and occasional articles for other publications in South Africa and abroad.

28. Madiba and the media

Sello *Hatang*

Jonathan Shapiro (aka Zapiro) tells a story about Nelson Mandela (Shapiro, 2009: 123) which provides a powerful insight into Madiba's view of the media's role in a democracy. It is 1998, and Shapiro is sitting in his studio in Cape Town when the phone rings. It is Madiba, calling to talk about the work of Zapiro. At first, Shapiro thinks it's a friend pranking him, but quickly realises that it is indeed Madiba. In the course of the conversation, he apologises for some of his recent cartoons which have been critical of both Madiba and the African National Congress (ANC)-led government. "Oh, but that is your job," Madiba responds. In 2009, when the book in which this anecdote appeared was first published, I had just joined the Nelson Mandela Foundation (NMF) as head of communications and spokesperson. I soon got to know Shapiro. and heard a slightly expanded version of the anecdote in casual conversation with him. But the substance of it is clear and, for me, very powerful.

"Madiba seduced the world's media with his relaxed demeanour, sparkling sense of humour and understanding of complex issues"

Madiba believed passionately in media freedom. For him, it was one of the fundamental building blocks for democracy. It is no accident that when he began drafting what he intended to be a sequel to *Long Walk to Freedom* in 1998, he dedicated a full section of the text to a reflection on the media. But, for me, perhaps his most compelling enunciation of the principle occurred in 1994, when he spoke at the congress of the International Press Institute. And I want to quote him at length here:

"It is only such a free press that can temper the appetite of any government to amass power at the expense of the citizen. It is only such a free press that can be the vigilant watchdog of the public interest against the temptation on the part of those who wield it to abuse that power. It is only such a free press that can have the capacity to relentlessly expose excesses and corruption on the part of government, state officials and other institutions that hold power in society. The African National Congress has nothing to fear from criticism. I can promise you, we will not wilt under close scrutiny. It is our considered view that such criticism can only help us to grow, by calling attention to those of our actions and omissions which do not measure up to our people's expectations and the democratic values to which we subscribe." (Langa, 2017: 261)

It was this combination of passion, principle and sensibility which ensured that South Africa's Constitution would have one of the world's most robust protections of this freedom.

But to return to the Zapiro anecdote. It also speaks to how Madiba related to journalists and other media practitioners. Even as a younger leader within the ANC, he cultivated working relationships with journalists. He learnt their names, their writing styles, their areas of speciality. This had to do with respect, but also with a certain pragmatism. As a politician's politician, he knew that working relationships were mutually beneficial and of fundamental importance in the hurly-burly of public deliberation. In later years, young journalists would be astonished when in press conferences Madiba would point them out during question time and invite them by name to participate. For him, it was standard practice that when he had an issue with a particular journalist, when he felt that he was being subjected to undue criticism, he would reach out to the journalist concerned. Thami Mazwai, for instance, has spoken about those breakfasts with Madiba at which difficult matters would be resolved. (Langa, 2017: 262) And, like Lady Diana Spencer, he knew how to play the media. He was a consummate artist at this immemorial game. In the 1950s, he drew them into terms of engagement determined by himself as the debonair 'man about town' human rights lawyer. While underground, he fed individual journalists pieces of information which fuelled the image of him as the heroic Black Pimpernel. From prison. he ensured that crucial nuggets of information about himself and the other political prisoners would reach the media. So, for instance, a hunger strike by them for better conditions would have little leverage with the authorities unless journalists outside were ensuring that the matter was being debated publicly.

Madiba started reading newspapers as a daily discipline during his political and professional apprenticeship in the 1940s. During the long early years in prison when he and his comrades were denied access to them, securing contraband papers, even clippings of individual articles, or transcripts written by a prisoner who had had sight of a paper, became a top priority. After his release from prison, even in the most cluttered days of the negotiation period, every day would begin with a reading of the morning papers. This discipline was maintained through his presidency and until he was a very old man. Getting newspapers from the NMF, I recall, to Madiba became almost an organisational function of its own. When he was in town, it was a simple,

routine task. But when he was travelling, it was another story. When I was overseeing the process, we made arrangements with South African Airways to ensure that if Madiba was in Qunu, Cape Town or Maputo, he would always receive his papers before lunchtime. When he was overseas, our task was to comb papers of his choice first thing every morning, copy all the articles which met an agreed-on set of criteria, and then fax them through to his personal assistant, in time for him to read them over breakfast.

Madiba was an obsessive reader, generally. And he always read with a pen in hand, taking notes, making conceptual connections, recording reminders to himself, and so on. For him, it was about staying on top of the news, certainly, but at a deeper level, it was about developing his knowledge, and learning about the world around him. More specifically, reading media products was about securing insight into how he and his organisation were being perceived. Looking back at the 1950s, he reflected:

"Although … newspapers are only a poor shadow of reality, their information is important to a freedom fighter not because it reveals the truth, but because it discloses the biases and perceptions of both those who produce the paper and those who read it." (Langa, 2017: 259) As in every area of his life, the elegant blend of principle and pragmatism once again shone through.

To that blend, he could also bring charm, steel and, what I would call, poetry when doing interviews or speaking at press conferences. So many leaders resent difficult questions, and either become defensive or dismissive. Madiba was old-school, tough, but respectful, always insistent on protecting everyone's dignity. There are many emblematic moments one could choose from to demonstrate these attributes. Let me choose five:

- His 1961 interview with Brian Widlake, while he was underground, captured perfectly the drama and the ambience required to communicate his role as the Black Pimpernel;
- The press conference at Archbishop Desmond Tutu's house the day after his release from prison was a display of remarkable mastery. Journalists who were present tell me that they didn't expect a great performance by Madiba. He had been out of the public domain for nearly three decades. It was, effectively, his first ever large-scale media event as a leader, and the previous day at Cape Town City Hall he hadn't exactly ignited the world with his oratory. But on this day, he seduced the world's media with his relaxed demeanour, sparkling sense of humour and understanding of complex issues;
- Who can forget the live interview he gave to Ted Koppel soon after his release from prison? Seasoned professional that he was, and on his home turf, as it were, Koppel sought to put Madiba in his place over issues like the ANC's relationships with Cuba, Libya and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. Madiba responded like someone who had been in the media spotlight for the last three decades rather than in apartheid prisons. With the greatest delicacy and precision, focusing always on the issues at hand, he destroyed Koppel while affording him a modicum of dignity;
- The press conference at which he informed the world that he and Mama Winnie would be separating. There was the formal, very wooden reading of a statement. And then, when it seemed to be over, the return to the microphone, and the pained, heartfelt expression of this moment being the most difficult of his life. Moving beyond words, but still masterful;
- The moment in 2004 when he invited the world's media to the NMF and told them that he now intended to step away from public life and wanted to be left alone. It was time to "retire from retirement". The long, dramatic, pause before the "don't call me, I'll call you" punchline. Madiba knew how to perform. And his awareness of what the media expected from a performance was unerring.

Things were not always rosy though. Madiba's analysis of South Africa's media was sometimes less than complimentary. While president of the country, he began to push harder on the question of transformation. He critiqued the extent to which media ownership remained in white hands, and indicated disquiet with a growing monopolisation of control in the sector. He also pressed for greater representivity in newsrooms, editorial forums and boards of directors. At the same time, it wasn't long into his presidency when journalists began to complain about the ANC's tardiness in driving state and economic transformation. There was discussion about too many unnecessary compromises being made by Madiba. And in certain quarters, there was outrage at the 1996 replacement of the Reconstruction and Development Programme by the Growth, Economic and Redistribution strategy. For some, this was a selling out of the great majority of poor black South Africans.

Madiba bristled at the criticism, especially from black journalists, from whom he expected more understanding and generosity. He lashed out. He questioned their motives and their independence. He suggested that they were being the lackeys of white owners and editors. So harsh was he that, in 1996, the just-established South African National Editors' Forum passed a resolution defending black journalists against Madiba's critique. It wasn't long before Madiba reached out to the black journalists in his normal vein. He met with them behind closed doors, and thrashed things out.

As Madiba was quick to point out during the years I worked for him, he was no "saint". And he made mistakes. The critical thing for anyone, especially a leader, was to take responsibility for a mistake, and then rectify it. Unlike so many leaders in the world today, Madiba had learnt to perfect the art. (In a new book with my colleague Verne Harris, we have a section devoted to this aspect of Madiba's leadership, Hatang and Harris, 2020: 39-43.) As a young man, by his own admission, he had "relied on arrogance in order to hide my weaknesses." (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2010: 409) He had found it difficult to deal with criticism, including by the media. But by the 1990s, he had learnt to engage with criticism and to acknowledge weakness. Another example from that period is when he, out of the blue during the 1994 election campaign, called for the voting age to be reduced to 14. The media came down hard on him. The foundation has in its custody one of his 1994 notebooks in which he records the critique, notes the disapproval within the rest of the ANC leadership, and acknowledges a grave error of judgment. It didn't take him long to correct things publicly.

In the last years of Madiba's life, the daily discipline of reading newspapers brought him a lot of pain. It was not easy to watch him with his morning papers, his brow furrowed as he absorbed accounts of the latest round of infighting within his organisation or another revelation of state capture. In 2011, it was hard for him to read about the brutal end to the life of President Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, the longstanding ally of the ANC and who Madiba had got to know well. He wouldn't ever say much. But the hurt was evident. Even Zapiro's cartoons would seldom draw a smile from him.

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Sello Hatang is chief executive of the Nelson Mandela Foundation. Previously, he was the head of information communications, and spokesperson for the South African Human Rights Commission. Sello participated in the post-apartheid transformation of the National Archives of South Africa, including providing archival support for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. He is a former director of the South African History Archive (SAHA), has served on the boards of the Advisory Council of the Council for the Advancement of the South African Constitution, SAHA, and the Open Democracy Advice Centre, and is the current chair of the Board of Trustees for Women 4 Girls South Africa. Sello co-authored *I Know This to Be True About Nelson Mandela* and co-edited *Nelson Mandela by Himself: The Authorised Book of Quotations.* He, a Tutu Fellow, was awarded an honorary diploma by the city of Buenos Aires, Argentina in 2017 in recognition of his leadership. In 2019, Sello was given the Keys to the City of Florence, Italy for his work in human rights and promoting the legacy of Nelson Mandela, and received the Journalists and Writers Foundation Culture of Peace Award. He was the guest speaker at the 10th annual Mahatma Gandhi Media Lecture in 2018 at the Durban University of Technology.

29. Snapshot of the SABC

Selwyn *Bartlett*

The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was established by the government in 1936 with radio services offered first in English and Afrikaans, and, later, in the various African languages. During the National Party rule from 1948, it came under increasing accusations of being biased towards the ruling party. At one time, most of its senior management were members of the Broederbond (the Afrikaner secret society), and from institutions like Stellenbosch University. The SABC was a radio service until the introduction of television in 1976.

Since the first democratic government was elected into power in 1994, the SABC has been through various board and senior management changes resulting in numerous trajectory patterns, both negative and positive, for media diversity in the country. The rise of democracy in South Africa had a significant shift on the broadcasting laws of the country. The Independent Broadcasting Authority Act was designed to make provision for the licensing of community and commercial broadcasters as well as for the transformation of the SABC from a state to a public broadcaster. During this transformation process, the SABC appointed its first black group chief executive, experienced journalist and business executive, Zwelakhe Sisulu. He was the third of five children of liberation struggle icons of South Africa, Walter and Albertina Sisulu. Anti-apartheid activist and teacher, Govin Reddy became chief executive of radio, and, subsequently, deputy group chief executive. Molefe Mokgatle was appointed chief executive of television, and labour reporter Snuki Zikalala was appointed head of news at the SABC.

A bouquet of pay-television became a reality in 1995 in South Africa when DStv was launched. This meant competition for SABC-TV. Fiercer competition was on the horizon when free-to-air channel eTV offered viewers more choice in 1998. DStv capitalised on the need to better serve the Afrikaans market by introducing the KykNet channel in 1999. On 4 February 1996, the SABC relaunched the TV1, CCV-TV and NNTV channels effectively becoming SABC 1, SABC 2 and SABC 3. The black population from the low to middle income group was the target audience for SABC 1 and SABC 2. Television programming on SABC-TV channels during this era had brilliant content featuring, among others, the successful drama *Shaka Zulu*, based on the story of the life of the warrior king, and, which had worldwide success in the 1980s. It was produced by William C Faure. SABC 2 rarely broadcast live sports due to funding issues, and, instead, focused on sporting highlights, and played local afro-soul and pop music interludes in between shows. Splendid music shows included *Afro Café* and *Soul'd Out Sessions*. During Nelson Mandela's administration, to promote diversity and integrate the people of South Africa, the popular Afrikaans music shows *Musiek Roulette* and *Noot vir Noot* became part of the mix.

Six of the SABC regional stations, namely Radio Algoa, Radio Oranje, RPN Stereo, Radio Highveld, Radio Jacaranda and KFM were put up for sale. It collectively raised over R500 million from private consortiums. Though a fairly tidy sum for the SABC at the time, it would have, in retrospect, preferred to hold on to the stations as they became huge money-spinners for their new owners.

The SABC got itself into the limelight for the wrong reason when Max Du Preez, an author, columnist, documentary filmmaker and founding editor of an Afrikaans newspaper the Vrye Weekblad, was dismissed by the SABC as editor/presenter of the award-winning weekly investigative programme *Special Assignment* for gross insubordination over a documentary about witchcraft. This caused a major public outcry and dispute about whether the SABC was being transformed from an apartheid propaganda machine into a genuine public service broadcaster, or, again, becoming a government mouthpiece. The union called for an independent investigation into the climate of fear and intimidation within the SABC. The issue was around the independent role of the public broadcaster and its implications for media freedom.

In 2002, the public broadcaster became SABC Limited, and the state held 100% of its shares. The SABC launched the revised Editorial Policy after a process of consultations with the public and stakeholders throughout the country. The public broadcaster was required, in terms of the Broadcasting Act, to develop policies that were intended to ensure compliance with the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa) Code of Conduct, the corporation's licence conditions and legislation. During 2007, the SABC became the first South African broadcaster to launch a 24-hour television news channel. The channel was transmitted on the Vivid platform across the African continent and on regular SABC channels after midnight. Vivid was used to offer free-to-air programming to outlying areas where there were no terrestrial television signals. Rights to

the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa were granted to both the SABC for free-to-air and to DStv pay channel Supersport.

"SABC was the first South African broadcaster to launch a 24-hour television news channel"

A shake-up in the leadership at the public broadcaster resulted in the controversial Hlaudi Motsoeneng becoming its chief operating officer. He announced in May 2016 that footage of the destruction of property during protests in South Africa was banned from coverage. New guidelines for news broadcasts were cited as the reason. This caused outrage from various SABC journalists, civil society and media organisations. During the fracas, seven SABC journalists and a contracted worker were fired for opposing a policy guideline banning the broadcast of images of violent and destructive protests in South Africa, and the SABC's stance on media freedom. This led to a protracted labour dispute. Icasa ruled in July 2016 that the SABC had to withdraw its resolution to ban the broadcasting of all violent protests as per its Code of Conduct. In addition, the journalists won a court case overturning their dismissal. In May 2016, Motsoeneng also made an announcement that all SABC radio stations must play 90% South African music with immediate effect. This decision was well received by the South African music industry as the outcome would see royalties being paid to composers. Further, this would create more on-air exposure for artists generating additional live gigs which, in turn, could boost the South African economy in numerous ways, including job creation at events, and the payment of taxes. However, the decision by Motsoeneng was not properly considered, and excluded public participation. The sudden change of music playlisting on SABC stations led to a loss of listenership and, accordingly, drop in revenue. A strategic plan would have worked if it was discussed with various role players including the public. Motsoeneng's decisive measure was short-lived, and he was eventually shown the door at the SABC. The 90% ruling was shelved. In 2017, in line with Icasa's regulations, all public broadcast radio stations amended their local music quotas from 40% to 60% and public commercial stations from 25% to 35%. With the recent appointment of new board members and senior management at the SABC, a statement, in 2018, was released of its intention to retrench nearly 1 000 permanent and 1 200 freelance workers as part of the broadcaster's restructuring strategy. In November 2018, the SABC warned that it would soon be unable to pay salaries unless a R3 billion guarantee was secured from government. The public broadcaster, however, abandoned its plans of mass retrenchments in 2019 for a period of 14 months pending a skills audit.

At the time of writing, the future of the SABC hangs in the balance. Ongoing government bailouts are not the answer. The broadcaster is in serious need of a turnaround strategy to steer it on a path towards sustainability. It calls for competent leadership and management where accountability counts.

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Selwyn Bartlett was a presenter on P4 Radio Cape Town (now Heart FM). He also served the station as production coordinator, and music manager before being promoted to programming manager. In 2019, Selwyn acquired a Higher Certificate in Adult Education with distinction from the University of Cape Town. He runs a community radio broadcasting consultancy, and is a freelance presenter on Good Hope FM. He has served on the board of directors for the Cape Music Industry Commission. Selwyn has addressed a *Radiocracy Roundtable* at the Durban University of Technology.

30. Role and impact of the media in politics

Sibusiso *Ngalwa*

Addressing the International Press Institute (IPI) Congress in Cape Town on 14 February 1994, Nelson Mandela said, "A critical, independent and investigative press is the lifeblood of any democracy. The press must be free from state interference. It must have the economic strength to stand up to the blandishments of government officials. It must have sufficient independence from vested interests to be bold and inquiring without fear or favour. It must enjoy the protection of the constitution, so that it can protect our rights as citizens."

Political reporting has been the cornerstone of newspapers in South Africa. Some of the most riveting revelations have been in print media with newspapers like the Sowetan, Mail & Guardian, Sunday Times and City Press being at the forefront of such reporting. This context is particularly important especially as critical media is under threat due to financial pressure. The freedom and independence of the press that Mandela spoke about in 1994 is being threatened by such pressure. It is a foregone conclusion that print media already faced an existential crisis brought about by the increase in audiences consuming their news through digital platforms.

Writing in his important research *Paying the piper* - looking at digital transformation and its impact on the sustainability of the media and journalism in South Africa - Professor Harry Dugmore wrote:

"The print media is in one sense a manufacturing operation, with a high cost of sales as well as high operational costs, as opposed to broadcasting, where apart from broadcasting equipment and the cost of transmitters, operational costs, such as salaries, are paramount. For broadcasting, every new listener is free, and for online operations, every new reader is almost free. For print, every new copy sold costs money to print and distribute. Ratios of copies printed to copies sold need to be carefully monitored. Too few printed copies affect the potential for sale: too many copies sold mean high returns of newspapers or magazines that cost money to print but have to be pulped. In that sense print publications are a 19th or 20th century technology, facing obsolescence along with records, CDs, DVDs, videotape and cassette recording."

The print media may have been a 20th century technology, but it has played a crucial role in shaping our democracy and exposing the ills of the apartheid state as well as post-democratic malfeasance. The South African democratic project may have been hailed as a "miracle", but the reality is that it was hard won. Without the critical media. which exposed some of the worst atrocities of the early 90s, the excesses of the corrupt authorities towards the end of apartheid may have remained unknown.

Times have changed and so has the face of political reporting. The political violence of the 90s, particularly in the former Transvaal and modern-day KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), dominated the news pages. The random shootings and the killings were too many. The massacres were countless. Yet brave journalists went into the lion's den to bring us those stories. The names of Cyril Madlala, Paddy Harper, Fred Kockott and Sipho Khumalo stand out as some journalists who documented the political violence in KZN.

> "Political reporting has been the cornerstone of newspapers in South Africa"

Mandela's speech at the IPI Congress was an important one. He went on to say, "I have often said that the media are a mirror through which we can see ourselves as others perceive us, warts, blemishes and all. The African National Congress has nothing to fear from criticism. I can promise you, we will not wilt under close scrutiny. It is our considered view that such criticism can only help us to grow, by calling attention to those of our actions and omissions which do not measure up to our people's expectations and the democratic values to which we subscribe."

When Mandela uttered those words, he had no idea that in May 2012 the very same ANC - through its spokesman Jackson Mthembu - would lead a campaign for the boycott of the City Press. "Don't buy City Press, don't buy", Mthembu chanted at an ANC march to protest the controversial *The Spear* artwork, which depicted former President Jacob Zuma with his genitals exposed. The ANC's secretary-general at the time, Gwede Mantashe called for the boycott of the paper by "all peace-loving South Africans". This was all because the newspaper had refused to take down an image of the controversial painting by Brett Murray from its website. The City Press finally buckled under the pressure, and removed the image, with editor Ferial Haffajee telling a radio station that she had had a rethink of her original position on the posting of the image on the newspaper's site. Many have argued that Haffajee capitulated due to pressure from the ANC. That may have been true. However, other editors have taken a different view on *The Spear* matter. Writing in the now defunct The Times newspaper, current Sunday Times editor Sthembiso Msomi eloquently explained why the *The Spear* was

Robin Sewlal

offensive to black people. Msomi wrote about black men of all ranks - from the doctors and clerks, to cleaners and gardeners – being forced to strip naked and be examined by a doctor for diseases upon arrival in Johannesburg during apartheid South Africa. *Ukuthawuza,* as the Drum-era writers had dubbed the practice, was a humiliating equaliser for all black people. Therefore, while black South Africans may be proponents of freedom of expression, the idea of a white man (Murray) painting Zuma with his genitals exposed was a difficult one to swallow - regardless of how one felt about Zuma. This was yet another example of the robustness of our media space where thinkers from different backgrounds opined on the matter. There may have been some political intolerants, but the South African media space allows for all voices to be heard.

Intolerance towards critical reporting is not only the preserve of the ANC. Helen Zille, during her time as the Western Cape premier, showed similar intolerance when she issued a directive to provincial heads of departments to cancel their subscription to the Cape Times in 2015. Zille was still the DA leader at the time. The Sunday Times, South Africa's largest weekly newspaper, had faced similar pressure from the government of Thabo Mbeki. In 2007, at the height of the debate about the government's attitude towards HIV/Aids, the newspaper published the exposé *Manto: a drunk and a thief.* The article exposed how the unpopular former health minister, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang had allegedly jumped a queue to receive a liver transplant. The article went further and alleged that Tshabalala-Msimang had damaged her liver through years of excessive drinking and had a previous conviction for theft. Mbeki was far from impressed - with former minister in the presidency Essop Pahad calling for an immediate boycott on the Sunday Times.

South Africa's post-democratic history would not be complete without an account of Mandy Rossouw's role in exposing the "monument of corruption" that is Jacob Zuma's Nkandla compound. With her reporting in the Mail & Guardian, she was the first to shine the light on the exorbitant amount spent to renovate former President Jacob Zuma's private residence in Nkandla. This was under the guise of a security upgrade. In 2009, Rossouw wrote in the Mail & Guardian that Zuma was renovating his Nkandla homestead for a "whopping price of R65 million, and the taxpayer is footing the largest chunk of the bill". But it later turned out that the figure was grossly understated, and we learnt the entirety of the project would set the taxpayer back a "whopping" R246 million - through cost escalation and blatant corruption. Despite the obfuscation, lies and a coverup by a bevy of government ministers, the true extent of the Nkandla project was laid bare. What started as a newspaper report by the intrepid Rossouw in 2009, ultimately led to former Public Protector Advocate Thuli Madonsela's aptly naming of the final report on Nkandla, *Secure in Comfort.* What was initially said to be basic security upgrades, ended up with a swimming pool, an amphitheatre, underground bunkers, a clinic and helipad.

I would argue that the reporting on Nkandla and the wastage in the face of grinding poverty and unemployment in South Africa played a role in turning the public's, and, more importantly, the ANC membership's, attitude towards Zuma. For a man who rose to power on the back of a pro-poor ticket, Zuma was the ultimate "man of the people". But it soon emerged that no sooner was he in power, did he begin to be drowned in the trappings of comfort and fall into the clutches of the insidious Gupta family. Zuma turned a blind eye to the Guptas' looting of the state. Having finished a 10-year, two-term presidency, Zuma was determined to continue exerting influence as he actively campaigned for his ex-wife, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma to succeed. But ANC members had other ideas as they elected Cyril Ramaphosa as president. For the country to heal and recover from the gouging by the Guptas, Zuma and their lot, they opted for the relatively safer pair of hands of Ramaphosa. Without that initial article, which appeared in the Mail & Guardian's edition of 1 December 2009, the history of this country would have been a different one. The seed of the tree that ultimately toppled Zuma was planted then.

Despite the political intolerance and hyper-sensitivity to critical journalism, political reporting in a democratic South Africa cannot be compared to the state under apartheid. By the time the ANC won the 1994 election - triumphing over decades of oppressive white minority rule and apartheid - there were about 100 laws, enacted by the apartheid state, that censored the media. Press freedom was a faraway dream. We come from an era where newspapers could not report on banned organisations like the ANC, the South African Communist Party. It was only from 1990, following the unbanning of the liberation movements by head of state FW de Klerk and the release of Mandela, that the South African media could report on such activities.

Reflecting on this period, the South African National Editors' Forum founding member Raymond Louw wrote:
"The removal of the banning orders meant that the media could report on the statements and activities of ANC members and those of other parties which had been strictly prohibited during most of the 42 years apartheid was in force. The police and other authorities had backed off from applying the restrictive laws still on the statute books."

More importantly, the change meant an end to the harassment,

beatings, torture and jailing of journalists who stood up to apartheid and who tried to tell the public what was really going on.

The media may be free to report in South Africa, but the tough economic climate and the over-reliance on the tradition of advertising has allowed the government to use its sizable advertising budget in a carrot and stick manner. Anecdotal evidence points to the fact that media houses that are considered to be hostile are not given any advertising. But the picture is a lot more rosy for the digital media platforms which continue to grow.

Political journalism has mostly permeated print products, and, as recent history has shown, the threat of closure of the Mail & Guardian would rob this country, and the journalism industry, of an important player. But, at the same time, the emergence of platforms like the Daily Maverick is small comfort. News24's growth also bodes well for the consumption of journalism.

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Sibusiso Ngalwa has 17 years of experience, and held a number of senior positions at various publications. He was politics editor at the Sunday Times and editor-in-chief of the Daily Dispatch and DispatchLive. Sibusiso has worked as a parliamentary correspondent for Independent Media. He is the politics editor at Newzroom Afrika. Sibusiso is a journalism alumnus of the Durban University of Technology, and is chairperson of the South African National Editors' Forum.

31. Labour 'broking' with the media

Sizwe *Pamla*

Since 1994, there have been many developments on the South African labour front, including the adoption of the Labour Relations Act of 1995 and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997. These laws were about undoing the legacy of exploitation and inequality in the workplace, remnants of the apartheid legacy. These changes took place at a time when the South African economy was joining the global economic system that had shunned it because of its discriminatory and oppressive pieces of legislation. These laws were an outcome of the prolonged struggles waged by workers, supported by labour journalists who gave voice to the struggles.

Even during apartheid, workers were able to get their voices heard through labour reports. Before newspapers like the New Nation, the Labour Bulletin and others championed labour journalism in the early days in South Africa. This is the journalism that legitimised the struggles, and told the stories of workers mobilising and fighting for fair wages, improved employment conditions and decent benefits. The uniqueness about labour journalism was its ability to contextualise the struggles, and allow divergent ideological voices to be equally heard in the battle of ideas.

"labour journalism has provided human-interest stories in relation to poverty and unemployment"

But after the end of the Cold War, and after the democratic breakthrough, the triumphant imposition of neoliberal ideals went unchallenged and post-1994 labour journalism found itself having to navigate this new era, where the only thing regarded as sane in many newsrooms was that which reinforced the correctness of neoliberalism. During this period, coverage of labour issues started to be under intense pressure in the newsrooms that were willing to blindly support the narrative that the free market ideas were a perfect solution. This new narrative started to demonise workers' struggles as an unnecessary impediment to economic progress. The negative and hostile attitude shown by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's administration in the United Kingdom against unions in the early 1980s gained a lot of traction around the world, including South Africa after 1994. Workers' strikes were negatively covered, and dry statistics were used to calculate the value that was being lost by the economies during these strikes.

However, there was a new Constitution in the country that recognised the rights of workers who had previously been treated as nothing more than glorified slaves. This meant that while there was a push for more globalisation, less regulations, and flexible labour laws in many parts of the world, the opposite was happening on the South African legislative front. The value of labour journalism in the democratic dispensation has ensured that South Africa remains a country with a vibrant trade union movement. The decline in unionisation (now around 29%, according to Statistics South Africa 2019) and density have meant that unions rely on labour journalism to magnify the voice of unions through their coverage most of the time. The evolution of labour journalism can be seen in the successes and failures of the trade union movement itself over the last quarter of a century. Not only in South Africa, but all over the world too, the last quarter century has witnessed a precipitous decline in the social position of the working class. The trade unions have struggled to defend the working class against the onslaught of capitalism.

The same way that South African businesses have spent millions of rands annually to oppose workers' organising themselves in the workplace, they spend even more millions ensuring that a pro-business narrative prevails in many newsrooms through advertising, lobbying and influence-peddling. The narrative of privatisation as a perfect economic model gained a lot of traction in the country, and, as a result, many state companies were privatised. Few labour journals and magazines like the Labour Bulletin raised pertinent questions. This counternarrative was able to reduce the momentum gained by government to outsource everything to the private sector.

Labour journalism has continued to provide the necessary balance in the coverage by telling the human interest stories behind all the cold statistics and figures that have been bandied about in relation to poverty and unemployment.

The technological revolution has forced media companies to keep up with one another - the digital environment has caused havoc with traditional business models. This has led to media houses reconfiguring their newsrooms as well as cutting down on staff members. There are few newsrooms that still keep labour desks. Labour journalism has been incorporated into the economics or the politics desks, and this has had an adverse effect. In a 24-hour news cycle, newsroom pressures have resulted in a culture of 'smash-and-grab' journalism. The period of short sound bites leads to media organisations being tempted to outdo each other for catchy headlines. There is little interest in explaining issues in detail and providing the necessary context. The competition for advertising also means that 'whoever pays

the piper calls the tune'.

At a time when big business has been escalating its offensive in terms of the restructuring of the workplace, casualisation and retrenchments as part of responding to low-level economic growth since the 2009 recession, the public discourse has been biased against organised workers. Unions have been blamed and attacked for defending their members, and, at times, the media have played workers against the unemployed to divide the working class. The public service strike that took place after the 2010 FIFA World Cup is a case in point. When workers went on strike after what was considered to be a successful tournament in the country, the media narrative was that they were undoing the good work that was achieved during the World Cup and undermining investor confidence. It took a few labour journalists to interrogate the underlying issue that led to the strike, like the non-implementation of the Occupational Specific Dispensation that was promised to workers in 2007. The lack of understanding by many media houses of the 2007 collective bargaining agreement led to many of them using soundbites to cover complex issues that required detailed explanation. The same thing happened with the Marikana tragedy that claimed the lives of 44 during the violence-ridden 2012 strikes in the Platinum Belt in the province of North West. The dominant narrative from many media outlets was of union rivalry that turned deadly, and an incompetent government that did not know how to deal with protests and strikes. This allowed the employers to avoid the necessary scrutiny. The 'divide and rule' tactics by employers and its failure to honestly engage with workers fuelled tensions. The Marikana massacre and the subsequent Lily Mine disaster in Mpumalanga have been kept in the public domain by the handful of remaining labour journalists who still have the capacity to cover events from many angles and in detail.

This corporate culture of many newsrooms has been seen in the coverage of debates around the national minimum wage and the National Health Insurance. While the attitude of many newsrooms was to dismiss these as narrow and self-interested policy demands, media platforms managed to give a voice to the workers and their organisations to show that these are possibilities. The newsroom culture of many outlets has been heavily influenced by the position of advertisers and potential advertisers. Economic commentators and policy experts, who have been given more space in the media to share their views and perspectives, come from the private sector. The pool has also been narrowed, and this has meant that the private sector has an upper hand in influencing the narrative and the public discourse. All of this is not accidental, but it also speaks to the ownership patterns of South African media. Current patterns of concentrated ownership and control of the media promote commercial interests and the logic of the private capitalist market. The print sector is still dominated by four big players, namely Naspers, Leshaba Media, Caxton, and Independent Media. Another mainstream media player includes M&G Media. These companies also dominate the entire value chain of the market especially printing, distribution, and advertising.

As the Congress of South African Trade Unions noted in its submission to the Press Freedom Commission, these companies "all reflect the outlook and prejudices of the capitalist class that own them – pro-big business, the 'free market' and private enterprise". The African National Congress summed up the crux of the problem in its 2007 Communication Discussion Document by saying, "the media is a contested terrain and therefore not neutral, but reflects the ideological battles and power relations based on race, class and gender in our society. It cannot claim that its role is merely to reflect interests – rather it helps to shape those interests." President Nelson Mandela once observed, "A critical, independent and investigative media is the lifeblood of any democracy" and "the tragic absence of diversity in the South African media has been a matter of grave concern to us over years."

The lack of diversity in the print media goes beyond ownership, - it also reflects on the issues of class content and the availability of newspapers in languages other than English and Afrikaans. Many workers in this country do not speak either of these languages, and this has limited the capacity of labour journalism to address audiences in their own language.

So, concentration and freedom of the press become real issues because the owners of large conglomerates do not want 'unwelcome' news reported. And, most people are getting their news from television, which is becoming more and more trivial. Stations broadcast, what they call, 'infotainment'. This is not real information, and plenty of it is just stories which have no news value, and do not explain to people the way the world works. This culture can be best summarised by what Patrick Le Lay head of TF1 News in France said, "Look, my job is to prepare people's minds, and to prepare them to receive the messages of Coca Cola. My job is to make sure that their consciousness is ready to receive this message. Therefore, the consciousness cannot be too filled up with facts which might be distressing. It can't be too filled up with anything that might stimulate people to actually think it has to be filled with the things that just prepare them to be receptive to the advertising message."

The corporate culture has also impacted on the nature of the coverage by the public broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) since 1994. While it previously had been used as a voice and platform to prop up the apartheid

apparatus, the public broadcaster had to grapple with a changing landscape and an unworkable funding model in a democracy. The absence of a sustainable funding model had a direct effect on its long-term strategy. Programming that was supportive of education, health, poverty eradication, rural development, crime prevention and other societal priorities became more miniscule compared to programming that was entertainment-based. This affected labour journalism in a negative way because it meant that for the SABC to remain competitive, it needed to adapt to new conditions and cultures. Out of 18 public radio stations under the SABC, only SAfm managed to allocate a slot for labour, which has fallen away. This means that many news outlets are closing spaces for labour journalism

Changes in the landscape have left alternative outlets like the Labour Bulletin facing a precarious position, and this is not good for labour journalism. Community media is also facing an existential crisis as it is unable to provide coverage of labour matters. The media sector is experiencing unprecedented change and evolution in the 21st century. Even scholars are still trying to better understand the massive changes and transformation occurring across the media sector. The first two decades of the 21st century have been unique in terms of the impact of technology on the media and communication industries. With the introduction of converging technologies such as the mobile smart phone and multiple digital platforms, the industries are not only in the process of transforming themselves, but are also being transformed by many external factors. The transformation did not happen overnight, and the process has been accelerated by several external factors like globalisation, regulation, economics, and technology. Technology has both enhanced and disrupted the media economy. Innovations in technology, in terms of distribution and reception, continue at a rapid pace. This offers both challenges and opportunities for labour journalism. Audiences are more empowered than at any other time in media history. They no longer just consume content - they also make content in a multitude of ways, whether through blogging, podcasting, uploading videos, or social networking. In these new media markets, consumers can access or download content anytime they want from anywhere in the world. These trends are creating havoc among traditional markets, and leading to confusion as to the definition of media and communication markets in this new era.

While we have seen increasingly less coverage of core labour issues, the reality is that most of this is no longer about a deliberate paradigm shift. But it is an evolution that has also seen specialised reporting in fields like health, science, education, arts and culture, and legal reporting disappearing from many newsrooms.

This though still offers more opportunities for workers to enter the space and make sure that their stories are told in a more comprehensive way. While the commercial media was not interested or able to commission a documentary on what happened at Marikana, the alternative media did so. Workers were able to tell their stories, and families whose members lost their lives in the tragedy, were given a voice.

Labour journalism will survive only if it adapts and embraces new changes. Over the past 25 years, it has managed to temper the 'greed is good' culture by telling the stories of those who are at the bottom end of the economic pyramid, and reiterate that the economy is about the people. The age of technological solutions can and should play no small part in allowing journalists to give workers their rightful place in the media sun.

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32. Radiocracy: A pivotal moment for radio, democracy and development

Steve *Ahern*

Twenty five years ago, South Africa's broadcast landscape was changing rapidly. Radio played a big part in that change.

In the lead up to the release of Nelson Mandela and the end of the apartheid era, pirate radio was used to broadcast freedom songs and inspire nationalism. Mandela and the African National Congress recognised the importance of radio, to facilitate the changes being made to transform South Africa into a new nation, and opened many community radio stations to give voice to the previously voiceless citizens. The propaganda stranglehold the previous government had on the state broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation had to be broken.

It was among these tumultuous changes in the media landscape of the time that the International Radiocracy Conference took place in September 2001 in Durban, under the theme *Predicting Pathways and Pulling Together.* I was there.

Radiocracy
radio•democracy•development

Topics on the agenda included the role of radio in peace building, emergence of community radio, and importance of honest journalism in building a free society. Mixed with all that was the rise of everything digital: digital recording and editing, digital radio and of course, the internet and internet radio streaming.

Australia had led the way in community radio since the 1970s and was again leading by developing new regulations for digital radio. It was also a leader in new methods of training. Those were my topics. Community radio in Australia coincided with a revolutionary technology that put production in the hands of ordinary people… the cassette tape recorder. Until that time, the means of production was monopolised by professional broadcasting companies that could afford expensive reel to reel tape recorders and high-end studio equipment. With the advent of the cassette and higher quality mixing equipment, community groups could now afford to buy low-end equipment that could get them to air easily and cheaply. As well as recording technology, FM radio was introduced in Australia, bringing with it more frequencies and cheaper solid-state transmission equipment that was easy to set up and cheaper to run than large AM installations. Once the barriers to entry came down, community radio was easy to set up, and the traditional gatekeepers in professional companies no longer had a monopoly on what broadcasters should sound like and what they should say. Community radio democratised the airwaves.

It was this model of community radio that interested the new South African government and the media regulator. About 70 community radio licences were granted to community groups so that those who spoke African languages could have their own stations. The aim was empowerment, skills development and the strengthening of regional communities. There were already African language stations on air, but they suffered because in the past they had been the mouthpiece of the old government, and were not trusted. But when local voices went to air on community radio, voices of people you could meet on the street and discuss local issues with, the power balance began to shift.

At the conference, I equated the advent of the cassette recorder and FM transmission to the new democratising technology of the 21st century - digital. Anyone with a computer could record and edit audio. Multitrack digital audio workstations were still expensive at that time, but it was evident that the cost would come down as computers miniaturised and became cheaper. As in 70s Australia, where anyone with a microphone and cassette recorder from the local department store could do an interview, the same phenomenon was taking place again. Anyone with a mic and computer could record interviews, atmosphere and vox pops, then use sophisticated multitrack programs to turn them into documentaries or features about what was happening in their country or local community. It was the beginning of an exciting period. Broadcasters in all those community stations would eventually embrace the new technology to empower themselves and their interview subjects to discuss the important topics that were part of the changes happening in society.

Anyone connected to the emerging phenomenon called the internet could upload and store their audio for others to hear. At this time, files were large, internet was dial-up, and audio was the only thing that could travel on those expensive internet pipes - there was no YouTube and video streaming back then. So being able to access audio files was another technological change that facilitated the evolution of radio broadcasting. I also discussed audio streaming. Up until this time, it was a thrill to tune the shortwave dial and discover a station from another country. For decades, shortwave was the only way to hear radio from elsewhere, but now internet streaming of live radio transmissions was about to bring the world's biggest transmitter to anyone with a connected computer. These days, when we can consume podcasts, catch-up radio and live streams from anywhere, as well as Over the Top (OTT) video content and music streaming services, it is difficult to imagine a time when these internet technologies were just emerging. But there were visionaries on the agenda at the *Radiocracy* conference who were imagining these things and embracing new ideas in their areas of expertise.

"educators discussed the need for robust reporting of all sides of a story"

Hans-Ullrich Muechenfeld from the University of Bremen gave examples of how web radio in Germany was allowing more participation in society, but also raised the emerging legal implications of the new technology. Jo Tacchi from Queensland University spoke about convergence, and related the Australian experience of how converging media technologies were blurring the distinctions between previously distinct media businesses. Eric Nhlapo from the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa also raised the legal and convergence issues, and discussed how the authority was planning to deal with them, eventually adopting a converged regulatory model similar to that used in Australia. The role of the internet in promoting human rights was on the agenda, long before the advent of social media and its use in spreading information and discussion. Jackie Davies from OneWorld London discussed human rights and civil society online and over the airwaves.

With the early enthusiasm for community radio in South Africa being so strong, there were many speakers about this tier of broadcasting, trying to help shape it in the African context. John van Zyl, a strong and forthright broadcaster and university professor, set the scene for this aspect of the conference in a talk titled *Community Radio: The yeast in the bread of civil society,* and was followed by a range of speakers who added to the debate, including Gilbert Mokwatedi from Technikon Pretoria and Mabalane Mfundisi from the National Community Radio Forum. A member of KwaZulu-Natal's provincial parliament, Mtholephi Mthimkhulu, spoke about the role of radio before and during the transition period in South Africa, and other speakers such as Robert Beverage from Edinburgh University and Madoda Ncayiyana from Vuleka Productions, expanded on the theme by discussing radio's contribution to social change. The reshaping of journalism training was another important topic, with educators discussing the need for robust reporting of all sides of a story, as broadcasters began to hire reporters with wider viewpoints than the previously narrow apartheid-era reporting style. Matt Mogekwu from Mmabatho's North West University discussed how reorientation in journalism training was needed for development, and Kubi Rama from the ML Sultan Technikon (now Durban University of Technology) focused on changes in public service broadcasting as a way to negotiate the challenges facing society.

The chairperson of the 2001 *Radiocracy* conference, Robin Sewlal, associate director and head of the Department of Public Relations and Journalism at the ML Sultan Technikon at the time, played an important role in helping to change the South African media landscape for the better by bringing local and international viewpoints together. The conference allowed the main players, at the heart of the changes taking place in South Africa, to think about their options, hear examples from other countries, and discuss their plans for change. It was a pivotal moment of change in the history of South Africa's media.

33. Formation of the National Electronic Media Institute of South Africa

Steve *Ahern*

Media played an important part in consolidating the changes in South Africa at the end of the apartheid rule, but, in the early days, there were not enough well-trained staff to enable the expansion of media in the priority areas required by the democratic government.

In 1997, discussions between the South African and Australian governments identified the need for a modern-style media training institution to rectify the problem. They looked towards Australia's national media university, the Australian Film, Television & Radio School (AFTRS) as a model. I was one of AFTRS' senior staff at the time. As part of an aid programme through the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAid), AFTRS was asked to assist with the formation of the National Electronic Media Institute of South Africa (Nemisa), and I was sent to consult to the Department of Communications, and its director-general Andile Ngcaba, to set up the organisation. In 1998, I travelled to South Africa several times, working mostly in Johannesburg and Pretoria on the formation of Nemisa.

The ANC-led government recognised the importance of radio to facilitate the transformational changes of the "rainbow nation" and licensed about 70 community stations to give voice to the voiceless citizens, and to break the propaganda stranglehold the previous government had on the state broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

In television, new programmes were prioritised with new presenters and new topics. News was no longer to contain only pro-government propaganda, but aspired to achieve a standard of balanced honest reporting similar to other respected independent international media outlets. Another aspect of the evolution of media at the time was the advent of computer-based production methods, websites and the coming of the internet. The convergence of social and technological change required new models of production for both traditional broadcasting outlets and new emerging platforms on the internet, which were not being taught in traditional broadcast training institutions.

In my early visits, the first task was to scope the mood for new types of training. The government and the minister wanted something different, but the media sector was not so sure. Most media companies had in-house training departments, and there were a plethora of universities teaching film and journalism courses. Challenging the old models of training was a threat to jobs and prevailing philosophies, so my first meetings were often treated with suspicion, and, in some cases. were openly hostile. The ministry was determined to cut through, recognising that technological convergence and the rebalancing of power in society were happening simultaneously, making this the moment to seize the opportunity for significant structural change in the communications portfolio.

Australia also played its part by helping the new government in its aspirations for change in the media sector with two other aid projects: journalism training from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and a consultancy to assist the regulator to develop new methods of licensing and content regulation. The three projects together were a result of international visits by South African officials tasked to find good models for the changes they wanted to make in the communications industry.

Once the imperative for the new training institute was established and the government publicly committed to it, the next step was to determine the best way to form the institute. The first question was the name. When AFTRS was formed three decades earlier, there was only film, radio and television, but in a time of emerging media the institute had to aspire beyond the existing business models based on established transmission methods, and embrace the, as yet unknown, implications of digital media and the internet. So we decided to use the word 'media' in the name. This simple positioning statement in the name allowed the institute to nimbly embrace training in many new electronic skills, with offerings such as graphics, website design - app development is now being introduced as part of the wide brief of the organisation. The name embodied the philosophy, to embrace change and train people who would use whatever production methods were needed to develop media content that would enable and support the positive changes happening in the country. This is still the underlying philosophy of the institute today, to help South Africans tell their own stories through media.

Looking back at my first consultant's report from March 1998, I examined the structure, staffing and niche for the institute. I canvassed the types of entity that could be used and finally recommended the formation of a Section 21 (not-for-profit) company which allowed the government to appoint the board and ensure the transformational objectives were met, while keeping the business entity focused on its mission, and at arm's length from government. In my report I wrote, "If the board is full of bureaucrats who have no knowledge of broadcasting or no connection to the industry, then it is unlikely to be a success, but if the board comprises strong representation from industry bodies, then it is highly likely to succeed."

Another element that made Nemisa different from other

universities and training institutions was the educational philosophy behind it. Where other training organisations were teaching established methods from outdated text books, or philosophical but not practical courses, the institute had to be open to evolution in its training philosophy, as well as its content. It was decided that all courses would contain at least 50% of practical exercises, and that discovery methods of learning would be embraced, because there were no 'masters' anymore, everyone was learning how to work the new technology together. Established picture techniques, known structures of storytelling, and established ways to delight the audience were retained, but they were combined with new thinking about changing audience consumption habits and faster ways of capturing, editing and transmitting content. An underlying aim in all of this was also to be a change agent that would help other training institutions to evolve by challenging established academic power structures, disrupting old pedagogies and setting an example of the ways things could be done differently in the modern era.

"Challenging the old models of training was a threat to jobs and prevailing philosophies"

Nemisa adopted a value-neutral approach that did not try to impart established philosophies or ways of thinking to students, rather the aim was to bring out of them the ways they viewed the world, and empower them to articulate their thoughts on the manner they could help develop the new society through their media art. Students were selected with regard to their past practical achievements, such as amateur videos, community radio programmes or blogs, not just academic qualifications. The hiring philosophy for teaching staff was that they should be current media practitioners, and that administrative and support staff should be formed in small teams with lines of accountability that made it clear their role was to support the content output of the organisation. Initially, three main full-time courses were developed: radio, television and new media, which were supplemented by shorter developmental courses aimed to upgrade existing practitioners to learn the new technologies. One-off workshops, lunchtime open lectures and conferences were also part of the planned training activities. This course approach was aimed to break the typical university faculty structure, so that cross disciplinary teaching practices could be developed and supported by curriculum advisory committees made up of current practitioners. I embedded media business training in the curriculum, ensuring that students could understand practical business mathematics, legal and compliance requirements, and could market and communicate their business ideas successfully to stakeholders.

As the structure of the organisation developed and premises were obtained in Parktown, the first two staff were brought on, Thandi Bengu-Towo, who went on to become the first chief executive officer, and Ria Greyling, an experienced administrator with media experience. Together, we designed the premises, and had many industry meetings to identify the skills that the developing media industry sectors would need from future staff. Many graduates of Nemisa are now media industry leaders, thanks to the training they received during their courses.

One of the underlying philosophies in all the work I have done in media development, before and since Nemisa, is to tell trainees what an amazing opportunity they have to gain skills in an industry that has so much influence in society. I then ask them the question, "What are you going to do with these skills that will make your country better?" Until you ask a question like this, trainees usually focus on their own career development. There is nothing wrong with that, but, in my opinion, those of us who work in media have a higher calling, to make the world better by using our skills in whatever way we can. Thandi and Ria agreed with this philosophy, and it underpinned the early thinking about courses and the way they were taught.

It has been a long while since I visited Nemisa, so I no longer know the key people involved or the latest training methods used, but I have heard that it still has a philosophy that recognises the higher calling, that media can change society for the better, and that Nemisa graduates are still leading the evolution of South Africa's media industry today.

Steve Ahern is an Australian broadcaster, trainer and thought leader in media. At the time of the International Radiocracy Conference and when he consulted to the National Electronic Media Institute of South Africa, he was Head of Radio at the elite government media training university, Australian Film, Television and Radio School. Steve is now the Head of the Asia Pacific Broadcasting Union's Media Academy. His company publishes two radio industry trade journals, radioinfo.com.au and asiaradiotoday.com, and he is the author of the text book *Making Radio,* published by Allen & Unwin. In 2009, Steve was awarded an Order of Australia (OAM) in the Queen's Birthday Honours, for services to media and education.

Journeys in Journalism

34. Fred *Khumalo*

In January 1985, I found myself among a horde of kids who had converged on the Technikon Natal, intent on being admitted as students at this institution. Because there was no online registration at the time, you had to be there physically. Some, like me, had applied the previous year and received letters of confirmation that they could come for registration. Others – the majority, in fact – were cold-callers who had not applied. Moreover, they had no clue what they wanted to study.

After a frantic fund-raising campaign – appealing to members of the extended family – my parents had raised R1 000, which would cover my tuition and other expenses for the whole year. Back then, tuition was just R500 per year. After queuing for a few hours at the administration office, my turn finally came. I told the clerk I wanted to register for a National Diploma: Journalism. She told me about a law that stated that I had to register at an institution reserved for "my own people". Even after I'd shown her a letter from her own institution, inviting me to come and apply in person, she had no time for me.

"as long as there are human beings on earth, journalism will never die"

I, therefore, went to ML Sultan Technikon, which was just down the road anyway. Although the institution had journalism on their prospectus, they were not offering the course that year. Armed with this information, I went back to Technikon Natal. I told the woman what had transpired at the neighbouring institution. But she still seemed determined to keep me out. Though respectful and polite, I was fast losing my patience now. I started raising my voice. Then a big-chested white man with bushy eyebrows approached. "Hier kom kak" (here comes trouble), I thought. But to my surprise, the man took up the fight, not with me, but with the white clerk. He spoke a lot of angry English – my comprehension of the language was still very basic – and then I remember him telling her to get me registered. The bushy-eyebrowed man turned out to be Clive Emdon, the head of the journalism department. I later learnt that, after a black prospective student's name had been entered into the books, the institution would then have to notify the minister of education that a black person had been admitted at the institution because he couldn't find space at "designated" institutions. This was the law. The minister at the time was FW de Klerk. The same chap who would, a few years down the line, stage a palace coup against his erstwhile comrade PW Botha, and take over as leader of the National Party and, later, become president of the republic.

This historical background cannot be left out if my journey as a black journalist in South Africa is to be properly narrated. Having been admitted to the institution, I faced another problem: accommodation. I mentioned earlier that my parents had secured enough money to last me a year. But Technikon Natal did not allow black people to stay on campus, even if they could afford to pay for it. Long story short, I ended up squatting at my aunt's servant's quarters. She worked as a "maid" on Sydenham Road in Morningside.

Classes began. Out of around 50 students, there were seven Africans, three Indians and the rest were white. There was not a single coloured person. English being a very distant second language for some of us black students, we had to work harder than our classmates – just to understand what was going on. Our political science lecturer was Robert Melville. He spoke a brand of English the black kids struggled with. We later learnt that he spoke "with a Scottish accent". Whatever that meant. I had always thought myself fairly proficient in written English, but the English spoken by those white people at tech was a far cry from the little English that I was used to. While in high school, I'd worked in white peoples' gardens to earn pocket money. The English spoken to me then, was simple: "Boy, clean swimming pool." "Boy, cut grass." "Boy, coffee time." Simple stuff. Now I get to the technikon, and Mr Melville speaks to me through his nose, nywa-nywa. Difficult.

Many of my black classmates dropped out at the end of the first semester, I persevered. When we were in second year, I was the first student to have work published in a professional publication. Yes, in 1986, I had an opinion piece, together with a mugshot of myself, published in Cosmopolitan, that expensive glossy magazine for white women. There was no turning back. Sadly, when we finished our studies, the black students could not find jobs in Durban. It didn't matter that I'd done better than my white schoolmates, they were offered jobs at The Mercury, Daily News and Sunday Tribune, while none of the papers was interested in me, or my other black former classmates. Anyway, I landed a job with Ilanga, and later with UmAfrika. Although isiZulu is my mother tongue, I had been trained in English. Therefore, I had to make some adjustments to fit in the isiZulu publishing environment. At UmAfrika, I thrived. They allowed me to continue freelancing for English magazines, such as Tribute and Drum to keep my English writing muscle well flexed. At UmAfrika, under the leadership of the great Cyril Madlala, I got the opportunity to try everything from sports reporting, showbiz, politics, general news, photography, page design, you name it.

It was while at UmAfrika that I got the opportunity to go to Canada, where I served a six-month internship at the Toronto Star. That was 1991. It soon turned out that it was not really an internship where the incumbent makes coffee for the bosses,

run photocopies, and the like – no, in the first few weeks, I shadowed their senior crime reporter. The chap had a device in his car which enabled him to eavesdrop on conversations between cops on the beat. As a result, we were always the first at a crime scene! After that, I was let loose in the newsroom, covering all sorts of local stories. And because I was opinionated at news conferences – my English had improved a lot! – the news editor, Brian McAndrew, one day asked to write an opinion piece. The reception to the piece was great. After that, the op-ed page editor, John Ferri started giving me space to write opinion pieces on anything to do with Africa. Are you listening to this? A 24-year-old kid from Africa, who until recently had struggled with spoken English, was now writing regular columns in Canada's biggest newspaper.

It was inevitable that by the time I got back home, my head had become so big it would not fit inside the offices of UmAfrika. So, I went to City Press, where they soon made me Durban bureau chief.

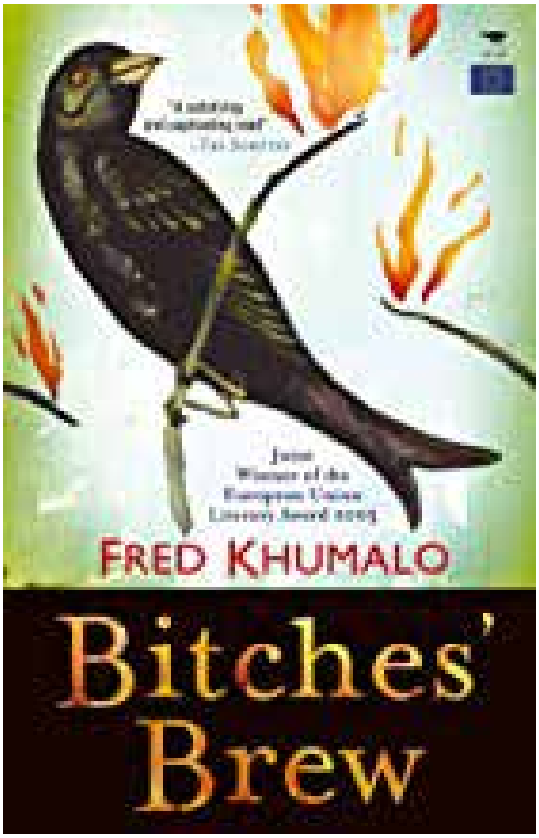
Very soon though, the bright lights of Johannesburg beckoned. The Sunday Times appointed me deputy news editor in 1996. My primary job was to rewrite copy, but also train young journos. It was around this time that a tall lanky dude by the name of Hugh Kortjaas darkened our door. He became one of my mentees. An alumnus of the Durban University of Technology, Kortjas decided that he didn't want to write under the Hugh moniker. So, he settled for Bareng-Batho. He is the now-famous BBK, sports editor at the Sunday Times.

Anyway, back to 1996. No sooner had I arrived at the newspaper than the regular columnist Charlotte Bauer went to the United States for a year-long fellowship. I offered to be a caretaker for her column. That was the birth of the Fred Khumalo column which would run for many years to come. When Bauer came back from the US, she realised she could not have her column back. But we stayed friends. After a year on the news desk, I was appointed editor of the Sunday Times magazine. And I still kept the column!

In 1998, I was appointed founding editor of the Sunday World, an upmarket broadsheet jointly owned by Times Media Limited (who owned the Sunday Times), and New Africa Investments Limited (who owned the Sowetan). The two companies soon decided to turn Sunday World into a down market tabloid. That is when I left . . . straight to the world of the Arikaner Broederbond (brotherhood): I was appointed senior deputy editor at Rapport. To my amazement, and probably that of many others, I lasted three years.

When a Nigerian businessman came to South Africa to launch an upmarket daily paper, he appointed Justice Malala as editor. And Malala immediately recruited me as one of his deputies. This was the ThisDay newspaper. The paper lasted only about two years. I left before it shut down.

And so back to the Sunday Times, where Mondli Makhanya had taken over as editor. I was happy that the Sunday Times I found under the baton of Makhanya was very different from the one I had joined in 1996. For one, there was lot of melanin – not only in staff composition, but in news coverage as well. Sometimes the paper would lead with a soccer story – which would have been unthinkable in 1996. The transformation agenda was going ahead full steam. I was also happy that what was happening at the Sunday Times, and other newspapers, was also being reflected at journalism schools around the country. It had always struck me as odd that the media, which by design should be at the cutting edge of societal change, was always playing catch-up. As opinions editor at the Times, my job was to lead meetings at which editorial opinions were discussed and assigned. In addition to this, I wrote my regular column, assigned and edited commentary pieces by heavy hitters across the country, and across disciplines: academics, business leaders, government ministers, famous authors including the likes of Ben Okri and Nadine Gordimer … you name them, I assigned and edited them. My pages determined what the country should be talking about, at any time.



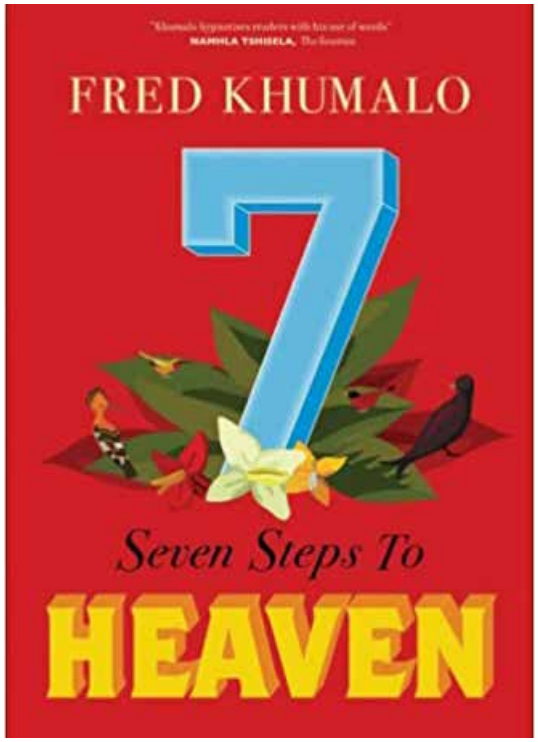
One of the major milestones in my career came in 2011 when I received the coveted Nieman Fellowship. Previous recipients from this country include the likes of Nat Nakasa, Lewis Nkosi, Ton Vosloo, Dennis Pather, Barney Mthombothi, Paula Fray, Moeletsi Mbeki and Lizeka Mda. It is the highest accolade in the industry. The Fellow gets to take his or her family to the US where he spends a year at Harvard, studying anything… and I mean anything that he can wrap his head around … as long as he attends all the required lectures and fulfils all assignments.

In addition to making all these advances in my career, I've always been an avid reader and a practitioner of creative writing. To that effect, in 2006. I published my first two books, *Touch My Blood*, an autobiography, and *Bitches' Brew,* a novel. The novel won the European Union Literary Award, which encouraged me to take creative writing seriously.

I'm no longer employed in the industry, and spend my

time writing books. I've published 12 books altogether. One of these books, *Seven Steps to Heaven,* is a prescribed text for English students at the University of South Africa. Thanks to my books, I've had residencies at numerous institutions, locally and internationally, including the Academy for the Arts of the World in Germany, House of Translators and Foreign Authors in France, Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study and Johannesburg Institute for Advanced Study. Always hungry for knowledge and new challenges, I am currently working on my PhD, at the University of Pretoria.

It's been a rewarding journey, and I am glad the thousands of youngsters entering the industry don't have to deal with all the racist bureaucracy that destroyed some of my classmates at Technikon Natal. The struggle we fought was not in vain. As a writer, what I can tell you is this: for as long as there are human beings on earth, journalism will never die. It will mutate, yes, it will move to other platforms, but it will never die. Journalism is about stories. And people cannot survive without stories, because they, themselves, are stories.



Fred Khumalo is a novelist and short story writer based in Johannesburg. His latest work is *Heart of a Strong Woman,* the best-selling autobiography of Xoliswa Nduneni-Ngema, the co-creator of the hit musical *Sarafina!* Fred's popular novel *Dancing the Death Drill,* based upon the sinking of the SS Mendi during First World War, won the 2019 Humanities and Social Sciences Award. A stage adaptation of it was performed to rave reviews at the Royal Opera House in London, Bergen International Festival in Norway, and Brisbane Arts Festival in Australia. He has been shortlisted twice for the Commonwealth Short Story Prize, and once for the Short Story Day Africa Award. He has been shortlisted three times for the Miles Morland Scholarship for Writers. Fred holds an MA Creative Writing from Wits University, is a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University, and holds fellowships at various institutions. He has suffered for his art: in October 2019, he walked 460 kilometres in 10 days (from Johannesburg to Ladysmith), to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the march. It is immortalised in his novel *The Longest March.*

35. Salma *Patel*

November 1998 was when I bid farewell to a career in print journalism to take up a journey in broadcasting. I started as a radio producer/reporter in the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) newsroom. Back then, we had to multi-skill, i.e. work for all business units in the newsroom, so that the journalist becomes better-equipped, gets an in-depth understanding of the flow of news, and learns to respect each colleague's input at every level. It was fascinating. I flourished not only in current affairs, but also with input, storytelling and fieldwork.

The first few months were the hardest. The shifts were long, the deadlines hourly, and the criticism harsh! The one thing that kept ringing in my head was the advice from my lecturer, Advocate Robin Sewlal, "Grow a thick skin." In fact, all lecturers at the Department of Public Relations and Journalism at ML Sultan Technikon had a common message, "don't take anything personally, criticism helps you grow". And that is what I do up until this day: I'm always learning, always improving. As a young journalist working in an emerging democracy, that advice stood me in good stead with the seniors. I earned plenty of respect.

"the listener enjoys the anchor who listens and then responds, not one who loves listening to her/his own voice"

Growing up, I spent many years puttering around my father's radio repair shop, and, as a result, have a good technical knowledge. When I first started, I was allocated a tape recorder (TDK cassettes because they were the best for broadcast quality), a microphone and (what seemed like) over a hundred cables!

Sound could be transferred to a computer that had the first digital programme called Fast Eddie. Although it was a very basic programme (compared to the more sophisticated types that we now use in radio broadcasting), it did the trick. I was encouraged to record ambient sound from the scene of the story rather than use "canned" sound from the SABC Library. Fast Eddie allowed the mixing and merging of sound which proved an excellent tool at the time. Soon thereafter, came Dalet, a system which we still use up to today. It is a broadcast and editing tool that provides broadcast quality sound. No more would we have the "tinny" sound that cassettes provided over telephone interviews. And our recording equipment changed too. As with most newsrooms, there is always that one journalist who prefers to do things the old school way. Our newsroom had Kas van Dyk, the Afrikaans specialist journalist, who used his reel-to-reel Nagra recorder up until he retired in mid-2010. When in the studio, we had to use reel-to-reel tapes to edit and broadcast news. This form of editing was tedious, but lots of fun. One could splice edit – place a tape between a built-in splice editing machine on the deck – to cut out a cough or too many "oohms and aahs", and present perfect broadcast copy. I also got to use the Marantz tape recording machine, which had become obsolete and replaced by a newer, better quality recorder, the Sony Mini Disc. This device provided crystal clear sound, but made our mic-work just a trifle more difficult. We had to shield our mics from sounds like wind, rain, chewing sounds by the interviewee, and even simple sounds like a clock ticking. This sensitive device picked up everything.

Radio journalists work alone, sourcing their own interviews and ambient sound to better tell a story. But the best thing in radio journalism is that the interviewee speaks in her/his own voice. In newspapers, readers have to rely on quotes, and the speed at which the journalist takes notes. In radio, it's there for the audience to hear - any thoughts of editing or changing the words of an interviewee are seen as a serious offence in the newsroom. In these formative years, I worked with one of the best newsmen in the broadcast industry, Ashok Ramsarup. He introduced me to the exciting world of radio current affairs that was timely, conversational and social because it got people thinking and talking with us! Wow! The power of radio, and we were setting the agenda on *Newsbreak*, to which I was attached. The morning shift started at 4am, and this was the most difficult for a young journalist who should be out partying, but instead went to bed at the same time as elderly folk at home. Finding one's own style in radio is difficult when there are so many stars around. I had to find myself. Only after training with Noreen Alexander – a former British Broadcasting Corporation presenter – did I learn that being yourself is what radio is all about. I gained confidence, learnt to converse well with the listener, and enjoyed being a presenter, so much so that the awards followed.

With technology going digital, it meant more jobs for multi-skilled journalists, and to the dismay of some seasoned journalists, more employment for youngsters. This 'juniorisation' of newsrooms has been lamented. The youngsters proved themselves by producing the best in journalism. They've grown into brilliant print and broadcast journalists, anchors and radio presenters. Alex Mthiyane, Xolani Gwala, Uveka Rangappa, Sureshnie Rieder, Vanessa Tedder, Monica Laganparsad (all DUT alumni) and Devi-Sankaree Govender are some colleagues who started off in the Durban newsroom.

Being at SABC News meant we would cover national events

for current affairs as well. Teams were often deployed to important government events and elections. It was good meeting people and newsmakers we had only spoken on the phone with or seen on television. But we were always reminded to remain ethical and professional in all our engagements with newsmakers. Ethics and values were drilled into us - we were the watchdogs of society, and we had to maintain the standard of truthful, balanced and accurate journalism. We were taught that journalists are not the news – it's the ordinary South African, and concerned people at non-governmental organisations, who are the focal points.

Although I missed the first general elections in 1994 because I was still at secondary school, I covered every election since being at SABC News. In 1999, I was withdrawn from an orientation course to cover the trip by the KwaZulu-Natal election officer to rural parts of the province for the local government election. It was a real eye-opener for a cloistered Muslim girl that had lived in an urban environment all her life. The rural areas were still waking up to the fact that apartheid was over. Infrastructure and basic services were non-existent, but the locals were happy. I got to speak with mothers, fathers and grandparents who were all happily standing in queues to cast their vote. Young South Africans in tatty uniforms were the most ecstatic: they finally had an identity document to vote. The politician I miss the most is Amichand Rajbansi, the *Bengal Tiger.* He was more like a cat with nine lives, and there was never a dull moment with him. He provided the best radio content to make any broadcast journalist salivate.

After my stint in the radio input business unit, I was absorbed permanently into *Newsbreak* on Lotus FM. The station underwent an image change and the tagline "not everything's black or white" was adopted. The year 2003 was another major highlight in my career at SABC News. The Indian International Film Awards were held in Johannesburg for the first time. Mainstream journalism was still at pains to recognise the clout of Indian cinema that raked in money daily at the box office, thanks to the songs and stories of India. The diaspora has contributed immensely to the demand for Indian content, news about stars and singers, that soon Bollywood – as the term had been coined – was on the news entertainment diary of almost every decent newsroom. The Lotus FM audience lapped up every word, soundbite and informal chat I had with presenters on-air at the time. Even SAfm played a few of my stories, and Ukhozi FM translated copy for their audience too. More people started to take notice of Bollywood and its real place in world cinematography.

By the mid 2000s after getting married, giving birth to two children and finding a home, a new opportunity had arisen at Lotus FM. Radio had morphed and dealt with the challenge of dwindling audiences by introducing producers for all programmes. This was done in the belief that a better-informed presenter would draw in more audiences. Talk radio was all the rage, and, at the time, we lost quite a few colleagues to competitors. To counter this exodus, radio news decided to upgrade those in newsrooms to retain talent. I was requested to apply for the senior producer post at *Newsbreak,* and landed the job.

Salma Patel interviewing actor Amitabh Bachchan

The Throb nightclub tragedy gave me a new insight into court reporting for radio. Radio had more leeway to describe the accused in court and describe what was happening in court. This places a different slant on a radio story, and provides the audience with a little more than they would get from other media. The tragedy had a positive side in that it resulted in the building of the Chatsworth Youth Centre by Nelson Mandela and his foundation. The people of Chatsworth were quite honoured that Mandela cared so much about their community and children. The crush of the crowd was phenomenal. Almost everyone came to see the saviour of South Africa's "rainbow nation" for themselves. Through this simple gesture, Mandela earned the respect and adoration of the Indian-origin community.

Later, I moved from radio news, securing the job as executive producer of Lotus FM programmes. This was a wonderful learning curve into the real world of radio . . . while news danced at the edge of radio in those days, I used the opportunity to break into mainstream radio. Cross-promotion of current affairs programmes was encouraged, and teams were asked to rely on factual information from the news department. But there were also a few rocky years. Some Lotus FM staff embarked on their first strike to remove the station manager. After the "war" between staffers and management, I was the only manager still in employ. The youngest and greenest of the bunch had to run a radio station and a staff of more than 30 on-air presenters. It was tough. I had to earn the respect of seasoned broadcasters, and which I accomplished. Throughout my time in the field and studio, I realised that I honestly *do* love talking with people. Kindness on-air goes a long way. The listener enjoys the honesty of the news reporter in current affairs, and the anchor who listens and then responds, not one who loves listening to her/his own voice. Now, it seems that radio is just talk, talk, talk overpowering the audience. If stations could get this balance right, there would be many more successful radio stations.

Being at the SABC has given me the opportunity to flirt a little with television, one of the most difficult and costly mediums. I was asked to cover an event which I thought went well even though I did bend the rules. I was not chosen for broadcasts thereafter. Admittedly, I relished the adrenaline rush that live television gives you.

Radio today is pretty much stable. Notwithstanding the technological onslaught, radio has stood the test of time. Once media houses really learn to understand the reach and coverage that radio provides, then they will realise the importance of including radio when going multi-platform. It's hard to ignore social media these days, but a podcast is very different from the live entertainment and companionship that radio can deliver. Is there a future for radio? There sure is.

Oh, and a note to The Buggles: video did *not* kill the radio star - that radio star went on television and Facebook and now draws audiences back to radio!

Salma Patel is executive producer of the radio current affairs programme, *Newsbreak* on Lotus FM, and SABC news editor in the KwaZulu-Natal Region. She has worked for the Natal Witness in 1997 and made the transition to radio in 1998 when offered a position at SABC News in the Durban office. Salma holds a degree in journalism from the Durban University of Technology, a certificate in Media Management from the University of Witwatersrand, a certificate in Radio Station Management from the University of Witwatersrand and has completed the Management Development Programme from the University of Stellenbosch Business School. She has also travelled on international assignments covering President Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa's first visit to India in 2019, the Editor's Programme in Turkey in 2012 and the 50th Independence Day Celebrations in Mauritius in 2018. Salma also enjoys comedy and created two online social media characters #ShahRukhJaan, who is her husband, and #KorporateKanmani depicting the transition of culturally-dressed women of Indian-origin to the boardroom.

36. Uveka *Rangappa*

I can't remember exactly when, why or how I decided that journalism was what I wanted to study . . . but it happened! I always thought I'd be a clinical psychologist. After all, my close friends said I gave the best advice. But according to my parents, my penchant for news was evident from an early age. I would cut out articles from the newspaper and read them out aloud in front of the mirror. My primary school teachers were astounded that I always had something to "report" at daily news time.

It's 1994, and there I am at Technikon Natal. I'd been set on going to Rhodes University, but my Dad who rarely said "no" to me for anything was dead against it. I then found myself at a cold and dreary campus in Smith Street, Durban. I later realised that that decision was the best thing as the structure of studying at a technikon with its one year of in-service training set me on my early path into the formal world of journalism. I made it through the requisite two years of theory, getting up to a fair share of mischief!

I was fortunate enough to spend the first few months of my internship at the legendary Capital Radio 604. There was no pay, it was early mornings, the work was fast-paced with no room for mistakes, and the woman in charge of news was a tough 'cookie'. I made plenty of mistakes, but grow I certainly did! I met many very interesting people in those few months – our paths would cross many times over the next 23 years (and counting!).

"my friends had to endure tears as I told the story of my 'lost' boy over and over again"

After my brief stint at 'Capital on the beach' (literally) in early 1996, I went searching at the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in Durban. I was given the opportunity to work on *Newsbreak*, a current affairs show on Lotus FM, and I also read the news. Despite working for "separate" stations under the SABC umbrella, the journalists managed to form lifelong friendships. Many have gone on to become feared in the field, top radio and television news anchors, legendary radio show hosts and esteemed authors. I worked with producers and writers who could make anything happen . . . like finding a person to talk with in Lesotho during unrest there – this was done by calling a payphone and interviewing *any* person who answered the phone! Now that's dedication. We joked about it back then, but it was a great place to hone one's skills. And it was in the day of reel-to-reel tapes - literally splicing and sticking words together! During my time at Lotus FM, working behind the scenes and occasionally reading news, I had the privilege of interviewing local and international stars. But what really excited me was when I got to tell the stories of ordinary people doing extraordinary things on the *Community Slot.* I started the weekly feature which sang the praises of unsung heroes. Gift of the Givers' Dr Imtiaz Sooliman was one of them. Little did I know that less than a decade later I would be on a cargo plane with him en route to post-war Iraq.

Dr Imtiaz Sooliman of Gift of the Givers

I spent five years at the SABC, eventually hosting *Newsbreak* before moving on to the now independent East Coast Radio (initially Radio Port Natal). It was the year 9/11 happened. The other big events I covered were the 1999 national election and the death of Princess Diana. It was exciting to be part of such a trendy environment, and even greater when I was made part of the popular breakfast show team. However, I was strongly encouraged by my mentor to venture further to Talk Radio 702 in Johannesburg. I made the call, and was told to come through. I suppose it was auspicious that on the day of my job interview Nelson Mandela was there doing a radio interview - the next time I would see him would be when I walked past his coffin at the Union Buildings to pay my respects. I soon found myself in the heart of Sandton. It was terrifying, intimidating yet liberating all at the same time. It was hard working . . . running from one story to another, just when you thought you were done with a protest and heading back on the highway, you'd get a call to return to Pretoria for another march. And you still left three angles on every single story for that evening, and three more

for every story for the next morning. I moved from reporting to anchoring news on the afternoon drive show. It was just as manic. In 2003, a rather embarrassing occurrence led to one of my most memorable assignments. It was about a year and a half after 9/11. I was working on a public holiday and had gone into the news booth for my bulletin. We were preparing for the United States to announce a halt to its invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, but we didn't know when that was going to happen. As I was about to go on air, the television monitor flashed BREAKING NEWS! The announcement had been made, but there was no sound coming through, and all I had to go on were the pictures and straps. I ad-libbed my way through an entire bulletin based on what I could see. The listener was none the wiser yet it turned out to be a great bulletin. It was nerve-jangling. I stormed back to the newsroom blurting out expletives, and there, staring at me, was my chief executive officer with two elderly guests. She asked, "Where would you like to be, Uveka?" My reply, "In Iraq, Terry, in Iraq!" A few days later, I was on a plane headed for Baghdad with Gift of the Givers.

Uveka Rangappa with Bono of U2

It was a life-changing trip complete with nearly being shot down over Baghdad for an unauthorized landing, doing interviews, and filing stories via satellite phone on the roof of our dilapidated hotel under the watchful eye of snipers, racing against curfew to get back from covering stories about refugee camps and long-lost relatives. But what will always stand out for me is the beautiful little boy I met on the day we arrived. He would turn up every morning to say "hello", and be there every evening when we got back. It had nothing to do with food: he just wanted to be in our company. I'll never forget the day we left Baghdad. I panicked because I couldn't see him anywhere as we were about to leave for the airport. As our minibus went past a pillar, there he was . . . and as he turned to look at me, the tears were streaming down his face! It's a picture forever burnt into my memory . . . the heartbreak of that moment has lived with me ever since. For many years, my friends had to endure tears as I told the story of my 'lost' boy over and over again wondering what had become of him. They told me that I had to channel that pain into some kind of work with kids. I would find it, many years later, in my work with Rise Against Hunger (RAH) which feeds children at early childhood development centres.

I also did work for sister station 947 where I had the time of my life in the company of radio legends. I was advised to get myself an agent. Not long after, I landed my first television gig, presenting the legal show *Rights and Recourse.* At one point, I was doing a live television show all week long, doing voiceovers for a sports show before heading to do news on the afternoon drive show on radio. You quickly learn that journalism is about juggling jobs. And you don't say no even if it pays a pittance!

My one love radio led me to my other love . . . my husband Shaun. He never listened to the radio, but to his CDs. On one particular afternoon, he tuned into the news on 947 and heard me. According to him, it was the "voice"! A few emails later, we were on our first date. We married in 2008, and so ended my 'always the MC, never the bride' phase. I left radio, and begun my first television news job on what was then the eNews channel. I anchored the news on weekdays. I had my daughter Suryana in 2009, the year Michael Jackson died, experienced the euphoria of the story of the year in 2010 . . . the FIFA World Cup, went back to 947 in early 2011, and later to 702's morning drive. One highlight of 2011 was meeting U2's Bono! The bigger highlight came later that year when I had my son Surav. Earlier that year though, a few weeks after learning I was pregnant with him, I landed the job as one of the hosts of the parenting show *Great Expectations* at midday once a week. I did radio in the mornings. There was laughter mixed with tears as we unearthed the good, the bad and the pain of raising a child.

I was then offered the opportunity to go back to television news. It was to co-anchor *Morning News Today* on eNCA and work with the man who would come to be known as my "partner", veteran journalist Dan Moyane. It was back to early mornings . . . 3.30am starts! Not easy with two kids, but I couldn't have done it without the help of my husband. Who would have thought we would end 2013 mourning our beloved Madiba? They were long, emotional days and a bleak December. I never made it to my high school reunion that year. In 2014, I'd cover yet another election, cross to studio every morning from a cold and sometimes wet sidewalk as Oscar Pistorius went on trial for the murder of Reeva Steenkamp, and things started falling apart for Jacob Zuma as well as the country. It was Nkandla, Guptagate and more scandal.

I was asked in July 2017 to direct proceedings at a gala function for RAH. I, thereafter, started raising funds for the organisation. I often thought of my little friend in Iraq and prayed that someone would be feeding him through the years too. I've never used who I am to get things done, but when it came to my work with RAH, I unashamedly used my position as a media personality when arranging golf days, family movie days, art auctions or ladies' nights. After all, it was for the love of children.

Somewhere in the middle of all of this, I found myself playing a journalist on the television series *Strike Back,* and then in a Leon Schuster movie *Frank and Fearless.* The roles lasted all of a minute, but I had my own trailer with my name emblazoned on it.

My coverage of the 2019 national elections included a cross country "election bus" trip during which I spoke to ordinary people about the hardships of daily life. The most memorable

moment was standing at an intersection in crime-ridden Helenvale in Port Elizabeth interviewing three very nervous gangsters because they were literally not in their 'territory' when asked "why they kill".

Over the years, I've often found myself questioning why do I do this! Your audience will love you, they'll hate you, they'll love to hate you. Further, social media and the freedom to have your say has made people unaccountably vicious. Everyone's a critic! You have to grow a thick skin, and it's taken me years yet mine is still not thick enough!

It's not important for me to push the envelope in trying to attract the attention of an international news network. Right now, there so much still to do in South Africa. As a journalist, it's about getting the best possible information to people so they can make important decisions as they navigate life. My role in media is to bring about change. I love my job, but I love it more when viewers contact us soon after I've interviewed a genius child from a township who can't raise the money to participate in an international maths competition, and they want to help. Knowing I played a small part in helping someone on their road to greatness is worth more than a countless number of presidential interviews!

Uveka Rangappa is a senior anchor on eNCA, and has anchored both morning and evening prime time shows on the channel. Uveka has had an extensive career in both radio and television. She holds a National Diploma: Journalism from the Durban University of Technology. Uveka has had the pleasure and honour of interviewing people from across the spectrum – from high profile figures such as former presidents and celebrities to ordinary people performing the extraordinary. She has covered many elections and landmark events, and rates her coverage of post-war Iraq as one of her toughest assignments, but that which brings the fondest memories.

37. Yogas *Nair*

I was born in Tongaat on the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) North Coast. Its history lies deep in the history of sugar cane and indentured labour. To many, Tongaat was seen as a village. But it was growing up in this village that made me dream of spreading my wings and soaring to dizzy heights. I attended an iconic school, Tongaat Secondary. My father had high hopes for me, and saw me as one day being a teacher or lawyer. I kept that at the back of mind. But my father did not have the slightest clue that I was pre-occupied with another idea: Journalism. It was when I matriculated in 1991 that I confessed my aspirations to him. The response was immediate and telling. "Well, then you are going to have to pay for whatever that is yourself." My father only spoke once. The conversation ended there. But if he thought his would deter me, then he had forgotten I was his daughter - stubbornness was in the genes.

The year of 1992 was a time of incredible excitement, but also trepidation in South Africa. The liberation movements were unbanned, and Mandela was leading negotiations with the National Party which masterminded apartheid. I was aware of these developments, but was consumed by negotiating my own pathway in life. Deep down I still cherished a life of writing. I took a gap year, and worked as a casual at a bank in Durban to save up the R700 I needed to register as a student at the ML Sultan Technikon. While the world of money and the tensions that come with working in banking numbed me every day, it never killed off my dream of becoming a journalist. The changing situation in South Africa, and the world as the Soviet Union collapsed, only served to reinforce the desire to chase breaking news and walk in the footsteps of history.

As 1992 drew to a close, I applied to study journalism at the technikon. It was an anxious wait. I had bet so much on the outcome, going against my father, against traditions that saw becoming a teacher or lawyer as a safe pair of hands. It was a day of utmost joy when I was accepted. I paid my registration fee, with no idea as to how I would pay for the rest of the tuition. But paths were miraculously opening. My student loan was approved a few weeks later. It took away a great amount of angst as it saw me through my three years of full-time study. My journey through the corridors of the technikon was simply amazing. I felt like Alice in Wonderland as I entered an entirely different world. I made new friends, learnt new things, even became more fashionable in my dressing, and persevered with my studies. I became street smart and travelled daily from Tongaat to Durban by train or taxi.

Interestingly, at the time I pursued my journalism diploma, French and Shorthand were part of the curriculum. I loved political science by Dr Sinthie Qono, was truly inspired by broadcast journalism lecturer Robin Sewlal, and greatly humoured by Ramesh Ramlal. I forged some amazing relationships during this time, and remain firm friends with many of my fellow students to this day. I grew in leaps and bounds as a person, and the world of journalism opened so many doors of opportunity.

In my third year, I was fortunate to secure my internship at the North Coast Courier, a community newspaper based in Ballito. It was a challenging year with difficult working conditions, but I completed it successfully. I went on to work at the Chatsworth Rising Sun for many years before my break in mainstream media came in 2001. A friend of a friend had spoken with the editor of the Post, Brijlall Ramguthee, about me wanting to join the title.

As a courtesy to the friend, Ramguthee granted me an interview. He handed me 10 high court applications, and asked me to have the stories on his table the next morning. That was my welcome to the 'real world'. I had never reported on court matters before, let alone from court papers. I phoned several lawyer friends and colleagues, and after several nerve-racking hours was able to produce the stories. They were delivered to Ramguthee the following morning. He just smiled and asked me to return the next day. I was officially hired as a freelance journalist at the Post. Three years were spent on the title as a freelancer before I was given a permanent job. Post was the perfect learning ground, and I thrived under the strong mentorship of Ramguthee and news editor Khalil Aniff. Goals were set, and nothing but writing the front-page lead each week was acceptable to me. As I chased stories hard, my contact base and sources became limitless.

After spending several years on the title, I was head-hunted by the Daily News editor, Alan Dunn, and offered a job as senior reporter. I was not sure if I was ready for the move. I was also a bit anxious, as I had applied for several jobs on the title over the years, but never made the cut. I knew all things Indian, even writing stories had been limited to this. Would I survive on this mainstream, daily title? The offer sat with me for days, and I eventually decided to leave Post. It was a difficult decision, for various reasons, but the time had come for change. A new challenge was needed, and I started my stint at the Daily News. Here too I was blessed to have amazing mentors in Dunn and Bruce Colly. My first few weeks on the title were not easy. Colly,

who was deputy editor, tore my stories to shreds and questioned every fact as he was a stickler for detail. He was tough to deal with, but in the end, I understood – there was no compromise in journalism. Go after the truth, write the truth and win the trust of your readers. This sticks with me until today. Colly and I eventually became friends, even sharing recipes and home-remedies. Much effort was put into my work at the Daily News, and after two years as a senior reporter, there was a reward. I was appointed news editor.

"My journey through the corridors of the technikon was simply amazing"

In 2014, two years after I became news editor, Independent Newspapers was sold to a South African consortium, headed by Dr Iqbal Survé. It was an uncertain time, and none of us knew what the change-over would mean for us or the business. For me, it opened a world of possibilities. A few months after Survé took over, the vacancy for the Post editorship was advertised. I knew immediately that that was my next move. I had always aspired to edit the title, and decided to apply for the position. It was not an easy journey. I faced many obstacles. There was talk of me not being "editor material" nor having "strong management" skills. But, it took someone to believe in me, and towards the end of 2014, I was appointed as the editor of Post by Survé. This was a ground-breaking event for women in journalism, as I was the first female editor in the 60-year history of the publication.

Two years later, I was saying goodbye to the Post. I knew that I had made an impact. While many tried to question my ability within the profession, I was boosted by the 'person in the street', from Chatsworth to Phoenix to the streets of Tongaat - people came up to me to offer their well wishes.

I became the second woman editor of The Mercury in November 2016, the month that celebrated the arrival of Indians in South Africa and the 165th anniversary of The Mercury. I did not have a good start at The Mercury. The fact that I was an Indian female, leading this title was not easily accepted by many. But when I thought about the struggles of the indentured, the single women who came and made a life in the province, I was inspired and knew that I would prevail no matter the odds. In 2017, I was appointed KZN regional executive editor – a new challenge, and went on to the become the deputy editor-in-chief of the Independent Media group in 2019. I still remain editor of The Mercury, and that's by choice. The love of the everyday challenge of putting an edition on the streets still holds. To see the placards of the paper while driving to work, feel the rustle of the actual paper, know that you are informing and educating are feelings of wonder to behold.

Under the leadership of Survé, Independent Media has transformed, with a lot of focus on women empowerment. Over the years, he has given his full support to achieve this goal in the industry, and this has resulted in several top women appointments in the company. I would be failing, if I did not credit Survé for believing in me as a leader and creating opportunities to grow in my career. This belief has helped grow my confidence and motivates me to work even harder. His constant motivation and encouragement have helped me meet the many challenges to climb the ladder of success, quickly and relatively effortlessly.

Today, I can honestly say that I have lived my dream of becoming a journalist, writing a number of headline stories, and now living my dream of being an editor. While I still remain editor of The Mercury, my focus is on mentorship – growing and motivating young journalists.

It is not an easy journey from university to mainstream media. I understand the challenges, and want young journalists to not 'throw in the towel', but persevere and realise dreams and goals, like I did. Our country has lived through momentous changes. But democracy is something that we cannot take for granted. We have to be constantly on our guard, and be prepared to expose those who subvert the gains that so many have sacrificed so much for. In this, journalism continues to play a vital role. In my mentorship, in my own editorship, I try and play a role.

In 1991, I made a huge decision to take the road less travelled. I remember like it was yesterday the train ride from Tongaat to Durban, the first day at ML Sultan Technikon, and the people who supported me through the years. I have lived my dream. I hope I have also opened paths so others can do that too.

Yogas Nair completed the National Diploma: Journalism at the ML Sultan Technikon in 1994. She has worked at various community newspapers including the North Coast Courier, Rising Sun and Coastal Weekly. Yogas joined Independent Media in 2000, and has worked at Post and Daily News. She served Post as a journalist before becoming its editor. Yogas is the editor of The Mercury, KwaZulu-Natal regional executive editor, and deputy editor-in-chief for the Independent Media group.

38. Zanele *Buthelezi*

Growing up, radio and newspapers were the main source of information in my household. Listening to news bulletins and reading articles helped educate and sensitise me about the socio-economic situation in South Africa. This also reinforced my interest in storytelling and influenced my decision to pursue journalism studies at Technikon Natal.

For many people from poor communities, education is an opportunity to achieve a better life. I was born to working class parents, but this didn't deter my mother from wanting the best education for her children. Most people in my community in Durban's outer west area did not go beyond high school. I was one of the few fortunate people to be able to do so. In 1995, my mother moved me from my township school to a well-resourced former model C school. The experience helped open my mind to new possibilities about a career in the media industry. After matriculating with good grades in 2001, I was very clear about what I wanted to do, and that was to be a journalist. I got accepted at the technikon to study journalism, and that marked the beginning of my journey to an exciting career. The institution had one of the best journalism schools in the country. At that time, it had already produced some of the country's greatest journalists. My cousin Fred Khumalo, a renowned journalist and author, was one of them. In April 2002, Technikon Natal merged with ML Sultan Technikon to form the Durban Institute of Technology. It later became the Durban University of Technology (DUT).

"For many people from poor communities, education is an opportunity to achieve a better life"

The journalism department was housed at City Campus in the hustle and bustle of Durban's central business district. This was a perfect location for inquisitive trainee journalists to practise their craft. Some of the city's biggest taxi ranks, the markets and the Berea train station were always full of stories. The institution also had various platforms which afforded students the opportunity to gain experience. Among them was the campus online publication DUTOnline. One of my first stories for the publication was on a money heist I witnessed on the way to campus. I had just got off the train at Berea Station when gunshots rang out from the upper level of the complex sending early morning commuters screaming and running for cover. A security guard was gunned down in one of the shops. A couple of armed suspects hurried away with money boxes and drove off in their expensive getaway cars (which were likely stolen for the sole purpose of committing the crime). Writing for DUTOnline gave us invaluable experience as new media was starting to boom.

While I believed that obtaining a journalism qualification was important, hands-on experience was also necessary to establish yourself as a journalist. At DUT, we had space to do both, which helped prepare us for the workplace. So, when I was not in class or reporting for DUTOnline, I volunteered at the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) among others, to gain experience and build my CV. As a second-year student, I was also a media volunteer during the 2003 ICC Cricket World Cup.

City Campus was away from the main Steve Biko Campus which meant our classes were not often disrupted by student protests that took place every year. We did, however, in 2003 stage our own protest in the journalism department to demand better resources. We walked from City Campus to Steve Biko Campus, and demonstrated peacefully outside the faculty office chanting "journalists united will never be defeated" before handing over a list of demands. This was an important experience in taking a stand, pulling together and holding power to account.

DUT prepared me to enter the workplace with confidence after graduation. The journalism school sharpened my writing and reporting skills. My National Diploma: Journalism and Bachelor of Technology: Journalism prepared me for all aspects of the profession. The lecturers who had vast experience in the industry gave the necessary support to ensure we thrived. After a year of relentless volunteering, SABC hired me as an intern before taking me on as a full-time employee. It initially took me on as a general reporter. But I quickly focused on politics, which was a major beat for a student journalist at the time. This was during a time leading to the 2004 general elections, and KwaZulu-Natal was one of the highly contested provinces between rivals, the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party. The province had plenty of political hotpots, so I learnt a lot about working in such tense environments. The Schabir Shaik trial was another major case that I covered. The case involved the country's controversial 1999 arms deal and implicated high-ranking politicians including former President Jacob Zuma. Being young and ambitious, I gladly took on the challenge. The experience allowed me to grow in the industry, and prove myself. Initially, reporting live from the field on various SABC radio stations was nerve-racking. There were mistakes at times, but this was my first experience at working under pressure. But I quickly found my feet.

After completing my degree in 2005, I was promoted

to senior political reporter. The SABC had a great group of individuals in radio news, and I learnt a great deal about teamwork. I covered provincial, national and international news events, and interviewed various newsmakers in my career at the SABC. Major news events such as the United Nations Climate conference, elections in Nigeria and Zimbabwe, and the 2010 FIFA World Cup helped build invaluable connections and experience.

Zanele Buthelezi with the Gift of the Givers team in Libya

The South African humanitarian group Gift of the Givers invited a group of journalists on their mission to Libya during the uprising in March 2011, and I was fortunate to be a participant. On our travels, we had a lay-over in Cairo, Egypt, in the wake of its revolution that toppled President Hosni Mubarak in February 2011. The situation was still tense, especially in Tahrir Square, where protesters had gathered. We travelled by bus from Cairo to Libya's coastal city of Benghazi where the uprising to remove leader Muammar Gaddafi began. We observed rebel groups battle with government forces, and doctors treat the injured coming from the frontlines. Reporting on the uprising was a dangerous mission. We had to be on high alert on when the frontline was advancing so that we could retreat to safer areas. In one instance, a hotel we had stayed in was shelled hours after we had left. Assignments like these required courage and bravery.

Recognition of my work ranks very high and instils a strong sense of pride. Some of my work won several awards, including three Vodacom Journalist of the Year awards, an SABC News Award, a Gender and Media Award and recognition from my community. I was also part of the HIV/AIDS and the Media Fellowship in 2006 at Wits University's journalism school. Furthering education is key to ensure that skills are up to date and in keeping with developments in the industry. I was among a group of journalists invited by the South African National Editors' Forum to take part in a media management course for women. The course was an introduction to management aimed at increasing the representation of women in senior leadership in newsrooms.

The desire to practise journalism at an international level led me to a job in China where I am expanding my skills at China Radio International which is part of the China Media Group. When not editing stories or doing radio reporting, I am travelling in and outside China. China has a different environment and media culture from a country like South Africa. It's been a fascinating and enlightening experience to work in that part of the world.

To succeed in this profession, you have to work hard, be ambitious and willing to take on challenges. Nothing happens overnight. My degree combined with these qualities have guided me and many others towards their goals in the profession.

Zanele Buthelezi commenced volunteering at the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) while still an undergraduate student. She was eventually employed by the SABC. Zanele has won several awards for her work. Following nearly 15 years with the SABC in Durban, she had a brief stint at a communications company in Johannesburg before venturing abroad. After a year and a half as an English teacher in Shanghai, Zanele went back to her first calling, joining China Radio International in Beijing as a news copy editor in 2018.

39. Zayn *Nabbi*

The first time I got a threatening phone call, it threw me. This was not what I expected when I entered sports journalism. After all, we were meant to be the genre of media that inspired hope, a kind of 'opium for the masses'. But there I was getting an earful from an unhinged individual deriding my work printed in Durban's Daily News, where I was the beat rugby writer. It was the mid-2000s and the province's rugby franchise, The Sharks, had not won a major title in a decade, crowds were dwindling, there was pressure to move to a new stadium, and the organisation was failing to transform as they eschewed any opportunity to become more representative and inclusive. I had written about all these issues, and the men who sat in the King's Park stadium's ivory towers were, to say the least, irate with me. One of the chief guard dogs of The Sharks top brass would often phone me to complain that my writing was "crap" and accuse me of having an agenda against the province's administrators. He once told me to "watch my back" when going to Durban Collegians, the team where he used to be the chairman.

I was used to intimidation. But getting threats and abuse from an unknown person was on another level. Being bullied seemed par for the course. There was a time when a former Springbok told me to "watch what I write", because I was "pissing everyone off", including his old friend Kevin Putt, who used to coach The Sharks between 2002-2005. He mentioned nobody would talk to me, and my career would be over if I continued to be a negative writer.

I was a young man, and would often listen to my detractors before firing back that I was just doing my job, and, if I had got something factually wrong, to show me. They never did. At one point, I remember even saying if people wanted 'to bring it', they had my number, and as a former fetcher flank who had attended age group regional trials, I was happy to square up to whomever wanted a piece of me. Unnecessary bravado, I know.

But rugby, at the best of times, is a testosterone-filled environment. And as a young black journalist, continually getting bombarded in South Africa, at a time when the rugby fraternity was predominantly white, I had to stand up for myself. Even though, if I'm honest, it did get to me. And, at times it was a very lonely place.

Our country officially became a democracy in 1994, and the 1995 Rugby World Cup, where Nelson Mandela stood so proudly behind Francois Pienaar, is an iconic moment in our history. But it was one day of unity, and rugby was still largely seen as the last bastion of white masculinity. Anyone who threatened that hegemony was seen as an unwelcome heathen. Over the course of my career, The Sharks banned me from the stadium twice as they revoked my accreditation. But my determination to stay the course and fight on gave me the professional resilience and toughness to grow in ways I didn't think I could. You see, the best flowers grow in manure. And as the great rapper and thought leader Tupac Amaru Shakur once wrote in my favourite poem of all time *The Rose that Grew from Concrete,* the flower proved "nature's law wrong" as it "learned to walk without having feet" because "by keeping its dreams, it learned to breathe fresh air… when no one else ever cared." (Shakur and Steinberg, 2000). I like to think I was that rose, and the rugby fraternity bore down on me like concrete. But I was going to be damned if they were going to beat me.

"on entering the CNN London newsroom, you saw first-hand people bringing their 'A-game' every day, all day"

I also learnt that being the outsider opens you up to others who will provide you with all the right information you need, and you have licence to probe and dig where the other journos just wouldn't go, for fear of sullying relations. One of those areas was transformation, and I was able to ask uncomfortable questions about the continued lack of it in the game.

In all, I covered The Sharks for around a decade for both the Daily News and television channel eNews as its correspondent in Durban. While for the most part I didn't have many colleagues who supported me, one man stood above others. And that was the legendary Farook Khan, who was one of the most gifted storytellers I've ever met. He was a bearded beauty in the old Independent Newspapers newsroom. Full of life and laughter, he had two attributes that I loved: a heart bigger than most, and an unflinching backbone. He helped mentor me, and when he could see that I needed backup, he'd confront the agitators without me even knowing. He was street smart and knew how to operate outside the lines to protect us cub reporters. The stuff you don't get taught in school. I also had an academic powerhouse in my corner, in the form of Professor Ashwin Desai. A brilliant man. What a brain! And somebody who knew, like Farook, that the thing the establishment feared most was educated journalists, who they couldn't scare or buy off. Ashwin and I teamed up to write academic papers on rugby's lack of transformation. Black rugby has a history of over a century, and the white rugby fraternity ignored that wilfully, as it perpetuated the narrative that sport was something new for blacks. Just plain wrong. (Desai and Nabbi, 2010). We hit back with research, facts and cogent arguments. That, combined with Farook helping me develop my storytelling, meant I was able to bob, weave, jab

and deliver powerful knockout blows to the naysayers with my keyboard.

During my time at the Daily News and eNews, I had the privilege of telling many stories. My most enjoyable were those that affected change. I had persistently reported about how The Sharks, at the time. refused to rebrand from the old colonial name, Natal. By the mid-2000s, they changed, and I was told by The Sharks board chairman Oregan Hoskins and other black administrators that my continual raising of the issue had made it a discussion point. The power of agenda setting! I did the same about the lack of transformation, which led to more players being selected, and more opportunities for coaches, managers and administrators. There even used to be a caucus of black administrators who used to gather to push for change, and I was invited to give my perspective and share thoughts as a journalist. I was sitting with men old enough to be my dad, but they valued my input and had seen my bravery as we became allies fighting to democratise the game.

Eventually, The Sharks, who had done their best to marginalise me, started to engage me as I was invited to help formulate policy on the future of club rugby, a passion of mine, while also wanting me to get more involved in a transformation think-tank. It was during that time that I remembered the intimidating phone calls, the barking administrators and the times I had my accreditation taken away. As the famous quote goes: "First they ignore you. Then they laugh at you. Then they attack you. Then you win." (O'Carroll, 2011) The oh so sweet smell of victory!

Having had the fortune of working in South Africa for all my professional career, I had long wanted to take a sabbatical and experience life abroad. Ashwin had been pushing me to enrol for a masters qualification, while Farook had regaled me with his adventures in New York and London. In the end, I decided I had to do both. And through the generosity of the British Council, I was fortunate enough to get the Chevening Scholarship to study journalism at City University in London in 2010. Situated in central London, the university is a feeder to every major news organisation in the world. It was a great environment, mainly because I got to interact with journalists from all over the world. Not just the Brits, Irish and Europeans, but people from sub-Saharan and North Africa, the Middle East, Far East, Indian sub-continent, Australians and the Americas. It was a very special nine months, not necessarily because of what I learnt from my professors, but more because meeting these people challenged my thinking in ways that have made me a better person. My struggles don't come near classmates who'd been part of the green movement in Iran, protesting during the Arab Spring, and some even became part-journalists, part activists during the outbreak of fighting in Syria. These were journalists sacrificing everything they had, to genuinely make their countries better places by ensuring a free flow of information. Wow, I couldn't hold a candle to these journalists.

Even though I'd worked as a television correspondent before, I did an internship at CNN International while completing the course so that I could see how one of the best networks in 24-hour news operated. I loved that experience. While I'd worked in journalism and knew the basics of pulling together a package, and going live (I could do that in my sleep, if I'm honest), I really learnt the art of crafting premium content, was taught how to promote it to maximise impact and got to experience access like never before on shoots with the biggest names in the sports world. I always prided myself on my work ethic, but on entering the CNN London newsroom, you saw first-hand people bringing their "A-game" every day, all day. I loved the environment and thought at the end of my four-month internship in 2011 that I was leaving a better journalist. In fact, I had planned to join eNews as their chief sports news reporter in Johannesburg, and was 10 days away from leaving the mud island for good, when my boss, Chris Eldergill, told me the organisation had a one year contract for me to stay on to work during the London Olympics in 2012. I couldn't resist one more year in London and stayed on. It was a no brainer.

The one year turned into a decade, and I'm now a senior producer in London, focused on delivering cross-platform distinctive content, covering major sporting events and competitions, while also helping with talent identification by bringing in the next generation of sports interns.

Zayn Nabbi with Renata Camaleoa, a local producer/ translator and Amanda Davies, CNN World Sport correspondent at the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Sao Paulo, Brazil

I'm eternally grateful to Chris, who backed me to be sponsored by the company, empowered me to do work that I'm passionate about, and gave me a voice to speak honestly about how we shape our content and shows. One of the proudest pieces of work I've collaborated on at CNN is our *Fighting Racism in Football* series, where we've partnered with award-winning football journalist Darren Lewis. As the lead producer, it's been a pleasure working with Darren, as we've been able to produce agenda-setting content that's shed light on an issue that's plagued the sport for too long. Darren is a skilled interviewer, a campaigner and somebody well connected and respected in the game. Combine that with CNN's 470 million reach and their reputation for credible news, and you've got a powerful platform to magnify the issue. We've spoken to the likes of Chelsea's Tammy Abraham, Liverpool's Gini Wijnaldum, Queens Park Rangers Director of Football, Les Ferdinand, veteran manager Chris Hughton and many, many others to produce a body of

work that's got international traction. Viewers were touched by Tammy's recounting of his mother's tears in the face of the racist abuse aimed at him, while Gini's interview rocked the football world with his vow to walk off the field during a major final if he's subjected to racist abuse. All major United Kingdom (UK) media outlets picked up on the stories, and a rare request by CNN's direct competitor in the UK, Sky News, asked for special permission to run the content, which was granted. This is especially noteworthy because Sky holds the rights to the Premier League. The series was also publicly praised by the UK's biggest anti-discrimination football body, *Kick It Out*. Its chairperson, Sanjay Bhandari, thanked CNN "for maintaining the spotlight and holding the gaze on a tough topic beyond just reacting to incidents." *Kick It Out* even promoted our work on its social platforms (Bhandari, 2020).

I highlight this work because it shows the power of journalism, and also brings it back to the very themes that put a bullseye on my back from the South African rugby fraternity almost 20 years ago. Who knew then that the cuts I was taking would be something setting me up for success now with CNN? Our work has made a difference. One day, we will all pass on, but good journalism, sometimes forged in the painful fires of battle, will live on eternally because it evokes an unmistakable feeling.

As the revered African American author and civil rights activist Maya Angelou famously wrote, "People will forget what you said, people will forget what you did, but people will never forget how you made them feel." (Gallo, 2014). Let your storytelling make people feel something, because when they do, ideas are sparked, and change beyond your wildest dreams occurs.

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Zayn Nabbi, a graduate in journalism from the Durban University of Technology, is an award-winning journalist, and works as a senior producer for CNN International in their London bureau. His role on the network's flagship sports show, *World Sport*, is to help lead the channel's coverage at major sports events like the Olympics and FIFA World Cup. He's passionate about social justice issues, and has been the lead producer on CNN's agenda-setting work in their *Fighting Racism in Football* campaign, which has shone a light on institutional racism in the game. In his spare time, Zayn shouts loudly on his couch for Bafana Bafana, Barcelona and the Pittsburgh Steelers.

40. Zodumo *Maphumulo*

Who would have guessed a young girl raised by a single mother from the rural area of uMbumbulu, south-west of Durban, would one day pursue a career path in the male-dominated world of sport television broadcasting?

When I walked through the gates of the Durban University of Technology's City Campus in 2006 to pursue studies in journalism, I never imagined the possibility of one day working for one of South Africa's biggest pay television sport broadcasting companies, Supersport International, a subsidiary of the Multichoice Group. For as long as I can remember, I have always wanted to be a journalist. My interest in writing started taking shape in high school when I contributed as a writer to the weekly newsletter. Thereafter, I joined the school debating team and went on to participate and compete in the KwaZulu-Natal South Coast district level on what was known as the Rotary Daily News Team-Speaking competition. In my final year at high school, I had gained enough confidence to solidify my decision to become a news anchor.

My educational journey has been diverse. In 2005, I was awarded a 'once in a lifetime' opportunity to study towards a National Certificate in Film and Television Production obtained through a learnership with East Coast Media. It was here where I was first introduced to the dynamic world of television broadcasting, and knew I had to study towards a journalism qualification with a special interest in broadcasting.

I have always found the world of broadcast journalism fascinating, fast-paced and unpredictable. One of the requirements in the final year of study for the national diploma at DUT Journalism was to complete a six-month work-integrated learning programme which prepared students for industry. It bridged the gap between the world of academia and the workplace. Like any other student at the time, I was quite anxious about securing the ideal internship opportunity especially because I had opted for a career in television journalism which had limited job opportunities in Durban back then. Driven by anxiety and determination, I managed to secure an internship at Supersport International in Randburg a month before completion of my studies. My life has never been the same again. I credit most of my current career success to the foundations laid by having a journalism qualification. The versatile skills and tools I learnt as a student have allowed me to confidently navigate the work environment and adapt with ease within an ever-changing media platform. This academic choice introduced me to a wide variety of careers that exist within the communication and media industry.

After my 10th anniversary in pay-television, I was nominated by industry peers for the prestigious Mail & Guardian's 200 Young South Africans list. I went on to win in the Film & Media category, selected among 600 applicants across South Africa. I see myself as an all-rounder as the DUT Journalism programme exposed me to a catalogue of choices, such as print, online, radio and television. During my studies, I explored most of them as career options and went on to pursue my passion.

With a solid 12 years of experience, my career journey has been filled with immense growth opportunities. I have managed to grow from being an intern to a production coordinator for the sport news channel *Blitz*, and then progressing to becoming football production manager for Supersport in respect of both local and international events. I never really imagined that I would make it this far. In my time at Supersport, I have had the opportunity to travel both locally and abroad, and have worked on some of the most prestigious international sporting tournaments and events, including the memorable 2010 FIFA World Cup held in South Africa, FIFA 2017 Confederations Cup, FIFA 2018 Football World Cup in Russia, and, most recently, the African Cup of Nations (Afcon) tournament held in 2019 in Egypt.

In connection with the local football scene, I am passionate about the Premier Soccer League (PSL) famously known as *Super Diski.* I look up to powerhouse female role models such as Durban-born and bred Mato Madlala, head honcho at the PSL and chairperson of the Lamontville Golden Arrows football club.

I'm serious about female representation in the workplace. Women within male-dominated industries have always had to work twice as hard when compared to their male counterparts so as to ensure a place at the boardroom table. Women such as Madlala are a constant reminder that it is possible to make it regardless of who you are and where you come from.

The live television environment can be extremely brutal, the

hours are long, and the job can be demanding and challenging. Passion is the only thing that keeps you going. I enjoy being constantly challenged by new projects, events and tournaments as well as fresh ways of doing things. I further enjoy working with people because as a production manager I'm very much the nucleus of a project so relating well to people is a good skill to possess.

"being at the nucleus of projects, relating well to people is a good skill to possess"

As a mother, wife and student, managing a tight schedule is also another challenge. Education has always been at the forefront of my career journey. I have completed a National Diploma in Project Management obtained through the Multichoice Academy and KLM Empowered, a Further Education and Training College, and am currently completing my Post-Graduate Diploma in Management Practice with Henley Business School in preparation for my Master of Business Administration studies in Management Practice in 2021. At this point in my career, I'm all about academic growth and staying relevant within the organisation.

Working within the global space of television broadcasting has made the world even more accessible, therefore I also aspire to broaden my experience even further at international sporting federations such as FIFA, CAF or international broadcasters such as Sky Sports, ESPN and Fox Sports. The biggest advantage of working for a company such as Multichoice and Supersport International for more than a decade is that it allows you the opportunity for growth. Multichoice is a multifaceted company with so much opportunity to grow and learn. You are exposed to so many different business models within one space. I'm truly fortunate and immensely grateful to have been employed by such a giant in the world of communications.

Zodumo Maphumulo is a seasoned television production manager at Supersport International where she works in the football department. She is responsible for planning, coordinating and executing all requirements for live football television productions. In 2019, the Mail & Guardian listed her as one of the most influential 200 Young South Africans in the Film & Media category. Zodumo is a strong media and television broadcasting professional with a solid 12 years of experience in the industry. Passionate about female representation, she endeavours to push the glass ceiling even further by ensuring that women are represented well both on screen and in the boardroom.

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"Reflections of the South African Media: 1994-2019 is a compilation by authors who have peculiar insight of and excelled in the different areas of the fast-developing industry in the first 25 years of South Africa's democracy."
Editor Robin Sewlal

"Good, unshackled and unbiased journalism is essential to maintaining a working democracy."
Jeremy Thompson, author and former senior Sky News anchor

Topics covered include:
Business
Constitution and judiciary
Elections
Environment
Film
Labour
Mahatma Gandhi
Media diversity
National Electronic Media Institute of South Africa
Nelson Mandela
Politics
Portraits of South Africans
Print media
Publishing
Sports
Three tiers of radio and television broadcasting
Truth and Reconciliation Commission

A section titled *Journeys in Journalism* comprises stories by journalism alumni from the classroom to the newsroom, and beyond.

Authors from Australia, China, Hong Kong, New Zealand, South Africa, United Kingdom and United States of America contributed to the commemorative publication.

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