



**A HISTORY OF THE MEDIA POLICY AND DEMOCRACY  
PROJECT, 2012 – 2016**

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## 1. Introduction

The **Media Policy and Democracy Project** (MPDP), which was launched in 2012, is an inter-university collaborative research project between the Department of Communication Science at University of South Africa (UNISA), and the Department of Journalism, Film and Television at the University of Johannesburg (UJ). It aims to promote participatory media and communications policy-making in the public interest.

Since its launch the MPDP has collaborated with academics and researchers from various institutions throughout South Africa and the world, including the University of Queensland (Australia), Jamia Millia University (India), the University of Leuven (Belgium), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (South Africa), the University of Cape Town (South Africa), and Rhodes University (South Africa).

The MPDP has also collaborated with civil society organisations which have a specific focus on media and communications policy-making, and which have a central concern for the public interest and a ground-up audience based approach to research and policy interventions, such as the SOS - Support Public Broadcasting Coalition, Privacy International, and the Right2Know Campaign. The MPDP has engaged with national media policy-makers such as the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Communications, the Press Council of South Africa, the Press Freedom Commission, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), the Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team, the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa), the Government Communication and Information Service (GCIS) and others.

At the heart of this research project are two elements. First, a main aim of the project is to provide unique opportunities for young and junior researchers and academics, particularly women, to benefit from involvement in the project with regard to the advancement of their professional academic careers and thereby encourage the growth of the media and communications academic community of South Africa more broadly.

Second, another main aim of the project involves community participation whereby the findings produced will be presented in forums of public engagement, including the South African parliament, so as to positively inform various processes of communications and media policy making in our country and therefore serve to benefit the South African citizenry. The findings also inform advocacy and activism efforts and campaigns, regarding communications and media rights.

What follows in this document is a record of all activities and research outputs undertaken and produced by the Media Policy and Democracy Project from 2012 – 2016.

For more information see: [www.mediaanddemocracy.com](http://www.mediaanddemocracy.com)

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## 2. Funding 2012-2016

In 2012 the MPDP was awarded funding from the Women in Research (WiR) initiative from the College of Human Sciences, at the University of South Africa (UNISA). In the same year, the MPDP also received a research grant from the Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF-SA). This funding was for a period of three years (2012 – 2015).

The funding/grants received by the MPDP since 2012 to date, is detailed below.

### **Women in Research (WiR) Programme Funding (awarded by the College of Human Sciences at Unisa)**

2012-2013: R435 000.00

2013-2014: R250 000.00

2014-2015: R289 126.00

TOTAL GRANT: R974 126.00

### **Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF-SA)**

TOTAL GRANT: R600 000.00 (allocated 2013-2014)

### 3. Contributions to national and international media and communications policy making processes

Many of South Africa's media and communications policies and regulations are currently under review - such processes of review usually involve an opportunity for public comment and/or written submissions by interested parties.

Each such written submission prepared by the MPDP can be downloaded in PDF format from the MPDP website at <http://www.mediaanddemocracy.com/policy-submissions.html>

This page contains an archive of all written submissions prepared by the MPDP for various media and communications policy making or revision processes which have taken place in South Africa since 2011.

Between 2011 and 2016 the MPDP has taken part in the following national and international and media communications policy making processes and engagements:

#### 3.1 ICASA written submission

On 14 December 2013 Mr Jabulani Nkuna provided a written submission to ICASA (the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa) entitled, *Submission to the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Icasa) on the issues paper entitled 'The review of the broadcasting regulatory framework – towards a digitally converged environment'*.

#### 3.2 Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team (PDMTTT) oral presentation

On 30 January 2013 Dr Julie Reid and Prof Jane Duncan delivered an oral presentation to the Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team (PDMTTT) at oral public hearings in Johannesburg. The PDMTTT is a body established by Print and Digital Media South Africa, in light of ongoing hearings held by the parliamentary portfolio committee on communications, and is tasked with researching strategies to facilitate transformation within the print sector in South Africa. Dr Reid and Prof Duncan presented the current findings of the focus area of the MPDP concentrating on Media Diversity and Transformation to the PDMTTT. This leg of the research being performed by the MPDP is currently ongoing, and aims to culminate in the implementation of a media diversity measurement tool which is appropriate for use in a South African media environment. The findings of this research will be published in 2017.

#### 3.3 The Department of Communications (DoC) on the draft national broadband policy

On 14 May 2013 the MPDP delivered a written researched submission to the Department of Communications (DoC) on the draft national broadband policy. This written submission was commissioned by the MPDP and prepared by Mr Ewan Sutherland, Research Associate at the LINK Centre, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa and Research Associate at CRIDS, University of Namur, Walloon. Prof Jane Duncan oversaw the drafting process of this submission on behalf of the MPDP.

#### 3.4 SABC editorial policy review

The project was invited to participate in the SABC editorial policy review process. In December 2013 Mr Jabulani Nkuna participated in the oral hearings for the SABC's Editorial Policy Review Process on

behalf of the MPDP. The project also submitted a written researched submission in January 2014 prepared by Prof viola milton.

### **3.5 ICT Policy Review submission**

The MPDP provided a written submission to the ICT Policy Review Panel on the ICT Green Paper, on 24 March 2014, authored by Prof Jane Duncan.

### **3.6 Parliamentary presentation: media sector analysis**

On 19 August 2014 Prof Jane Duncan, on behalf of the MPDP, delivered a presentation for the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Communications, which involved a sector analysis of the South African media.

### **3.7 Film and Publications Board draft online regulations**

In 2015 the Film and Publications Board (FPB) released draft online regulations for public comment. The draft regulations contained a slew of concerning aspects which would, if implemented, severely limit the online user's freedom to post content online. The FPB draft online regulations required any Internet user to apply for pre-classification prior to publication of any content, a costly (for the user) and time consuming exercise and one which would effectively result in censorship.

The MPDP analysed the FPB draft online regulations in detail, explicating each of the document's problematic aspects, and worked in collaboration with the Right2Know Campaign to submit a written objection to the regulations.

### **3.8 Considering a cross-platform media accountability system for broadcast, print and digital news media in South Africa**

In December 2014 the MPDP was approached by the Director of the Press Council of South Africa (PCSA), Joe Thloloe, and by the committee investigating cross-platform media accountability systems for South Africa, and asked to produce a research report which assessed various different international cross-platform media accountability mechanisms.

The MPDP produced this report, authored by Dr Julie Reid and Taryn Issacs, and also assessed the suitability of a cross-platform media accountability system for the South African media and regulatory environment. The MPDP report was published in February 2015, and by the end of 2015 the PCSA had resolved to become a cross-platform media accountability system through the extension of its mandate to the regulation of complaints against online digitally published news content. The structure of the newly formed PCSA contained many of the recommendations contained in the February MDPDP report.

### **3.9 Government Communications and Information Service (GCIS), discussion document and white paper on media transformation**

In February 2016 Dr Julie Reid (MPDP) began a series of engagements with the Government Communications and Information Service (GCIS). The GCIS's research team is currently drafting a media transformation discussion document, which will be released for public comment in 2016. This will be followed with a media transformation white paper. Dr Reid is acting as an expert advisor to the GCIS research team, and in this role she maintains a specific focus on the transformation of the media,



and provision of greater media diversity, in the public interest and for grassroots, economically disadvantaged and marginalised media consumers.

### **3.10 United Nations – Communications surveillance project**

In March 2016, Prof Jane Duncan gave an oral presentation to the United Nations Human Rights Committee, which was informed by the MPDP research on communications surveillance in South Africa. She represented the Right2Know Campaign, the Association for Progressive Communications and Privacy International. The presentation was based on two written submissions on the extent to which the communications surveillance policies and practices of the South African government were human rights compliant. The submissions and presentation formed part of a review the Committee undertook of South Africa's compliance with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which it has ratified. Committee members then put questions to the South African government delegation on the basis of the submissions and presentation.

Informed by the research, the organisations argued that the country's targeted interception law, the Regulation of Interception of Communications and Provision of Communications Related Information Act (Rica), is not compliant with the ICCPR, in that it violates privacy unjustifiably. SIM card registration violates privacy, the grounds for the issuing of interception directions are too broad and speculative and oversight of the process is inadequate in that the designated Rica judge marks her own homework. The vast majority of interception directions are granted, which problematises the government claims that directions are granted in exceptional cases only. The mandatory retention of communication-related information for up to five years is a violation of the ICCPR because it is indiscriminate. The South African government is also conducting and supporting mass surveillance outside any legal controls.

The presentation and submissions clearly had an impact as the Committee expressed concern about Rica. According to the Committee's report,

The State party should take all necessary measures to ensure that its surveillance activities conform to its obligations under the Covenant, including article 17, and that any interference with the right to privacy complies with the principles of legality, necessity and proportionality. The State party should refrain from engaging in mass surveillance of private communications without prior judicial authorization and consider revoking or limiting the requirement for mandatory retention of data by third parties. It should also ensure that interception of communications by law enforcement and security services is carried out only on the basis of the law and under judicial supervision. The State party should increase the transparency of its surveillance policy and speedily establish independent oversight mechanisms to prevent abuses and ensure that individuals have access to effective remedies.

## 4. Engagement and research support with/for civil society and social justice movements

Apart from taking part in national and international policy making processes, by making informed policy interventions in the public interest, the MPDP also aims to inform communications and media related activism and advocacy. As such, the MPDP has partnered with, and produced research at the request of, a number of communications rights social movements and civil society organisations as listed below.

### 4.1 SOS – the Support Public Broadcasting Coalition (SOS)

On 8 March 2013, Mr Jabulani Nkuna, Prof Viola Milton and Dr Julie Reid held a meeting with Mr Sekoetlane Phamodi and Ms Kate Skinner, representatives from SOS, to discuss collaboration between MPDP and SOS on the research topic of Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT). These discussions developed into an event which was co-hosted by the SOS and the MPDP on 30 July 2013 at UNISA. This day-long event took the form of a high-level roundtable discussion to rethink and formulate new strategies for realizing citizen oriented public programming in the digital era. The title of the event was, *Rethinking Public Programming for the Digital Era*. The Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF-SA) and Fesmedia Africa also partnered on this event.

Since then the MPDP has continually engaged with both the SOS Coalition and the Right2Know Campaign on the roll-out of Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT) in South Africa, and informed the popular education and advocacy campaigning work which these two organisations do regarding the impact which DTT will have on the lived experiences of the media by poor and marginalised communities throughout the country. This work is ongoing and will continue throughout 2016-2018.

On 21 May the SOS Coalition and the Link Centre hosted an open public workshop in Newtown, Johannesburg to discuss the potential impact of conditional access as a specification for the set top box device required by end users after the digital migration process has taken place. Dr Julie Reid was one of the panellists for this discussion.

On 11 April 2014 the MPDP and SOS Coalition hosted an informational day-long workshop at Section 27 in Braamfontein, Johannesburg at the request of the Right2Know Campaign, on the forthcoming digital migration in South Africa and the implications of digital terrestrial television for poor communities.

Dr Julie Reid (MPDP) and Sekoetlane Phamodi (SOS Coalition) presented the workshop to 50 participants from community organisations who are members of the Right2Know Campaign. The purpose of the workshop was to provide participants with information regarding the looming digital migration project, the necessity thereof, the costs thereof (both to the country and to the individual television user), the impact of the DTT project on communications rights, as well as the various other implications of DTT.

The SOS Coalition has since produced popular education learning material on DTT. The Right2Know Campaign has committed to conducting a popular education campaign about digital migration and DTT, making use of the popular education booklets on DTT produced by SOS, and plans to conduct various similar educational and feedback discussion workshops in poor communities before the end of 2016, throughout Gauteng, the Western Cape and Kwa-Zulu Natal. The MPDP will take part in this series of workshops to both engage with poor communities on the issue of DTT, and to gather grassroots responses to the digital migration project.

## **4.2 UNESCO World Trends Report on Freedom of Expression and Media Development**

In December 2012 Dr Julie Reid was invited by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) division on Freedom of Expression and Media Development to make a researched contribution to the UNESCO *World Trends Report on Freedom of Expression and Media Development*, as one of a global panel of experts. In February 2013 Dr Reid travelled to UNESCO headquarters in Paris, France (paid for by UNESCO) to attend the World Summit on Information Society (WSIS+10) conference and to present her research during a two-day research workshop for the expert panel working on the World Trends Report. This report was published in 2014, and Dr Reid has authored one chapter, which deals with the independence of the media in sub-Saharan Africa.

For more information and to download the full report see:

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/publications-and-communication-materials/publications/full-list/world-trends-in-freedom-of-expression-and-media-development/>

In 2015 Dr Julie Reid was again invited by UNESCO to act as an independent expert advisor during the production process of the *World Trends Report on Freedom of Expression and Media Development. Special Digital Focus*. This report was published in 2015 and the local regional launch of the report was hosted by the MPDP at Constitution Hill, Braamfontein, Johannesburg in November 2015.

For more information and to download the full report see:

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/publications-and-communication-materials/publications/full-list/wtr-special-digital-focus-2015/>

## **4.3 ICT policy framing paper workshop**

On 05 June the MPDP co-hosted a day-long workshop discussion with the Right2Know Campaign on the ICT policy framing paper, a document which will be instrumental in the work of the ICT policy review panel. This workshop was attended by various academics and representatives from civil society organisations, as well as three representatives from the ICT review panel. The purpose of the workshop was to enable the various civil society groups in attendance to prepare their own written submissions on the ICT framing paper, as well as to workshop/prepare a written co-submission for this process from the Right2Know Campaign and the MPDP. All responses from participants at the workshop were recorded on audio files, and minuted (with thanks to Janice Winter) and contributed thereafter to the Right2Know Campaign's submission to the ICT Review panel.

## **4.4 The Foundation for Human Rights**

Dr Julie Reid was invited to deliver a paper at the strategic planning session of the Foundation for Human Rights on Saturday 13 July 2013. The title of her 20 minute researched presentation was: *If you don't know you can't do: the implications of freedom of information rights on democracy in South Africa and its impact on socio-economic rights delivery*.

## **4.5 Freedom House: World Press Freedom Index**

In 2015 Dr Julie Reid was invited to author the country report for South Africa, on behalf of Freedom House for its annual World Press Freedom Index.

The full report is available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2015#.VvEgD41unIU>

#### **4.6 IAMCR, SACOMM, the Right2Know Campaign and the SOS Coalition**

The International Association of Media and Communications Research (IAMCR) is a prestigious annually held conference where academics working in the field of media and/or communications gather to present and discuss their research. This predominantly academic conference is among the most popular and important within the fields of media and communications research, and offers an annual platform for academics to present the findings of their research, engage, network and collaborate.

We felt it important to showcase the work of the MPDP at the IAMCR conference, specifically as a demonstration of how academics can effectively collaborate with stakeholders outside of academe (notably civil society) in order to produce research that is better informed by a ground-up perspective and an audience centred-approach to an international audience of academics. As such, we invited two representatives from two separate civil society orientated organisations with which we have collaborated, Dr Dale T McKinley from the Right2Know Campaign, and Mr Sekoetlane Phamodi from the SOS Coalition, to act as presenters on our panel discussion at the IAMCR conference. The IAMCR conference took place at the University of Hyderabad, in Hyderabad, India, July 2014.

To accommodate a local audience of academics we selected to host a similar panel discussion at the South African Communication Association (SACOMM) conference, which is an annually held conference for South African academics working in the field of media studies, communications, corporate communications and journalism – this time to offer the same example of academic collaboration with civil society for research purposes to a local audience. The latter panel was not an exact reproduction of the one offered at IAMCR, since it catered for a South African academic audience already familiar with the local context. However, the emphasis of the panel discussion again encompassed the wide and beneficial potential of academic and civil society collaboration and engagement.

For more information see:

IAMCR: <http://iamcr.org/>

SACOMM: <http://www.sacomm.org.za/>

#### **4.7 Press Council of South Africa (PCSA) and Press Freedom Commission (PFC)**

Members of the MPDP participated in the Press Council of South Africa (PCSA) internal process of review which took place from 2010-2011. Subsequently, the MPDP delivered a researched written and oral submission to the Press Freedom Commission, which conducted its review from 2011-2012.

The MPDP detailed submission to the PFC can be downloaded from

<http://www.mediaanddemocracy.com/policy-submissions.html>

Notably, many of the recommendations delivered by the MPDP in its submission to the PFC were adopted by the PCSA, including the inclusion of third party complaints in the Complaints Procedures of the PCSA. The significance and importance of this and other measures adopted by the PCSA as recommended by the MPDP are documented in the following article: Reid, J. 2014. Third party complaints in the system of press regulation: inviting the reader to take part in journalistic accountability and securing press freedom. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*. 35(2): 58-74.

On 21 May 2014 the PCSA held an open public workshop at WITS University to review its own processes, one year after the regulatory body adopted its new constitution and procedures, and

changed from functioning as a self-regulatory to a co-regulatory system. The PCSA invited Dr Julie Reid to present the research conducted by the MPDP on the PCSA to date. Dr Julie Reid presented the preliminary findings of the document analysis of press council rulings from 2009 – 2014 and from the content analysis of written submissions delivered to the Press Freedom Commission.

On 27 November 2015 the MPDP launched a research report entitled, *Press regulation in South Africa: an analysis of the Press Council of South Africa, the Press Freedom Commission and related discourses*, authored by Dr Julie Reid & Taryn Isaacs.

This report can be downloaded in PDF format from the MPDP website at <http://www.mediaanddemocracy.com/research-reports.html>

An open public meeting was held at Constitution Hill, in Braamfontein, Johannesburg to launch the above-mentioned report. A summary of the findings was presented by Dr Julie Reid and Taryn Isaacs, followed by a plenary discussion. Various stakeholders, including members of the Press Council, the PCSA Director, the PCSA Public Advocate, the Press Ombudsman, representatives from the Government Communications and Information Services (GCIS), academics, industry stakeholders (including the SABC) and representatives from civil society organisations were in attendance.

The purpose of the above-mentioned research report: a national conversation on the effectiveness and functionality of the accountability mechanism for the press in South Africa initiated in 2007, reignited in 2010 and has sporadically continued until the current time in 2015. At various times and on various platforms, different engagers in this debate have posed various different questions about the functionality of the PCSA system, its efficacy and its appropriateness for South Africa. Little of this discourse is however, based on empirical and/or scientific evidence, study or fact. Most of it is based on estimation, sometimes political interest, personal motivations, or conjecture. As such, the MPDP collated a list of commonly posed key questions, and developed a set of research categories in order to investigate each, so that each key question can be measured, with regard to its validity or invalidity, against fact and statistical analysis. The report assessed the functionality of the PCSA as an accountability mechanism for the press for the five year period of 2009-2013. The report also conducts an in-depth analysis of the PFC, and the public submissions to the PFC in order to reinsert the 'public voice' into the question of press regulation in South Africa. Finally, the report compares the findings to the political discourses of the African National Congress (ANC) and its stance on press accountability.

On 16 March 2016 the PCSA hosted an open public event at Constitution Hill to mark 75 days of a newly relaunched Press Council (one which now includes digitally published news content in its jurisdiction). The PCSA invited Dr Julie Reid to deliver a presentation at this event, summarising the contents of the above-mentioned report. Other panellists included Joe Thloloe (PCSA Director), Johan Retief (Press Ombudsman), Latiefa Mobara (Public Advocate), Dinesh Balliah (Deputy Public Advocate), Judge Phillip Levinsohn (Press Council Chair) and Judge President Bernard Ngoepe (PCSA Chair of Appeals).

#### **4.8 Film and Publications Board draft online regulations, and collaboration with the Right2Know Campaign**

As mentioned in section 2.7 above, in 2015 the Film and Publications Board (FPB) released draft online regulations for public comment. The draft regulations contained a slew of concerning aspects which would, if implemented, severely limit the online user's freedom to post content online. The FPB draft online regulations required any Internet user to apply for pre-classification prior to publication of any

content, a costly (for the user) and time consuming exercise and one which would effectively result in censorship.

The MPDP analysed the FPB draft online regulations in detail, explicating each of the document's problematic aspects, and worked in collaboration with the Right2Know Campaign to submit a written objection to the regulations. The MPDP also partnered with the Right2Know Campaign to host a day long workshop, at Civicus House in Newtown, Johannesburg with approximately 60 participants from grassroots community organisations. This workshop both raised awareness of the contents of the FPB draft online regulations, but also assisted participants in their preparedness for the FPB's series of public hearings on the draft online regulations.

Since then, the Film and Publications Amendment Act has been tabled in Parliament. It contains many of the same concerning aspects as the original draft online regulations. The MPDP plans to continue its collaboration with the Right2Know Campaign, to raise awareness of the concerning aspects of the bill, as well as collect grassroots responses thereto, in order to make an informed intervention in the parliamentary process of consideration of the bill, once this process is opened for public engagement.

#### **4.9 Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA)**

The Regional Secretariat of the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) is currently preparing a publication on the occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Windhoek Declaration on 3 May 2016. It aims to reach a broad audience across Africa, and to inform and engage readers on freedom of expression issues. MISA invited Dr Julie Reid to author an article about the freedom of expression and media diversity issues within sub-Saharan Africa for this publication.

#### **4.10 Surveillance project with the Right2Know Campaign**

The Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OFS-SA) provided funding to the MPDP for a year-long research project of the state of communications surveillance in South Africa. The purpose of the project was to investigate whether South Africa's surveillance laws, policies and practices were in line with international human rights principles. We were particularly keen to establish if they conformed to a set of principles drafted by international civil society organisations, called 'The international principles on the application of human rights principles to communications surveillance', or 'The Necessary and Proportionate Principles', which are available at: <https://en.necessaryandproportionate.org/>

The research will be used by civil society, unions and social movements to campaign for changes to laws and policies governing communications surveillance where necessary, to ensure that these secretive areas of the state are transparent and accountable. To this end, two workshops were held in partnership with the Right2Know Campaign in March 2016 (in Cape Town and in Johannesburg) to provide an opportunity for initial discussions amongst participants from civil society organisations, as well as grassroots community organisations.

The research includes two papers by Admire Mare: one assessing South Africa's communications law and policy and the extent to which it measures up to the 'Necessary and Proportionate Principles', and one on how journalists, academics, lawyers and civic activists are adapting to and resisting communications surveillance, or the threat of it. These papers were used as a basis for the development of a handbook, for public awareness and advocacy purposes, drafted by Dale McKinley. The MPDP also commissioned Heidi Swart to undertake investigative journalism on communications surveillance in South Africa. All of this material is available on the MPDP website at: <http://www.mediaanddemocracy.com/communication-surveillance.html>

#### **4.11 Collaboration with Privacy International**

The MPDP collaborated with Privacy International on undertaking the communications surveillance project, in that they provided technical capacity to the project to enable Admire Mare to undertake his research. The collaboration with Privacy International is continuing in 2016 and 2017, in that they have raised funds from the Canadian funder IDRC to undertake a mapping study of privacy in different parts of the world. The MPDP is undertaking the mapping study in South Africa. The intention is to use the research to undertake advocacy on strengthening the right to privacy in South Africa.



## 5. Conferences and conference papers delivered

Members of the MPDP have presented selected findings of the MPDP at academic or industry/sector stakeholder conferences between 2012 and 2016 as follows:

### 5.1 University of Westminster, London

Date of conference: 2 March 2013

Title of conference: CAMRI Public Service Broadcasting in Africa Conference

Author / MPDP project member: Mr Jabulani Nkuna

Title of conference paper: *The Demise of SABC: The political economy of public service broadcasting in a digital era*

### 5.2 UNISA & Rhodes University, Pretoria

Date of colloquium: 28 February 2013

Colloquium Theme: Media and citizenship: identity politics, politicising identities and the question of belonging

- Author / MPDP project member: Dr Julie Reid and Prof Jane Duncan (conference paper is co-authored, Prof Duncan delivered the paper at the conference).  
Title of paper: *Toward a measurement tool for the monitoring of media diversity and pluralism in South Africa and other developing countries*
- Author/MPDP project member: Viola C Milton  
Title of paper: *@SOS\_ZA\_#SABC: Civic engagement and the negotiation of media policy*

### 5.3 Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa

On 23 April 2013, Dr Julie Reid delivered the following seminar paper at the School of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

**Title of paper:** *Freedom of expression and the independence of the media in sub-Saharan Africa: a snapshot view of the continent between 2006 and 2012*

### 5.4 Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch, South Africa

Date of conference: 03 May 2013 (World Press Freedom Day)

Theme of the conference: Threats to media freedom in South Africa

Author/MPDP project member: Dr Julie Reid

Title of paper: *Press freedom as the canary in the coal mine: an indicator for democracy in South Africa and a view of the sub-Saharan African context*

### 5.5 Highway Africa conference, Rhodes University, Grahamstown: 1-2 September 2013

The Media Policy and Democracy Project hosted a panel discussion session at the above mentioned conference on 1 September 2013. The format of the discussion was follows:

Chair of the session: Prof Viola Milton

- Justine Limpitlaw (Electronic communications law consultant), discussed a recent research project which she performed, on media regulation in Africa, the outcomes of which are



encompassed in a new book which was launched at Highway Africa. She focused on independent regulation of broadcasting and self-regulation of content.

- Dr Julie Reid and Prof viola milton (both from Unisa and the Media Policy & Democracy Project) introduced and explained the work being done by the *Media Policy and Democracy Project* on issues of media policy and regulation in South Africa, as well as offering a round-up summary of the *International Colloquium on Press Regulation and Accountability*.

Following this, as a response, or illustration of why such research is necessary the next 3 speakers to followed up with perspectives and challenges from their own countries with regard to media regulation.

- Fred M'membe - the Post newspaper, Zambia
- Prof Levi Obonyo - Daystar University, Kenya
- Joe Thloloe - Press Council of South Africa

On 1 September Dr Julie Reid also participated in a panel discussion at the above mentioned conference, chaired by Prof Herman Wasserman (Rhodes University).

Title of the panel discussion: *Media & Accountability in the BRICS countries*

#### **5.6 Internet freedom and governance forum, hosted by the Embassy of Sweden, Pretoria: 29 November 2013**

On 29 November Prof Jane Duncan presented a researched conference paper at the above mentioned forum, hosted by the Embassy of Sweden.

Title of the presentation: *Internet Freedom, Freedom of expression and privacy in South Africa*

#### **5.7 IAMCR (International Institute for Media and Communications Research) conference**

Date of conference: 15-19 July 2014

Title of conference: Region as Frame: Politics, Presence, Practice.

Hosted by the Department of Communication, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, India.

- Paper presented by Dr Julie Reid  
Title of conference paper: *Freedom of expression and the independence of the media in sub-Saharan Africa: a snapshot view of the continent between 2006 and 2012*
- Panel presentation  
Title of panel: *Media in Emerging Regions: The Challenge of the BRICS Countries*  
Panel paper presented by Prof viola milton  
Title of conference paper: *AfroAsia- do Western media systems apply?*
- UNESCO, launch of the World Trends Report on Freedom of Expression and Media Development - Held at the IAMCR conference, 2014, Hyderabad – India.

In December 2012 Dr Julie Reid and the MPDP was invited by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) division on Freedom of Expression and Media Development to make a researched contribution to the forthcoming UNESCO *World Trends Report on Freedom of Expression and Media Development*. This report was published by

UNESCO in March 2014, and a regional launch/panel discussion for the report was held at the IAMCR conference in Hyderabad, India. The panel discussion was chaired by Guy Berger, Director of the UNESCO division for freedom of expression and media development, and Dr Reid acted as a panellist to profile the work performed by the MPDP for the UNESCO World Trends report.

- Media Policy and Democracy Project panel discussion at IAMCR

The MPDP hosted a panel discussion at the 2014 IAMCR conference. The panel was comprised as follows:

Chair and discussant: Prof viola c milton

Dr Julie Reid (MPDP)

Title of paper: *Ground-up perspectives – a policy driven collaborative research approach for the inclusion of audience and citizen's voices*

Dr Dale T McKinley (Right2Know Campaign)

Title of paper: *The Right2Know Campaign – policy interventions and advocacy informed by 'voices on the ground'*

Mr Sekoetlane Phamodi (SOS: Support Public Broadcasting Coalition)

Title of paper: *What's in a name when public broadcasters still submit to the State? A case study of civil society interventions in promoting public service broadcasting values in South Africa*

## **5.8 SACOMM +40 conference (South African Communication Association)**

Date of conference: 30 September – 3 October 2014

Title of conference: Communicating histories, engaging the present, charting futures.

Hosted by North West University, Potchefstroom, South Africa.

- Media Policy and Democracy Project panel discussion at SACOMM 2014

Title of panel: *Media Policy Research: for what and for whom?*

Chair & discussant: Dr Vanessa Malila

Panel participants: Prof viola c milton, Dr Julie Reid, Dr Dale T McKinley, Mr Sekoetlane Phamodi, Prof Jane Duncan.

- Media Policy and Democracy Project keynote panel discussion at SACOMM 2014

Title of keynote panel: *Freedom of expression – current challenges in South Africa*

Chair & discussant: Dr Julie Reid

Panel participants: Dr Dale T McKinley, Dr Julie Reid

## **5.9 Media diversity conference, Jamia Millia University, New Delhi, India. 25-26 November 2014.**

Following the above mentioned panel discussion delivered at the IAMCR conference in Hyderabad, India, Dr Julie Reid and Dr Vanessa Malila were invited to attend the Media diversity conference, hosted by Jamia Millia Univeristy in New Delhi, India in November 2014, where they presented the work being conducted by the MPDP on the measurement of media diversity in South Africa.

The Jamia Millia University is currently working in collaboration with the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium), and Prof Leen d'Haenens to develop a media diversity measurement tool and project for the measurement of media diversity in India. Since Dr Reid and Dr Malila are currently working on a media diversity measurement tool for another Global South country (South Africa) it is hoped that this engagement will be of some benefit to the Indian project. Dr Malila and Dr Reid have since continued collaborating with academics at Jamia Millia University to this end.

**5.10 Thirteenth Annual Meeting of The Cultural Studies Association in Riverside, California. May 2015.**

Panel presentation

Title of panel: *Praxis and/as Participation: Interventions from Southern Africa*

Panel paper presented by Prof viola milton

Title of conference paper: *Vuka Sizwe (!): Participation Theory, Media Accountability and Broadcasting in the Public Interest*

**5.11 MeCCSA 2016 conference at Canterbury Christ Church University in Canterbury, United Kingdom. 6-8 January 2016.**

Paper presented by Prof viola milton

Title of conference paper: *Gazing In: Civil Society and the negotiation of broadcasting policy in South Africa*

**5.12 ICA 2016 conference in Fukuoka, Japan. June 2016.**

Paper presented by Prof viola milton

Title of conference paper: *Frenemies: Towards an Ethnography of Audience Engagement with Public Service Television in South Africa.*

## 6. Research outputs 2012-2016

The following research outputs have been produced by the MPDP since 2012. These outputs include both articles for publication in accredited academic research journals, as well as research reports which are freely available for popular distribution via the MPDP website.

The MPDP adopts the principled position that relevant research should not be made inaccessible by keeping it locked away behind expensive paywalls, accessible only to a privileged few. Therefore, the MPDP regularly publishes material, in the form of articles for the popular media and press, or as research reports free to download from the MPDP website, in order to make academic research more accessible to many, thereby enhancing the potential impact of the research findings.

### 6.1 Academic articles for accredited journals

**6.1.1** Reid, J. 2014. Third party complaints in the system of press regulation: inviting the reader to take part in journalistic accountability and securing press freedom. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*. 35(2): 58-74.

**6.1.2** Duncan, J & Reid, J. 2013. Toward a measurement tool for the monitoring of media diversity and pluralism in South Africa: an audience centred approach. *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*. 39(4): 483-500.

**6.1.3** Prinsloo, J. 2014. Examining the relationship between the news media and the ANC: a case study of Nkandla coverage. *Equid Novi African Journalism Studies*. 35(2): 23-39.

#### 6.1.4 Articles on press regulation in South Africa

On 30 August 2013 the MPDP hosted a one-day colloquium at UNISA in Pretoria on press regulation and journalistic accountability. Following this event, colloquium speakers/authors were invited to submit their full papers as revised journal articles to the academic journal *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*. Two of the authors, Prof Marc Caldwell and Prof Gabriel Botma, had their articles accepted for publication after the peer review process. Their articles are;

- Botma, GB. 2014. The Press Freedom Commission in South Africa and the regulation of journalists online; lessons from Britain and Australia. *Communicatio: South African journal for communication theory and research* 40(3).
- Caldwell, M. 2014. Proto-norms, philosophical anthropology, and the problem of global media ethics. *Communicatio: South African journal for communication theory and research* 40(3).

**6.1.5** Duncan, J. 2015. Rethinking media diversity policy on the community press in South Africa, *Communicatio: South African journal for communication theory and research* 41(4): 423-443.

**6.1.6** Duncan, J. 2015. Debating ICT policy first principles for the global South: the case of South Africa. *Communicatio: South African journal for communication theory and research* 41(1): 1-21.

**6.1.7** Milton, v.c (tba) Frenemies: Towards an Ethnography of Audience Engagement with Public Service Television in South Africa. [submitted for publication and currently under peer review].

## 6.2 Research reports

All research reports published by the MPDP listed below are available for download in PDF format from the MPDP website at <http://www.mediaanddemocracy.com/research-reports.html> or at <http://www.mediaanddemocracy.com/communication-surveillance.html>

### **6.2.1 Prof Jeanne Prinsloo, 2013: *'Nkandlagate' – a critical textual analysis of the press coverage.***

In November 2013 Prof Prinsloo completed her final research report entitled, *'Nkandlagate' – a critical textual analysis of the press coverage*. The MPDP hosted a public launch of this research report at the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism (IAJ) in Johannesburg on 21 January 2014, which involved a presentation of the report contents following by a public discussion. The report was presented by Prof Jeanne Prinsloo and the discussion was chaired by Prof Jane Duncan.

On the same day, the Daily Maverick independent news website published an article authored by Prof Jeanne Prinsloo which summarises the report's main findings and explains its significance to the current political climate in South Africa. Prof Jeanne Prinsloo has also published the findings of the report in the academic journal *Ecquid Novi*.

Under the supervision of Prof Jeanne Prinsloo, Masters student, Tia Egglestone completed her Masters study and passed examination under the auspices of the MPDP. Her study concentrated on the controversy surrounding Brett Murray's satirical artwork entitled 'The Spear' and the coverage of it within the *City Press*, as it was central to the controversy as well as and the object of censorship by the ANC party.

### **6.2.2 Dr Julie Reid & Taryn Isaacs, 2015: *Considering a cross-platform media accountability system for broadcast, print and digital news media in South Africa***

In December 2014 the MPDP was approached by the Director of the Press Council of South Africa, and by the multi-stakeholder committee investigating cross-platform media accountability systems for South Africa, and requested to produce an assessment of cross-platform media regulatory systems from around the globe with a view to whether such a system would be appropriate for South Africa. This report offers a comparative assessment of cross-platform models adopted in a selection of foreign countries, as well as a critical interrogation of local and contextual aspects which would impact the regulation of print and digital news media under one singular regulatory body in South Africa.

### **6.2.3 Dr Julie Reid & Taryn Isaacs, 2015: *Press regulation in South Africa: an analysis of the Press Council of South Africa, the Press Freedom Commission and related discourses***

A national conversation on the effectiveness and functionality of the accountability mechanism for the press in South Africa initiated in 2007, reignited in 2010 and has sporadically continued until the current time. At various times and on various platforms, different engagers in this debate have posed several different questions about the functionality of the Press Council system, its efficacy and its appropriateness for South Africa. Little of this discourse is however, based on empirical and/or scientific evidence, study or fact. Most of it is based on estimation, sometimes political interest, personal motivations, conjecture or even myth. As such, the MPDP collated a list of commonly posed key questions, and developed a set of research categories in order to investigate each, so that each key question could be measured, with regard to its validity or invalidity, against fact and statistical analysis. This report involves a detailed assessment of the performance of the Press Council of South Africa over a five year period, a critical analysis of the outcomes of the Press Freedom Commission,

and explains the relevance of these findings to the related political discourses surrounding press regulation in South Africa.

#### **6.2.4 Admire Mare, 2015: *An analysis of the communications surveillance legislative framework in South Africa***

This report contextualises the communication surveillance legislative framework of South Africa within the global shifts after the Snowden revelations, which opened up a Pandora's Box with regard to the impact of technology on mass surveillance, as well as the lack of protection for user data associated with internet intermediaries. The revelations, which uncovered extensive and indiscriminate surveillance efforts worldwide, highlight that violations of fundamental rights are not merely a theoretical concern.

The report demonstrates that it is clear that mass communications surveillance is not only an issue confronting authoritarian regimes. The South African case demonstrates that the government conducts both mass and targeted communication surveillance. This is because intelligence and law enforcement agencies are violating the dictates of the RICA legal framework through engaging extra-legal communications surveillance, as evidenced by the creation of the National Communications Centre. This shows that as it stands South African legislation and practice on communications surveillance violates the Necessary and Proportionate Principles<sup>1</sup>. This report noted that, although the country has laws governing communications surveillance, these are generally inadequate, leaving significant regulatory gaps and providing weak safeguards, oversight and remedies against unlawful interference with the right to privacy, including mass surveillance. For instance, RICA has several clauses which violate the Necessary and Proportionate Principles. These include mandatory SIM card registration, prohibition of disclosure, mandatory installation of telecommunication services and products which are interceptable, long periods of meta-data retention and weak oversight mechanisms. These clauses violate the right to privacy as enshrined in the 1996 Constitution. They also facilitate mass communications surveillance which is not necessary, proportionate and legitimate in a democratic order. The report has also highlighted areas where RICA and the Intelligence Oversight Services Act need to be reformed to conform to the Necessary and Proportionate Principles template.

#### **6.2.5 Admire Mare, 2015: *A qualitative analysis of how investigative journalists, civic activists, lawyers and academics are adapting to and resisting communications surveillance in South Africa***

This report examines how investigative journalists, civic activists, lawyers and academics are adapting to and resisting communications surveillance in South Africa. A total of 23 respondents were interviewed, including four academics, two lawyers, three journalists and 14 civic activists, about their concerns and the ways in which communication surveillance has changed their work in the wake of media reports indicating the pervasive nature of communications surveillance. Experts in the area of communications surveillance from Privacy International (PI) were also interviewed. The study found that all these vulnerable constituencies of South African society have begun to change their communication practices. Most of them indicated that they have reverted to analogue communication methods which they saw as secure and safer. Journalists, lawyers and civic activists revealed that they are using end-to-end email encryption technology, face-to-face communication and code language to circumvent surveillance procedures. In light of state surveillance practices, most academics expressed concern that academic freedom was being seriously undermined. Academics

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<sup>1</sup> The Principles outline how international human rights law applies in the context of communication surveillance. They are founded on established international human rights law and jurisprudence. Cognisant of the fact that new media technologies have complicated the realisation of human rights norms across the globe, the Necessary and Proportionate Principles call on all national laws to adhere to human rights norms in communication surveillance ([https:// es.necessaryandproportionate.org](https://es.necessaryandproportionate.org)).

also indicated that they have changed the way they communicate with research participants and store their data. Whilst some journalists indicated that they use cloud computing services for data storage, academics said that they have ceased relying on such tools. They indicated that third party cloud services are vulnerable to hacking and phishing. This report demonstrates that despite the absence of overt political struggles against communication surveillance, responses from academics, journalists, activists and lawyers suggest that everyday forms of resistance are prevalent in South Africa.

**6.2.6 Dr Dale McKinley, 2015: *The surveillance state: communications surveillance and privacy in South Africa***

This handbook for popular distribution was compiled by Dr Dale McKinley to summarise the findings of the above-mentioned research report (Admire Mare & Prof Jane Duncan, 2015: *An analysis of the communications surveillance legislative framework in South Africa*) in an easy-to-read format. Additionally, it poses a variety of key questions to interrogate what civil society in South Africa can do to strengthen and expand a campaign for a more human rights-centred and democratically controlled communications surveillance regime.

**6.2.7 Forthcoming - Prof George Angelopulo, Prof Petrus Potgieter, Dr Julie Reid & Dr Vanessa Malila, 2016: *Media diversity measurement in South Africa. An assessment of levels of media diversity according to a public centred approach***

Prof George Angelopulo and Prof Petrus Potgieter conducted an assessment of the levels of media market concentration, specifically from an audience perspective and according to the HHI, Noam Index and C4 ratio. In February 2012 they submitted their final report and findings to the MPDP. These findings informed the completion of the implementation of the media diversity measurement tool designed by Dr Malila and Dr Reid. Prof Angelopulo and Prof Potgieter's findings will be included in the final media diversity report to be published by the MPDP in mid-2016.

Dr Julie Reid and Dr Vanessa Malila have conducted an assessment of various foreign developed media diversity measurement tools for the purpose of designing such a tool for use in South Africa. This work comes as a response to parliamentary hearings on media diversity and transformation in the South African print media sector. Dr Malila has produced a media diversity measurement tool appropriate for use in South Africa. Dr Reid and Dr Malila are currently implementing the media diversity measurement tool developed by Dr Malila to South African media markets and audiences. The media diversity measurement tool is being applied to three varying geographical areas within the country, one rural, one peri-urban and one urban, and measures the levels of media diversity available to audiences in each area. The access and accessibility of media types to which / what audiences is also be assessed, as well as the barriers to media access such as economic barriers, language barriers and so on.

The MPDP will publish a research report, openly available for download, on the findings produced after the implementation of the media diversity measurement tool. This report is forthcoming for publication in mid-2016.

## 6.3 Book chapters

### 6.3.1 Prof Jane Duncan: *Pluralism with little diversity: the South African experience of media transformation*

Prof Jane Duncan authored a book chapter entitled *Pluralism with little diversity: the South African experience of media transformation*. The chapter was for an international book collection on media pluralism and diversity, entitled 'Media Pluralism: Concepts, risks and global trends', and edited by Peggy Valcke (KU Leuven), Miklos Sükösd (University of Hong Kong), and Robert Picard (Oxford University). The collection is a follow up to a study on media pluralism that they carried out for the European Commission (<http://ec.europa.eu/digital-agenda/en/independent-study-indicators-media-pluralism>). The book will be published later in 2017 by Palgrave Macmillan in their new series on Global Media Policy and Business, edited by Petroslosifides, Jeanette Steemers and Gerry Sussman.

The first part of the book describes the various elements of the Media Pluralism Monitor that they have developed for the European Commission (analysis of the various dimensions identified and of the various types of indicators and their methods). The second part provides comparative perspectives (covering US, China, India, Russia, Latin America, Australia, South-Korea), and the third part offers critical perspectives and reflections on future challenges.

Contributors include scholars from different parts of the world and from different disciplines, such as law, economics, journalism, political studies, etc. (Gillian Doyle, Beata Klimkiewicz, Philip Napoli, Natali Helberger, Rachael Craufurd Smith, Lesley Hitchens, Elena Vartanova, Sugmin Youn).

### 6.3.2 Dr Julie Reid: *Social media: freedom of expression, media regulation and policy*

Dr Julie Reid authored a book chapter entitled, *Social media: freedom of expression, media regulation and policy*, for a volume on social media and media studies, edited by Prof Pieter J Fourie. This book will be the fourth volume in a series of books, all edited by Prof Fourie, and dedicated to the field of Media Studies. The book is due for publication by Juta in 2017.

Dr Reid's chapter examines the basic tenants of the fundamental right to freedom of expression and how this applies to the social media. It further examines the different types of laws, protocols, policies and regulations which apply to the practice of freedom of expression rights via the social media. The chapter explores the different types of content distributed via social media and how these have affected societies, including harmful content and politicised content, as well as dissident and counter mythical content. The manner in which the social media have offered new opportunities for the expression of world-views which are not in symmetry with dominant mainstream ideologies as well as the barriers of access to social media are analyzed and explained.

### 6.3.3 milton, v.c. and Fourie, PJ. 2015. *South Africa: a free media still in the making*.

In: Thussu, D.K. and Nordenstreng, K. (eds.). Mapping BRICS Media. New York: Routledge. pp.181-203

### 6.3.4 Forthcoming book chapters:

milton, v.c. 2016. @SOS\_ZA\_#SABC: Civic engagement and the negotiation of media policy in South Africa. In Mutsvairo, B. (ed.). *Digital Activism in the Social Media Era: Critical Reflections on Emerging Trends in sub-Saharan Africa*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan



milton, v.c. 2016/2017 Who is funding the South African Broadcasting Corporation? In: Herzog, C., Novy, L., Torun, O and Hilker, H. (working title) *Transparency and Funding of Public Service Media*. Springer VS.

## 6.4 Book

**Forthcoming, 2017 - Prof P. Eric Louw & Dr Julie Reid (editors): *Media diversity and transformation in South Africa – what is the problem?***

A number of different researchers have produced various research outputs on the focus area concerning media diversity and transformation. In order to collate these researched contributions, the MPDP contracted Prof P. Eric Louw from the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia. Prof Louw currently performs a range of research related tasks, due to his wealth of research experience and his expertise with regard to the main focus areas of the MPDP. Together with Dr Julie Reid, he is also in the process of editing a book about media diversity and transformation in South Africa, forthcoming in 2017, which will coherently present all of the work produced by the MPDP on this topic. All chapter authors have agreed to contribute

**The preliminary outline for the above-mentioned book is as follows.**

1. **Title:** *Media diversity and transformation in South Africa – what is the problem?*

2. **Synopsis:**

The ANC has argued South Africa's media is not diverse enough. This belief has informed ANC media policy. This book will analyse the question of South African media diversity by examining (1) how concentrated media ownership is, and (2) the extent to which audiences do/do not have access to a diversity of opinion. Case studies of news reporting will be discussed. The book will also present a model for measuring media diversity appropriate to South African conditions, as well as discuss the role of the SABC and of digital media in facilitating a diversity of voices for South Africans. The book will also examine the role that has been played by the Media Diversity and Development Agency – the agency actually charged with creating media diversity in South Africa. The book aims to stimulate debate (especially amongst politicians, policy-makers and citizens) concerning the state of South Africa's media system; whether improvements are required; and if improvements are required – what sort of improvements. The book should make a major contribution to creating debate about this issue for South African democracy, as well as the democratisation of the country's communications sphere.

3. **Word length:** 70 000 to 80 000 words

4. **Table of Contents**

- **Chapter 1. Introduction** (Prof P Eric Louw & Dr Julie Reid)

This chapter will introduce both the key issues and the policy-making context within which these issues have emerged.

- **Chapter 2. Is there a media diversity problem in South Africa? – ANC and other perspectives** (Dr Stefan Sonderling)

The core of this chapter will be a discussion the emergence of the ANC's argument that South Africa's media lacks diversity. But the chapter will also examine the perspectives of other political parties, NGOs and the media industry.

- **Chapter 3. Reporting Elections** (Dr Stefan Sonderling)

Implicit in the ANC's critique of media diversity is the notion that the existing media industry structurally produces news that is skewed against the ANC-government. This chapter will examine this accusation by analysing South African news content. This will be tied to an examination of (1) changes in media ownership/control; (2) changes in editors since 1994.

- **Chapter 4. Reporting Nkandla** (Prof Jeanne Prinsloo)

The ANC has argued the media's handling of Nkandla is proof of a structurally biased media industry. This accusation will be tested through an in-depth content analysis of the reporting of Nkandla.

- **Chapter 5. ANC media policy** (Prof Jane Duncan)

This chapter will unpack and analyse the evolution of ANC media policy with particular reference to how these policies have facilitated (or otherwise) the functioning of media diversity in South Africa.

- **Chapter 6. Media ownership concentration in South Africa** (Prof George Angelopulo & Prof Petrus Potgieter)

This chapter will examine both ownership and control of key South Africa's key news media. Contemporary ownership/control will be compared to 1994 ownership/control.

- **Chapter 7. Audience access to media by population segments & ownership of news media** (Dr Julie Reid & Dr Vanessa Malila)

This chapter moves away from looking at media ownership in isolation from media audiences. Instead the focus will be on how ownership patterns interact with audience demographics.

- **Chapter 8. Media diversity measurement model** (Dr Julie Reid & Dr Vanessa Malila)

This chapter will propose and describe a model for measuring media diversity which is appropriate for South African conditions and audiences.

- **Chapter 9. The SABC and diversity** (Prof Viola Milton)

This chapter will examine the extent to which the SABC has contributed to "serving diversity" in South Africa or contributed to a "diversity problem".

- **Chapter 10. Digital Terrestrial Television and diversity** (Kate Skinner)

This chapter will explore the possibilities offered by digital terrestrial television for improving diversity in the South African context.

- **Chapter 11. Digital Media and diversity** (Prof Ylva Rodny-Gumede)

Digital media technologies offer many opportunities for reconceptualising the media industry. This chapter will consider such possibilities.

- **Chapter 12. The Media Diversity and Development Agency (MDDA)** (Dr Tanja Bosch)

The MDDA was established with a view to increasing the range of voices that would be given a media voice. It is a moot point whether the MDDA has “served diversity”. This chapter will examine the MDDA, its role and its performance.

- **Chapter 13. Conclusion** (Prof P Eric Louw & Dr Julie Reid)

This chapter will draw together all the contributions to this book and use these to discuss the question of whether South Africa has a media diversity “problem”. The chapter will examine both the question of how to “define” the problem and “solve” the problem.

## 7. Journalism: publications for popular media and the press

Since the launch of the MPDP in 2012, various members of the MPDP have published articles and/or opinion pieces for newspapers and digitally published news websites on topics and research related to the MPDP, which are listed below.

Duncan, J. 2016. Reports of the death of communications privacy are greatly exaggerated. *Daily Maverick*. <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-04-20-reports-of-the-death-of-communications-privacy-are-greatly-exaggerated/#.VxjkgY1unIU>

Duncan, J. 2012. Marikana and the problem of pack journalism. *SABC*. <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/00f7e0804cfe58899b00bf76c8dbd3db/Marikana-and-the-problem-of-pack-journalism-20121007>

Prinsloo, J. 2014. Analysis: reporting Nkandla – anatomy of a scandal, and how the media responded. *Daily Maverick*. [http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-01-20-analysis-reporting-nkandla-anatomy-of-a-scandal-and-how-the-media-responded/#.U\\_HGOVcaKgA](http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-01-20-analysis-reporting-nkandla-anatomy-of-a-scandal-and-how-the-media-responded/#.U_HGOVcaKgA)

Reid, J. 2015. Is the ANC right about press regulation? Research says ‘NO’. *Daily Maverick*. <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-12-07-is-the-anc-right-about-press-regulation-research-says-no/#.Vwyjp41unIU>

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## 8. Research grants and research assistants for 2014 and 2015

A portion of the Women in Research (WiR) funds which are allocated to the MPDP for 2014 and 2015 were allocated to the awarding of two separate research grants: for one Doctoral and one Masters student. These two students registered at Unisa's Department of Communication Science for their postgraduate studies, and as recipients of the MPDP research grants also acted as part-time research assistants to the MPDP.

After issuing a call for this research grant, the MPDP project leaders reviewed all applications and selected the following two applicants: Ms Taryn Isaacs (Doctoral applicant) and Ms Viloshnee Naidoo (MA applicant). Both awardees are currently registered with the Department of Communication Science at Unisa for their postgraduate degrees, under the supervision of Dr Julie Reid and Prof viola c milton.

As a research assistant, Viloshnee Naidoo has been assisting both Dr Stefan Sonderling and Prof viola c milton. Her tasks included:

A Quantitative analysis of the *Sunday Times*, *City Press* and the *Sowetan* which included: Sorting out the election editorials;

- Arranging editorials in chronological order;
- Identifying political partisan;
- Identifying the number biased to any specific political party, and

A Discourse analysis of the editorial which included:

- Identifying a pattern to the story the newspaper is telling in the editorial;
- Identifying explicit partisan support for a particular political party;
- Identifying the following attitudes are expressed by the editorials (moralising; the professional journalistic ideology and adversarial political partisan)
- Collating and scanning academic and popular articles about the SABC's content output from 1994 to 2015

As a research assistant, Ms Taryn Isaacs has been assisting Dr Julie Reid. Her tasks have included:

- Completing the document analysis of all PCSA rulings published from 2009 – 2014
- Compiling a statistical analysis of the performance of the PCSA over the years from 2009-2014
- Performing a document and content analysis of all written submissions delivered to the Press Council of South Africa
- Performing in-depth interviews with staff members of the PCSA
- Co-authoring research reports on the PCSA, PFC and the Cross-platform mechanism for media accountability in South Africa

## 9. Events, launches and colloquia hosted by the MPDP: 2012-2016

### 9.1 Research report launch: '*Nkandlagate*' – a critical textual analysis of the press coverage, by Prof Jeanne Prinsloo

On 21 January 2014, the MPDP hosted a report launch for the above-mentioned report in collaboration with the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism (IAJ).

The programme for this event was as follows:

- Welcome: Michael Schmidt (Executive Director, Institute for the Advancement of Journalism, IAJ)
- Introduction: Prof Jane Duncan (then-Highway Africa Chair of Media & Information Society, Rhodes University)
- Presentation: Prof Jeanne Prinsloo (Author of the study, Media Policy & Democracy Project)
- Followed by Q&A with Prof Jeanne Prinsloo

### 9.2 International colloquium on press regulation and accountability

The MPDP hosted an international one-day colloquium on press regulation and accountability on 30 August 2013, at UNISA in Pretoria.

The main themes and concepts for discussion at this colloquium were as follows:

- The role(s) and responsibility of the press in an emerging democracy
- Normative theories of the press and potential revisions of these perspectives
- The relationship of the press to government and other centres of power
- Press accountability and systems of regulation – what is best practice?
- Public trust in the press and transparency in news organisations
- Journalistic and editorial ethics and codes of ethics
- Press freedom and freedom of expression
- The global impact of the UK Leveson inquiry and related events
- Press freedom in Africa: a continental perspective

The full list of speakers and the titles of the papers which they delivered at the colloquium on 30 August 2013 are as follows:

- Julie Reid: *Journalistic accountability in sub-Saharan Africa: press self-regulation in crisis*
- Levi Obonyo & Clayton Peel: *Media Regulation in Emerging Democracies: A comparative analysis of statutory and voluntary media councils in East Africa*
- Jacinta Mwendu Maweu: *The Effectiveness of self regulatory Media Councils in Africa: The case of the Media Council of Kenya*
- Fred M'membe: *Zambia's Unending Search for Press Accountability and System of Regulation*
- Adolf Emmanuel Mbaine: *Challenges to self regulation in Africa: The case of Uganda*
- Anton Harber: *Towards an ethic and practice of transparency among journalists*
- Nicola Jones: *What is legal is not always ethical: the Sunday Times, City Press and Mail & Guardian's coverage of Reeva Steenkamp's alleged murder in the context of South African crime and court reporting*
- Marc Caldwell: *Dialogical selves and the problem of global media ethics*

- Gabriël Botma: *A critique of the critic: Considering discourses on press regulation in South Africa and Britain*

### 9.3 Media Policy and Democracy Project Mid-term review: 20 October 2014

On 20 October 2014 the MPDP held a one-day mid-term review colloquium at the Women's Gaol Atrium (Women's Prison), Constitution Hill, Braamfontein, Johannesburg.

Since the MPDP was originally envisaged as a three-year research project, this colloquium served as a platform to present the research conducted by the MPDP to-date, and to host an open discussion forum as a mid-term review (at this point, the MPDP was half way through its second year).

Researchers involved in the project will presented their findings to-date, and colloquium participants were afforded the opportunity to respond and discuss the research conducted thus far.

The MPDP contributed toward the compilation of the UNESCO World Trends Report on Freedom of Expression and Media Development. The Directorate for Freedom of Expression and Media Development at UNESCO, Paris, asked for the assistance of the MPDP in hosting a regional launch of this research report. The launch of the report was held on the same day and directly followed the above-mentioned MPDP mid-term review one-day colloquium.

The programme for this event was as follows:

08:30-09:10	Registration Tea & coffee
09:10-09:20	<b>Welcoming address &amp; introductory presentation</b> <b>Prof Jane Duncan, University of Johannesburg</b> <i>Introduction to the Media Policy and Democracy Project: aims, progress and challenges</i>
09:20-09:30	<b>The Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF-SA)</b>
<b>SESSION ONE</b>	
<b>PANEL DISCUSSION: The politics of media policy research: negotiating media policy in the public interest in post-apartheid South Africa</b> <b>Chair and discussant: Prof viola c milton, University of South Africa</b>	
09:30-11:00	<b>Dr Julie Reid</b> , University of South Africa: <i>Ground-up perspectives – a policy driven collaborative research approach for the inclusion of audience and citizen's voices</i>  <b>Dr Dale T McKinley</b> , Right2Know Campaign: <i>The Right2Know Campaign – policy interventions and advocacy informed by 'voices on the ground'.</i>  <b>Mr Sekoetlane Phamodi</b> , SOS: Support Public Broadcasting Coalition: <i>What's in a name when public broadcasters still submit to the State? A case study of civil society interventions in promoting public service broadcasting values in South Africa.</i>  <b>Prof Jane Duncan</b> , University of Johannesburg: <i>Pluralism with little diversity: the South African experience of media transformation</i>
11:00-11:20	Discussion & responses
11:20-11:40	Tea & coffee
<b>SESSION TWO</b>	
<b>Media diversity, concentration and transformation</b> <b>Chair: Dr Stefan Sonderling, University of South Africa</b>	



11:40-12:00	<b>Prof George Angelopulo &amp; Prof Petrus Potgieter</b> <i>Media concentration report: the access to news media by selected segments of the South African population</i>
12:00-12:20	<b>Dr Julie Reid &amp; Dr Vanessa Malila</b> <i>Toward a media diversity measurement tool for South Africa</i>
12:20-12:40	Discussion & responses
12:40-13:30	Lunch
<b>SESSION THREE</b>	
<b>Media bias, media ownership and editorial freedom</b> Chair: Prof Pieter J Fourie, University of South Africa	
13:30-13:50	<b>Prof Jeanne Prinsloo</b> <i>'Nkandlagate' – a critical textual analysis of the press coverage</i>
13:50-14:10	<b>Dr Stefan Sonderling</b> <i>The relationship between media ownership and editorial content</i>
14:10-14:30	Discussion & responses
14:30-14:50	Tea/coffee
<b>SESSION FOUR</b>	
<b>Press regulation, ICT policy concerns, and communications policy in the public interest</b> Chair: Dr Vanessa Malila, Rhodes University	
14:50-15:10	<b>Dr Julie Reid &amp; Taryn Isaacs</b> <i>Press regulation in South Africa: an analysis of the Press Council of South Africa and the Press Freedom Commission</i>
15:10-15:30	<b>Prof viola c milton</b> <i>Communications policy and the public interest: audience study</i>
15:30-15:50	<b>Prof Jane Duncan</b> <i>South Africa's ICT policy review in the wake of the Snowden revelations</i>
15:50-16:10	Discussion & responses
<b>SESSION FIVE</b>	
<b>Strategy session - the way forward</b>	
16:10-17:10	<b>Chair of discussion: Prof Ylva Rodney-Gumede (University of Johannesburg)</b>
<b>SESSION SIX</b>	
<b>LAUNCH OF THE UNESCO WORLD TRENDS REPORT ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND MEDIA DEVELOPMENT (hosted by the Media Policy and Democracy Project)</b>	
17:30-18:30	<b>Introduction of the report and discussion of its contents:</b> Hezekiel Dlamini, UNESCO, Harare Office.  <b>Contributing author:</b> Dr Julie Reid, University of South Africa and Media Policy and Democracy Project  <b>Discussants:</b> Zoe Titus, Regional Director, Media Institute of Southern Africa Dr Glenda Daniels, Department of Journalism, WITS University  <b>Questions and discussion from the floor</b>
18:30-20:00	<b>Cocktail dinner</b>

**9.4 Report launch for 1) *UNESCO World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development report - Special Digital Focus* and 2) *Press regulation in South Africa: an analysis of the Press Council of South Africa, the Press Freedom Commission and related discourses* (MPDP)**

On 27 November 2015 the MPDP hosted a research report launch event at the Women's Gaol Atrium (Women's Prison), Constitution Hill, Braamfontein, Johannesburg.

**The programme for this event was as follows:**

**09:00 - 10:40: *UNESCO World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development report - Special Digital Focus***

This report offers a substantive and global analysis of the key areas of concern regarding journalism in a digital world. The report concentrates on four thematic areas: countering online hate speech, protecting journalism sources in a digital age, fostering freedom online, and the safety of journalists. Members of the MPDP acted as expert consultants during the compilation of this report.

**Report overview & summary:**

Hezekiel Dlamini, UNESCO Harare Office

**Discussants/speakers:**

Prof P Eric Louw, School of Communication and Arts, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia  
Prof Ylva Rodny-Gumede, Associate Professor and Head of Department, Department of Journalism, Film & Television, University of Johannesburg.

**11:00 - 12:30: *Press regulation in South Africa: an analysis of the Press Council of South Africa, the Press Freedom Commission and related discourses***

In recent years the effectiveness of the press regulatory system adopted in South Africa, and questions of journalistic ethics and media accountability, have been hotly debated. Amidst calls for more stringent regulation, how effective is the Press Council of South Africa (PCSA) as a system for holding the printed media to account? Is a Media Appeals Tribunal necessary? This research report conducts an independent assessment of the PCSA over a five year period in order to shed some light on its effectivity as a mechanism for ensuring journalistic accountability and ethics.

*An overview and summary of the report was presented by the authors, followed by a Q&A session.*

**Chair:**

Prof viola c milton, Department of Communication Science and MPDP leader, UNISA

**Speakers (authors):**

Dr Julie Reid, Department of Communication Science and MPDP leader, UNISA  
Taryn Isaacs, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

## 10. Impacts of the MPDP

As an independent research project, the MPDP does not aim to produce direct impacts as civil society campaigns do. The purpose of the project is to encourage informed, researched advocacy to strengthen a democratic media system, but not to conduct the advocacy itself. Also, not all aspects of the MPDP's research agenda are determined by immediate advocacy needs, but have a longer term objective of building knowledge resources in different areas of media policy; so these outputs may not have visible, short-term impacts, and the work should not be measured purely in instrumental terms.

Having said that, the MPDP can point to some visible impacts from its work.

The project has begun rebuilding academic capacity to engage on a range of media policy issues. During the transformation of the media in the early to mid-1990's, academics made significant contributions to media policy work; but since then, academic work that's geared towards encouraging media transformation has dried up. Since its inception in 2012, the MPDP has succeeded in turning media policy into a serious academic endeavor once again, attracting a number of scholars into this work, and thereby encouraging engaged scholarship in this area. The MPDP has also made strides in 'growing our own timber', by recruiting postgraduate students, and this in turn has contributed to building capacity in this area. The MPDP is also having a discussion about the possibility of institutionalizing the work in an academic center devoted to media and communication policy, and this shows that the work has taken on a life of its own and is likely to live beyond the originally envisaged three-year life-span of the MPDP as an academic research project.

The project has also built partnerships with civil society, to encourage these organisations to use the research to inform advocacy. The MPDP's work on digital terrestrial television is a case in point: through an engagement with civil society groups on the various policy issues surrounding DTT, both the Right2Know Campaign and the SOS Coalition have initiated public awareness and popular education drives on DTT, and currently advocate for DTT policy decisions which best enhance people's communications rights. This work has led to DTT being understood as a bread and butter issue, with the right to quality television content being as essential as the right to water, electricity or housing, and the need for such content being a basic democratic demand, and even a life and death issue. The fact that this virtuous circle between research, advocacy and organizing has been incorporated into the SOS – Support Public Broadcasting Coalition's strategic plan, is also a testament to the effectiveness of this model and its underlying theory of change.

Then there are a range of more specific impacts. In relation to the Press Council of South Africa (PCSA), the fact that the Council accepted the MPDP's argument for third party complaints, albeit on a qualified basis, was a major victory for the project. The MPDP has also played a role in convincing the Council not to reinstate the waiver. Also, the fact that the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Communications has requested the MPDP to brief it on the state of the media is also an indication that the work is being recognized as a resource for policy and legislation-makers, as is the Press Council's ongoing use of the MPDP's expertise in an advisory capacity. Recently the Government Communication and Information Service (GCIS) has requested the assistance of the MPDP in advising its research team on the drafting of a discussion document on media diversity and transformation in South Africa. In effect, the MPDP has become the 'go-to' body for these institutions, which places it in a powerful position to influence policy, laws and practices in future.

While much of the MPDP's research is still being completed, already-released research has impacted positively on public debates, such as Prof. Jeanne Prinsloo's critical discourse analysis of the Nkandla reportage: a report which has proved useful in defending spaces for investigative journalism in South Africa. Many of the recommendations offered by the MPDP in its research report on the establishment

of a cross-platform media accountability mechanism were adopted by the PCSA, as it extended its mandate to include in its jurisdiction digitally published news content in 2015.

The MPDP's report on the performance of the Press Council and the outcomes of the Press Freedom Commission have put to rest a number of misinformed arguments about the effectivity of the PCSA as a regulatory mechanism for the press, by dispelling these according to empirical researched findings, which will be valuable in forthcoming parliamentary discussions about the establishment of a Media Appeals Tribunal. The MPDP's research has informed the campaigning activities of the Right2Know Campaign and other civil society bodies on the matter of mass communications surveillance, as these organisations advocate for a more democratized and transparent approach to the current surveillance regime within South Africa.

The MPDP has also influenced the approach to communication and media policy research within the established academic community of South Africa, broadly represented by the South African Communication Association (SACOMM). This was the result of many years of lobbying by MPDP members within SACOMM. At the SACOMM 2015 conference, the strategic planning session (during which discussions were led by members of the MPDP) resulted in the establishment of a brand new SACOMM Focus Group/Stream, now called Communications Advocacy and Activism (CAA). This is a long overdue and extremely necessary initiative, given the multitude of national media and communications policy making processes currently underway in South Africa, as well as subsequent advocacy and campaigning efforts, many of which are sadly under-informed by research. The SACOMM strategic planning session emphasised the need to establish a platform within SACOMM, in which the relevant academic research can be made available, promoted and inserted into such media policy making processes, as well as inform advocacy and activism.

SACOMM now aims to generate opportunities for academics and scholars working within the areas of media and communications policy and regulation, and related fields, to collaborate and engage one another, as well as showcase their findings to the relevant stakeholders, including media/communications policy makers and advocacy/campaigning groups and organisations. Central to this CAA focus area is the notion of encouraging, promoting and showcasing research which is relevant to, and can have a material impact on, media policy making processes. The aim is to bridge the divide between academically produced research, and the spheres of policy making and advocacy/activism.