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ABSTRACT

This paper examines how debates on language-equity and identity have helped to shape South African broadcasting reform in the 1990s. The broadcasting sector is of interest as an example of how patterns of institutional transformation give concrete form to constitutionally protected citizenship rights. The politics of language-equity in broadcasting reform has been shaped by conflicts over the legitimacy of who is represented, by what means, by whom, and for what purposes in processes of policy-deliberation and decision-making. The role of public agencies (including the South African Broadcasting Corporation and the Independent Broadcasting Authority), private capital, civil society organisations, and the state in shaping the significance ascribed to language-equity in the transformation of radio and television services is considered in detail. The paper argues that entrenched patterns of socio-economic inequality, social relations of ownership and control, and the existing structures of markets for broadcasting services have all constrained attempts to deploy broadcasting as an instrument for fostering more equitable treatment of diverse languages in the public sphere.

LANGUAGE EQUITY AND THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA REFORM

I. MEDIA AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN TRANSITION

The project of inclusive nation-building in South Africa during the 1990s has been undertaken in the wider context of a new round of internationalization in which the correspondence between the scale of the nation-state and cultural identity is more than ever being strained both from below (by regionalized patterns of cultural diversity), and from above (by the de- and re-territorializing effects of international markets for cultural commodities). Contemporary global tendencies towards the de-coupling of culture, economy, and polity have implications for the normative and theoretical assumptions about the relationships between media, democracy, identity, and territory that underwrite long established media and communications policies (Collins 1990). In a situation in which processes of economic integration are increasingly taking place at a trans-national scale, the state's ability to use communications and media as instruments of domestic political and cultural integration are significantly constrained (see Shields and Muppidi 1996). The 'vertical' integration of different social groups into a single nation-state, which has conventionally been the role allocated to the media as instruments for nation-formation, is increasingly at odds with the 'horizontal' integration that trans-national systems of production, distribution and consumption of cultural commodities makes possible (Collins 1991). The task of cultural unification and social integration in a society that comes 'late' to the process of nation-formation is taking place in the course of the insertion of post-apartheid South Africa into an international economy in which media and communications industries are of central importance. In this context, communications and cultural policies become means of negotiating entry into the international economy. The resulting contradictions of a strategy of "modernization by internationalization" (Przeworski 1992) are evident in the South African broadcasting sector, which has been officially allocated a dual role: as part of an economic strategy of international competitiveness; and as pivotal to the achievement of cultural-policy goals such as national unification, reconciliation, and the equalization of access to basic communications. In this paper, the tensions emerging from these competing imperatives are illustrated by recent attempts to transform radio and television with the aim of achieving equitable coverage of a plurality of languages.

Political transformation in South Africa involves a process of fostering common civil and political rights of citizenship as the condition for the cultivation of cultural pluralism. Official policies of nation-building in South Africa posit an inclusive, multi-cultural, syncretic national identity premised upon “the non-naturalness of nationhood” (Norval 1996, 276). The project of managing cultural pluralism depends on developing institutional mechanisms that can mediate tensions and conflicts arising from cultural differences, racial divisions, and socio-economic inequalities (Adam *et al* 1997, 103). The new South African constitution enshrines a broad range of citizenship rights extending access to, for example, health care services, sufficient food and water, and to adequate housing (RSA 1993b). These abstract commitments have been given substance by the particular institutions responsible for the provision of such basic services. In this respect, broadcasting reform has been at the forefront of attempts to find concrete institutional forms for the realization of constitutional guarantees of equitable treatment of the plurality of languages used in South Africa. The meaning of these constitutional clauses on language-equity has therefore been significantly shaped by the transformation of broadcasting institutions in both the public and private sectors.

Language issues have featured in media debates in South Africa as part of broader political processes aimed at re-imagining identities and differences. The policy objective of developing an inclusive national identity which balances respect for cultural, linguistic, and regional diversity with imperatives of national unification and reconciliation has been central to the transformation of South African radio and television in the 1990s (see Teer-Tomaselli and Tomaselli 1996). Cultural politics in contemporary South Africa is not merely a matter of formal recognition of the equal status of a diversity of identities. The promotion and development of equitable treatment of cultures and identities implies a politically contested process over the redistribution of resources between different communities and interests. As such, the radio and television sectors are involved not only in the consensual management of ‘difference’ and ‘diversity’. They are deeply implicated in the regulation of social divisions and class inequalities which continue to persist after the negotiated end of apartheid. Policies have focused upon extending access to mass mediated information to all South Africans irrespective of their language or where in South Africa they live. In addition, the broadcasting sector, as part of the wider communications industry, has become a key element in the programme of economic development pursued by the ANC-led government since 1994. There is a basic tension

between market-based scenarios for broadcasting reform which posit individualized models of identity, and scenarios which favor strong public broadcasting sector and effective independent regulation. While market-based policies tend to work towards the reproduction of entrenched patterns of inequality, the use of public agencies as active mediums for the redistribution of resources has tended to further politicize language-based identities in the broadcasting sector.

This paper is concerned with two related issues: how diverse cultural identities have been institutionally accommodated and managed in the course of broadcasting reform; and how, to what extent, and through what mechanisms the transformed broadcasting system has institutionalized the representation of diverse interests in decision-making procedures (Donald 1992, 136-140). The development of broadcasting policy has been characterized by an explicit commitment to open and participatory deliberation over different policy options. However, the social relations of ownership, production, distribution and consumption forged during the period of apartheid remain largely unchanged in post-apartheid South Africa. This raises the question of the extent to which these patterns impact upon the goals of institutionalizing democratic, broadly representative and participatory decision-making processes. These issues will be explored by elaborating upon the particular articulations of the relationship between language and cultural identity presented by different organisations in public policy forums during the course of broadcasting reform in the 1990s.

II. LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND THE LEGACIES OF THE PAST

South African society is characterized by a high degree of linguistic complexity, in terms of the multiplicity of languages spoken, and the geographical and demographic differentiation of these languages. Multi-lingualism is a common feature, with a large proportion of the population having communicative capabilities in four or five languages. Zulu, Xhosa, and Afrikaans are the most widely spoken languages in numerical terms as well as in terms of regional dispersion [**Table 1**]. While it is often assumed that English can serve as the 'lingua franca' in a post-apartheid South Africa, this potential is in fact limited by the relatively low levels of understanding of English amongst the South African population: "less than 25% of the black population of South Africa know English well enough to become empowered through it, i.e. to obtain meaningful access through it to educational development, economic opportunity, political participation and real social mobility" (Webb 1996a, 178-

179; see also Ndebele 1994).

Language was central to the organized construction of white Afrikaner cultural and political identity in the first half of the twentieth-century through a network of newspapers, literature, publishing houses, and radio (Hofmeyr 1987, O'Meara 1983). Historically, Afrikaans has been conceptually and organizationally contained within the parameters of Afrikaner nationalism as a distinctively white language. This is despite its hybrid origins and the large numbers of non-white speakers of the language (see Brown 1992, Van Wyk 1991). This monoglossic representation of Afrikaans drew on European traditions of romanticism and cultural nationalism, in which language is understood as a key medium for the cultural unification of the nation.

The organized development of African languages in Southern Africa was begun by Christian missionaries in the nineteenth-century, who selected specific *dialects* to be standardized into separate and distinct *languages*. The rhetoric of language rights and cultural pluralism was a central facet of apartheid policies, which aimed to construct separate ethnic identifications between the majority of black South Africans (Sharp 1988). Separate African languages became the basis for official state definitions of ethnic identity, and language was the cornerstone of 'Bantu' education policy from the 1950s onwards (Reagan 1987). With the establishment of nominally independent ethnic homelands, particular African languages were given the status of official languages of these 'states'. These distinctive language ideologies underwrote the development of broadcasting in South Africa (see Tomaselli *et al* 1989). Following the election victory of the National Party (NP) in 1948, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was incorporated into the network of cultural, economic, and political institutions through which Afrikaner nationalism secured hegemony over state apparatuses (Orlik 1978). Afrikaans and English were privileged as the national broadcast languages. Radio services in African languages were introduced from the 1940s onwards. They were used to differentiate populations into localized ethnic communities. Radio was organised in terms of separate language-stations, broadcasting for separate audiences, in discrete territorial units. The NP government delayed the introduction of television until the mid-1970s, reflecting fears that television would act as a vehicle for English language-imperialism and that it had the potential to create unifying identifications across ethnic divisions (see Nixon 1994). When it was finally introduced in 1976, television remained subject to tight control by the state, and programming sharply differentiated

between channels on the basis of race. Apartheid policies have therefore contributed to sharply differentiated access to basic communications technologies between social groups, on the basis of both income levels and location. Broadcasting policy in the 1990s is shaped by an overriding concern to redress the effects of past policies of unequal resource allocation by extending access to the means of communication both technologically (by providing basic services), and culturally (through equitable provision for different languages on radio and television).

III. THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION IN PUBLIC POLICY-FORUMS

i). The new language dispensation and the transformation of the SABC

The drafting of a new constitution proved to be one of the most contentious issue at the multi-party negotiations between the African National Congress (ANC), NP, and other political parties during 1992 and 1993. When finally decided, the language provisions for the Interim Constitution recognized eleven official languages: Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Sesotho [Southern Sotho], SaLeboa [Northern Sotho], SiSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa, and isiZulu (RSA 1993b; see also Brown 1991, Titlestad 1996). Each of these languages had official status somewhere in South Africa at the time that the new Constitution came into effect. The choice of eleven languages was based on the principles of non-diminution of existing language rights and rights relating to language at the regional level should be extended to the national level. The Interim Constitution defined the use of a language of choice as a fundamental human right which could not be abrogated by the state. At the same time, it defined various positive steps to be taken by the state to promote and protect languages and to establish the conditions for the exercise of individual language rights.

The new language clauses strike an uneasy balance between the retention of certain features of apartheid language policies with fundamental shifts of emphasis. On the one hand, the African languages recognised in the 1993 constitution “are largely an apartheid creation and were used to entrench ethnic separation” (Desai 1995, 20). On the other hand, the Interim Constitution was premised upon a recognition of the multi-lingualism of most South Africans. Recognising that none of the official languages was restricted to a particular region, it also included a clear commitment to upgrade the African languages from merely regional status to national status. These two elements represent a significant departure from the equation of language, ethnicity, and region upon which

apartheid language policies had been based.

The central contradiction arising from the constitutional recognition of eleven languages turns on the question of how, in practice, to pursue the extension of nine African languages and the widespread use of English, without the diminution of Afrikaans (see Sachs 1994). In understanding the changing relationships between language and social power in South Africa, it is useful to distinguish between the *symbolic power* of a language (the status and esteem associated with it), and the *pragmatic power* of a language (which is determined by who speaks what language, to whom, and for what purposes) (De Kadt 1991; 1996). In both senses, the social power associated with English is likely to grow in the future, potentially undermining political commitments to linguistic diversity in the public sphere (Webb 1996a). At the same time, the pragmatic power of Afrikaans has declined with the end of apartheid. In addressing these issues, it is necessary to consider the situation not so much in terms of relations of power between languages as such, but in terms of social actors empowered in relation to languages in particular situations and contexts (Fardon and Furniss 1994). Laitin (1992) argues that the interrelationships between macro-forces operating at the international and national scales with the micro-dynamics of everyday language-use are encouraging the rationalization of language-use in African states, including South Africa. This is promoting patterns of language-use in which individuals have repertoires of between two and four languages, including a language of wide communication for official and international purposes, likely to be a European language; a standardized indigenous African lingua franca; and a regional vernacular. Laitin's analysis indicates that formal language policies are not necessarily the most influential factors in determining changing language practices. The influence of non-state agencies, such as private corporations or the mass media, is critical in shaping the development of language-use in multi-lingual societies (see Astroff 1992).

The task of translating the broad constitutional principles on language-equity into practical policy measures fell first on the SABC (Heugh 1994). Prior to 1994, the SABC had held a near monopoly on broadcasting services in South Africa, and was in the process of being transformed from a state-controlled broadcaster into an independent public service broadcaster before the 1994 elections (Teer-Tomaselli 1995). The SABC was already revising previously ideologically rigid language policies in the late 1980s and early 1990s (see Thirion and Van Vuuren 1995). Heavily

dependent upon advertising revenue for many years, these changes were driven primarily by commercial considerations of how best to serve the needs of advertisers. Research into the best means of targeting black consumers via radio supported a shift away from pure, standardized African languages towards the use of everyday vernaculars (SABC 1989, 1991, 1993a). Research also showed a clear preference for television programming in vernaculars and a complex pattern of language preference according to programme type (Choshane 1993). Further research clearly established the extent and complexity of multi-lingualism amongst black South Africans (Slabbert 1994; Slabbert and Van Den Berg 1995). This qualitative research informed further large-scale quantitative research into the extent of multi-lingualism and preference for languages.

The rethinking of language policies was given further impetus by the new Board of the SABC, appointed in 1993 after a series of political campaigns aimed at ensuring that the public broadcaster was independent of government control prior to the impending elections (see Louw 1993). The new Board committed the SABC to the provision of accessible broadcasting services to all South Africans regardless of language or region (SABC 1993b, 1). Accordingly, a Language Committee was established to investigate the means by which to honor on the commitment to equitable treatment of all eleven official languages. More than four and half thousand submissions from the public on its reformulation of language policy were received by the SABC. However, the vast majority of these came from Afrikaans-language institutions, including schools, Universities, churches, cultural organizations and businesses (SABC 1994a). This network of organizations strongly opposed any reduction of the share of broadcasting resources allocated to Afrikaans programming. The highly uneven pattern of responses to the consultation process from different groups of language-users indicated the need for the SABC to acquire information from African language speakers. It also further stimulated the SABC's concern for establishing language preferences as an alternative to relying on gross numbers of 'home language' users, the benchmark routinely invoked by Afrikaans organizations.

In October 1994, the SABC released its new language-policy. In line with its own research on language-preference, the equitable allocation of broadcasting time was decided in proportion to home-language users of the entire population, irrespective of actual access to radios or televisions. The new policy also embodied a clear rejection of regional de-centralization as an option for dealing

with the language issue, and included a commitment to broadcasting official languages on the national-scale: “different languages and regions should be reflected to the nation and to themselves” (SABC 1994b, 7). Recognizing the high degrees of mutual intelligibility of cognate languages, television programming would focus on ‘shared languages’ as a means of generating large audiences. The new language policy thus combined a commitment to new political imperatives of multi-lingualism and equitable treatment of languages with the financial imperative to secure advertising revenue by providing large audiences to advertisers. It is this relationship between cultural-policy aims and the imperatives derived from the SABC’s financial dependence on commercial advertising revenue which has proved to be pivotal to the process of broadcasting reform as it has proceeded since 1994.

ii). The politics of language and the re-regulation of broadcasting

While broadcasting reform has been undertaken in a spirit of openness and inclusive participation, in practice, public forums for policy-making have been characterized by highly uneven patterns of representation. The Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) was the product of political compromises made during 1992 and 1993, in response to campaigns to secure the independent re-regulation of broadcasting following the 1994 general elections. The mandate of the IBA stated that it should “promote the provision of a diverse range of sound and television broadcasting services on a national, regional and local level which, when viewed collectively, cater for all language and cultural groups and provide entertainment, education and information” (RSA 1993a, Section 2(a)). This original mandate to regulate for cultural diversity thus referred to the whole broadcasting system, not to the specific responsibilities of the national public broadcaster alone. The IBA Act of 1993 specified that before any fundamental structural changes were made to the broadcasting system, the newly established regulatory body should hold public inquiries into three issues: the future of public broadcasting; the question of cross-media ownership; and the question of local content quotas for radio and television programming. The central questions addressed by the IBA’s ‘Triple Inquiry’ during 1994 and 1995 proved inseparable from the question of how practically to deliver on the broad constitutional commitments to equitable use of all eleven official languages. Different interpretations of this constitutional guarantee supported different models of how to restructure the broadcasting

system. Furthermore, during the Triple Inquiry, there was a significant imbalance between the weight of representations made on behalf of different groups of language-users, and in favor of different scenarios for future language provision in broadcasting.

A number of themes emerged from the range of submissions to the Triple Inquiry received from different interest groups (see Hwengwere 1995). These included the question of the role to be played by regional broadcasting in facilitating the promotion and development of all official languages. There were markedly different interpretations of the meaning of the constitutional clause on 'equal use' of languages and how it pertained to broadcasting. This was given a rigid interpretation by Afrikaans groups to defend the position of Afrikaans on television. The SABC deployed a more dynamic and flexible notion of 'equitable' treatment, which balanced commitments to develop all eleven languages within the evolving framework of financial and technological constraints. Different interests also appealed to 'objective' language data in different ways. Linguistic description is inherently normative in South Africa. The technologies for objectifying languages in policy-debates, including forms of spatial objectification such as maps or lists, as well as functional classifications, have contentious political implications. Not the least important of these is their tendency to render language into a mono-lingual phenomenon, in contrast to the dynamism and complexity of actual use in different contexts (Makoni 1995). Afrikaans organizations have tended to appeal to the total number of 'home language' users. On the other hand, a variety of arguments were presented during the Triple Inquiry that suggested that broadcasting language-policies needed to move beyond conceptualizations of language which focused solely upon 'home language'. This notion was both ideologically suspect and failed to capture the empirical complexities of actual language-use with respect to media practices (Schuring 1995).

Disputes about language at the Triple Inquiry focused in particular on the transformation of television services. In opposition to the SABC's stated intention to upgrade its third 'spare' channel to full capacity, civil society organizations and existing and prospective private broadcasters argued that the SABC should lose at least one of its television stations to make way for a new entrant into the television market. The most significant of these organizations was the "Group of Thirteen" civil society organizations, which consisted of a broad alliance of trade unions, church groups, academics, media lawyers, and other organizations who had been involved in campaigns around broadcasting freedom

from the late 1980s (see Currie and Markovitz 1993). This group argued for a two television channel SABC, which would have reduced dependence on advertising and would facilitate a diversification of ownership in television (Group of Thirteen 1994, Van Zyl 1994, De Swardt 1994). These proposals regarding the SABC's television portfolio were part of a broader two-tier model of broadcasting at the national and provincial levels, and including public, private and community broadcasting sectors. It was argued that regional stations would help promote diversity and prevent monopoly control over public broadcasting. This influential group thus presented a scenario in which the promotion of cultural diversity was addressed holistically through a de-centralized broadcasting system, rather than through a single, national public broadcaster.

By the end of 1994, a consensus had emerged within the SABC between 'old' and 'new' elements of upper management to protect the institutional dominance of the SABC from proposals for its significant down-sizing (see Horwitz 1996). The SABC presented the Triple Inquiry a vision of a strong national public service broadcaster with a central role to play in the project of nation-building. The SABC's submissions envisaged a mixed funding base for the corporation, projecting a reduced dependence on advertising revenue and increased funding from government. It also opposed regional de-centralization on the grounds that this implied a degree of federalism not warranted by the new political settlement: "to deliver accessible programming to all South African's, and to provide the choice guaranteed them in the constitution, the SABC must provide programming in all eleven official languages in all parts of the country where they are spoken" (SABC 1994c). This interpretation of language equity provided the ground for an argument that the SABC needed to retain three full service television channels and a full compliment of radio stations. The SABC claimed that the retention of the third television station was essential, not simply to provide adequate programming capacity, but specifically because the third channel was envisaged as a commercially-oriented service which would cross-subsidize the public service programming on the other two channels. Three television channels were presented as being crucial to the task of balancing increased public service obligations in relation to language with the need to generate adequate revenues (SABC 1994d; 1995b).

The SABC argued that language-preference should guide decisions on the allocation of broadcasting time (SABC 1995a), and used quantitative interpretations of language-preference

research to argue that there was a marked preference for English as the second preferred broadcast language (Orkin 1995). This challenged the tendency of the Afrikaans lobby to use gross statistics on language comprehension as the basis for language distribution on television. This argument further justified the SABC's proposals to use English as the 'anchor' language for its television services, although this was driven more directly by cost factors. The research on language-preference was also used to argue that television audiences could be segmented into three broad self-selecting groups. This further supported the SABC's case for retaining three television channels. It was argued that these groupings provided advertisers with ready access to audiences with common interests and characteristics, and thus balanced the SABC's public service role in providing programming in eleven languages with the demands of financial viability, which, so the claim went, required three channels which would coincide with language groupings which were also identifiable market segments. The main civil society organizations challenged the SABC's guiding assumption that it alone was responsible for implementing constitutional language guarantees. The Group of Thirteen proposed instead that the SABC should broadcast nationally in only four or five main languages, and that provincial public broadcasting services be established which would deliver full language diversity (Gevisser 1994).

The SABC's scenario for the distribution of languages across three stations implied a significant decrease in the amount of air-time allocated to Afrikaans programming, and provoked accusations from the Afrikaans press that the SABC was pursuing policies of "linguistic imperialism" (*Die Burger*, 20 June, 1995). Afrikaans cultural organizations threatened to orchestrate campaigns to withhold payment of license fees and to withdraw advertising if these changes were implemented. The submissions to the Triple Inquiry from Afrikaans organizations indicate significant disagreements on questions of strategy and aims between newer groups such as *Stigting vir Afrikaans*, formed in the early 1990s with the support of academics and businesses, and its off-shoot, the *Taakgroep vir die Bermagtiging vans Afrikaans op televisie (TABEMA)*, and more traditional cultural organizations with a long association with the organized cultural politics of Afrikaner nationalism. The newer groups provided alternative proposals which recognized the imminent diversification of broadcasting services and the introduction of new technologies as opportunities to exploit the economic power of Afrikaans speakers. TABEMA promoted 'Afrikaanstelevisie' as a distinct broadcasting product not limited to

white Afrikaans speakers (TABEMA 1995b), as part of broader moves within the Afrikaans business community to establish a privately funded television service for Afrikaans speakers, possibly as a satellite service. Stigting vir Afrikaans argued for a regional television service in the Western Cape to promote and protect language diversity (Stigting vir Afrikaans 1995). This paralleled other commercial interests who have consistently argued that the Western Cape could sustain a viable regional television service by tapping unrealized advertising revenues (Greybe 1997). On the other hand, the longer established Afrikaans Taal en Kultuurvereniging (ATKV) strongly opposed any change to the position of Afrikaans as a broadcasting language on the SABC, invoking the non-diminution clauses of the constitution (ATKV 1995). The ATKV continued to frame its arguments to the IBA in terms of the threat posed to Afrikaner identity, understood in a narrow sense, by the SABC's transformation. Likewise, the Junior Rapportryer Beweging (JRB), which has sponsored legal challenges to the SABC and IBA over broadcasting changes, and the Geenootskap vir die Handhawing vans Afrikaans (GHA) have tended to invoke exclusive conceptualizations of identity in a defensive register.

One of the features of the newer Afrikaans culture and language organizations is a more nuanced negotiation of the relationship between established patterns of white Afrikaner identity and the recognition of a much broader community of Afrikaans speakers. TABEMA claims to speak in the name of a variety of Afrikaans community and cultural organizations, rather than for an exclusively white Afrikaner identity (TABEMA 1995c). While this claim to represent the broad Afrikaans speaking community is certainly open to question, it is in itself an index of how the discursive rules for the articulation of identity-claims in the public sphere of policy-formulation have shifted in the transition from apartheid to formal democracy. Arguments that invoke exclusivist identity claims are at odds with discourses of nation-building which put a premium on demonstrating shared identities across old patterns of cultural and social division.

In response to the vociferous protests of Afrikaans organizations and the Afrikaans press which followed the presentation of the SABC's language proposals to the Triple Inquiry (TABEMA 1995a), the IBA convened a 'Language Forum' in June of 1995. This event revealed the imbalance in representational power that different language groups were able to muster during the period of policy formulation. In addition to the SABC, the ATKV, Stigting vir Afrikaans, TABEMA, and the FAK¹ were all formally represented. In contrast, only a single independent organization represented African

language-users: the Committee for the Representation of Marginalised Languages on National Media (CRMLNM). Its members are mainly academics and community leaders.² They argued that the SABC's draft language-policy relied upon an implicit division between major and minor languages. The CRMLNM was concerned with the non-usage of Tsonga, Venda, Ndebele, and Swati on national media, compared to the major Africa languages of Xhosa, Zulu, Sepedi and Sesotho, and Tswana. The CRMLNM objected to proposals to use regional broadcasting as a way to deliver broadcasting services in these languages, arguing that this would be "tantamount to the 'rehomelandisation' of the people who speak these languages" (CRMLNM 1995). They strongly supported the need for a national public broadcasting system which would expose all languages and cultures to one another (CRMLNM 1994).

The CRMLNM also raised the issue of the centralization of the Triple Inquiry's hearings in Johannesburg. It suggested that the IBA needed to hold regional meetings in other provinces, which it subsequently did. This concession indicates an important dimension of the pattern of representations to the Triple Inquiry. The groups lobbying the IBA in 1994 and 1995 were made up overwhelmingly of organizations, whether from the public realm, private commercial sector, or civil society, which had established interests in the broadcasting and media sectors. These organizations were based mainly in Gauteng, as well as the Western Cape. In addition to the unequal representation of different groups of language-users, there was therefore also a significant geographical unevenness to the pattern of representations made to the IBA, and the urban focus of most groups compounded the relative marginalization of the interests of the community media sector, which represents broadcasting interests in rural as well as urban areas. More generally, while the Triple Inquiry was undertaken in the new spirit of openness and consultation, the actual degree of popular participation remained quite limited. Policy-making during the Triple Inquiry "tended to remain the preserve of a small and articulate group of people" (Martinis 1996, 10).

iii). The politics of policy implementation

The Triple Inquiry was the outcome of political compromises that were expressly directed at taking the formulation of broadcasting policy out of the direct control of government ministers. With the end of the Inquiry however, broadcasting reform entered into a more openly politicized period. The actual

implementation of the policy scenarios decided during the Triple Inquiry process brought into focus significant inequalities in institutional power and influence between the SABC, the IBA, and private broadcasters. Imbalances in representational power and authority between different groups of language-users, whether articulated through formal institutional infrastructures or the diffuse mediums of market power, indicate the extent to which entrenched inequalities of income and access to cultural resources, as well as highly concentrated structures of corporate ownership and control, continue to shape participation in decision-making in the post-apartheid media sector.

The *Triple Inquiry Report*, published in August 1995, presented a general vision of a public service broadcasting system encompassing both public and private sectors, and national and regional scales, which would contribute to the goals of democracy, development, and nation-building (IBA 1995b). The IBA considered that the SABC's interpretation of its language-preference research threatened to justify the marginalization of minority languages. While this interpretation might well have reflected resource constraints, it was not warranted by the constitution. Likewise, regional television was not accepted as a solution to the language question, on the grounds that all languages were dispersed across the country rather than being only concentrated in particular regions, and because of the nation-building imperative to provide access to all language users at a national level (IBA 1995a).³ In spite of a general holistic vision of public service obligations extending across the whole spectrum of radio and television broadcasting services, in its specific proposals for public broadcasting, the IBA did not challenge the SABC's own model of a national public broadcaster required to deliver programming in all eleven official languages. It did, however, depart from the SABC's favored plan for accommodating eleven languages by following the arguments of civil society groups and commercial interests in recommending that the SABC reduce its television portfolio to two channels by the end of 1998 (IBA 1995b, 43-44). This proposal was based on conservative estimates that a fourth television channel was not economically viable. It followed that the only way to diversify television ownership was for SABC to relinquish its third channel.⁴

Authority for approving the IBA's recommendations on cross-media ownership and public broadcasting lay with Parliament. Following the publication of the *Triple Inquiry Report*, the SABC immediately re-stated its view that it could not "adequately meet the needs of its diverse audience with two terrestrial television stations." (SABC 1995c, 3). Lobbying by the new management and

Board of the SABC culminated in the amendment of the *Triple Inquiry Report* in February 1996. Parliament allowed the SABC to retain two of the original eight commercial radio stations ear-marked for sale, and all three of its television channels; stipulated that the licensing of a new television channel should be brought forward to the licensed by the middle of 1997; and recommended that government funding on a triennial basis for the SABC should cover the costs of increased local content and language programming, and of regional splits on television (RSA 1996a).

Even before this final decision, the SABC was proceeding with its plans to re-launch its television portfolio on the assumption that it would retain all three channels. Throughout late 1995, both the IBA and the SABC were heavily lobbied by Afrikaans organizations over the SABC's plan to make English the main language for television and to further reduce the proportion of Afrikaans language programming. In January 1996, partly in response to this continuing pressure from the Afrikaans lobby, and because of the SABC's explicit attempt to pre-empt any decision by Parliament by proceeding with the re-launch out of a determination to keep its third television channel, the IBA attempted to exert its authority over the public broadcaster. It did so by invoking the old Broadcasting Act (RSA 1976), which still technically governed the broadcasting sector, to question publicly whether the SABC's licenses allowed them to make the proposed changes to television language formats without first getting its permission for license revisions. The IBA threatened to delay the SABC's expensive plans for re-launching its television services. At stake in this brief public dispute was a struggle over the extent to which the politically powerful SABC could be made accountable to the new independent regulatory body. Under intense pressure, the IBA finally backed-down, the SABC's re-launch went ahead at the beginning of February 1996, and this was duly followed by Parliament's amendment of the *Triple Inquiry Report* (Financial Mail 1996). These events between the publication of the Triple Inquiry Report and the re-launch of SABC television services in February 1996 revealed the IBA's relative lack of political influence in Parliament and with government when it came to actually enforcing the implementation of its policy recommendations. The IBA was exposed as being positioned between powerful vested interests over which it lacked effective authority to impose its decisions.

IV. LANGUAGE, INEQUALITY, AND MARKETS

The recommendations of the *Triple Inquiry Report* implied the further commercialization and commodification of broadcasting services, supporting a long-established tendency which has been given greater impetus in the 1990s with the shift away from state-led to market-led forms of communications strategies. Market-based theories of broadcasting in multi-lingual societies such as South Africa suggest that market competition will promote diversity as ethnic, regional, and language-based identities come to define new 'markets'. This assumes that the interests of advertisers in targeting consumers coincide with the full range of needs of viewers for news, entertainment, and educational information, and thus collapses the interests of viewers and listeners as *citizens* into their status as individual *consumers*. It also depends upon the premise that different groups have equivalent ability to mobilize effective demand in markets. Markets will only facilitate coverage of diversity of languages and culture if language groups have sufficient market power to make them attractive as consumers for advertisers.

The problems with market-driven broadcasting reform in South Africa were well rehearsed during the Triple Inquiry. Given the highly unequal distribution of income in South Africa, such a system would register the effective demand of only a small minority of the population. Markets in South Africa are not the spontaneous products of supply and demand, but reflect the inherited results of historical processes of dispossession, exploitation and systematic discrimination. Resource availability in relation to media services (who can read and write, who can afford to buy television sets, and so on) reflects the outcomes of past state policies, as does the existence of just a few large media conglomerates. In important ways, then, current markets for media and services remain structured by the social relations and institutional imbalances embedded by previous state policies (Reconstruction and Development Programme Council 1994). In the light of these observations, I now want to turn to an examination of the extent to which the transformation of both public and private broadcasting in South Africa along market-oriented lines can facilitate the cultural-policy goals of fairer access and representation for the diversity of language-users.

The SABC's television re-launch in February 1996 heralded the end of apartheid television. The new services combined and mixed different languages on different channels. The changes marked the ascendancy of English as the dominant broadcasting language, increased the amount of

existing African language programming, and promised programming in minor languages for the first time. The demographic balance of television viewing shifted following these changes. The proportion of “Coloureds, Whites and Indian” (CIW)⁵ viewers fell significantly, largely as an effect of a decrease in viewing by Afrikaans-speakers. This segment of the population constitutes the favored groups targeted by advertisers. This decline was offset numerically by an increase in black viewers. While the new television programming reflected national population demographics in line with its new public service mandate, it did not reflect the optimum demographics for a broadcaster which remains heavily dependent upon advertising revenue, because of the highly unequal distribution of income between different language communities. The changes to the SABC’s language-policy reduced the opportunities for advertisers to reach affluent consumers through the SABC’s radio and television services, precipitating a shift of advertising expenditure towards other media. This contributed to the deepening financial crisis at the SABC during 1996 and into 1997.

As suggested above, African languages, and especially the minority African languages have not received the same attention in broadcasting debates as has Afrikaans. The Afrikaans language lobby has been able to exercise a continuing influence because of its organizational strength, in conjunction with the significant economic leverage over broadcasting changes that the Afrikaans-speaking community continues to hold as license-payers, as sources of advertising revenue, and as privileged consumer market segments. Supporters of the development of African languages cannot mobilize the same sort of economic resources for the development of African-language media services. Both the political representation on behalf of these languages and the provision of broadcasting services in them is much more dependent on the different agencies of the state than is the case for either English or Afrikaans, given the greater effective market power and independent institutional resources available to speakers of these two languages. While the SABC is committed to the equitable development of all official languages, it is under considerable financial constraints. The IBA is also committed to equitable language policy, but has lacked the authority to enforce its decisions fully. In August of 1996, the final report of the government-appointed task group charged with developing a national language plan publicly deplored the “blatant hegemony” of English at the SABC. The Report proposed that the government should consider using legislative and other forms of “pressure” on both state and privately owned media to force them to allocate more time to the nine

African languages (Language Plan Task Group 1996). Since the completion of the *Triple Inquiry*, the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) has been established. It is constitutionally mandated to promote and oversee the development of multi-lingualism and language equity (RSA 1995). PANSALB has become an important additional institutional medium for the representation of marginalised African languages, as well as Afrikaans, against the growing dominance of English in government and civil society (Citizen 1997). However, like other constitutionally established bodies intended to oversee democratic practices in the new South Africa, PANSALB's ability to promote change is severely limited by its relatively low level of funding from government.

While most controversy over language and broadcasting has focused upon the restructuring of television, greater progress towards delivering diversity of both ownership and programming has been achieved in the radio sector. Radio is the most extensive mass communications medium in South Africa. The greatest success for the IBA in broadcasting reform since 1994 has been the burgeoning community radio sector. This is considered to be critical to the development of grass-roots communications capacities which support popular empowerment (Naughton 1996). Community radio is distinguished by a high degree of diversity of programming types in indigenous languages as well as non-official languages, and for the combination of languages and cultural identities across inherited divisions (IBA 1997a). However, while the community broadcasting sector makes an important contribution to the equitable development of language diversity, it has not attracted the same amount of attention or resources when compared to either public service or commercial broadcasting. Bodies representing community broadcasters have consistently complained that community media has tended to be marginalised by the concerns of public broadcasters and new commercial services (Aldridge 1997; Open Media Network 1997; Friedman 1998).

The SABC's radio services have also been fundamentally restructured. In late 1996, the SABC re-launched its remaining regional radio stations, no longer explicitly identifying them by reference to language or ethnicity as in the past. This followed the sale of six of the SABC's commercial radio stations. The IBA followed a 'light touch' approach to radio re-regulation, insisting that successful bidders should have significant shareholding from 'historically disadvantaged groups', but not specifying rigid language obligations (IBA 1996a). This approach did not meet the approval of the SABC, which argued that the IBA should specify the time allocated to languages other than

English, and also that Afrikaans should be treated as a privileged language in addition to English (SABC 1996a). This was animated by a concern to protect its own competitive position by not being the only radio broadcaster subject to public service regulations. In contrast, in arguing against any 'artificial' incentives to encourage broadcasting in languages other than English, private commercial broadcasters claimed that the logic of the market would inevitably lead broadcasters to broaden language coverage (Primedia 1996).

In light of the increasing commercialization of broadcasting since 1994, the claims regarding the positive potential of market-based broadcasting need to be critically assessed. The potential and limits of relying upon 'market forces' to deliver equitable language coverage were illustrated during the process of licensing new private radio stations in 1996-1997. Amongst the applicants for new licenses was Punt Media, a consortium made up of Afrikaans businesses and new 'black empowerment' capital, which applied for licenses for two Afrikaans talk-radio stations in the Western Cape and in Gauteng. The application by this consortium was squarely located within the discourse of nation-building and reconciliation. Contrasting their position to that of Afrikaans language and culture groups, whom they characterized as still being tied to an exclusive conception of who speaks Afrikaans, Punt Media presented an inclusive, non-racialized conception of the Afrikaans speaking community (Punt Media 1996). Their bid rested on the development of an explicitly de-politicized conception of *Afrikaanse* identity, as distinct from *Afrikaner* identity, referring simply to anyone for whom Afrikaans is the first or second language. This de-racialized definition of identity thus included the large numbers of non-white speakers of Afrikaans in both the Western Cape and Gauteng. This re-figuring of the relationship between language and identity in terms of a non-racial, inclusive community of speakers was determined by an acute sense of the market imperatives of constituting commercially viable audience segments for advertisers. The notion of an *Afrikaanse* identity referred to a market segment of some five and half million speakers, consisting of diverse communities tied together by a shared language. In awarding the licenses to the consortium, the IBA acknowledged "the potential for a broad language interest which cuts across different cultural groups which are diverse but have in common the use of Afrikaans language as a medium of communication" (IBA 1997). The success of the bid depended on the combination in the consortium of 'old' and 'new' capital, but also upon the distinctive break with previous conceptualizations of Afrikaans that had equated the language with an exclusively

white Afrikaner identity.

The IBA decision regarding the applications by Punt Media indicates that, where language groups constitute commercially viable market segments for advertisers, there is a potential for developing new models of identity which break with traditions of exclusive ethnic identities. However, the very success of this particular Afrikaans-language application also highlights the fact that the market is not available to all language-groups in this way. African language-groups are much less likely to be able to support commercial broadcasting services, in so far as users of these languages often do not constitute demographic groups with significant effective demand in the marketplace. In South Africa, the demographic characteristics sought by advertisers are concentrated in a very narrow segment of society. In important respects even after the end of the formal structures of apartheid, the effects of apartheid still shape the structure of media markets, and as a consequence continue to constrain the extent to which broadcasting institutions are able to pursue broad cultural policy goals of language equity. It is in this structural context of extreme socio-economic inequality that the SABC has attempted to extend access through equitable language programming while remaining dependent on commercial revenue sources. The increased costs of expanding African language services on radio and television were not been matched by increased advertising revenues. Programming changes have led to the loss of viewers from high income groups, and to an associated migration of advertising revenue to other media.

Market-forces in broadcasting operate in the South African context not only to effectively marginalise the diverse interests, tastes, and preferences of a significant number of South African citizens, but they simultaneously work to boost the representation of interests, tastes, and preferences of viewers located beyond the geographical boundaries of South Africa. A feature of media markets in 1980s and 1990s is the emergence of 'regional' markets in television programming defined by shared linguistic and cultural characteristics rather than by geographical proximity (Sinclair *et al* 1996, Collins 1994). The increased prevalence of English-language programming on South African television is in large part a reflection of the comparative advantage enjoyed by international programming suppliers relative to the costs of producing programming locally in a diversity of formats and languages. As a consequence, the market-based agenda for broadcasting reform in South Africa is not only in tension with the nation-building agenda because of imbalances in domestic income and resource allocation. It

also opens up the difficult question of the representation of extra-national interests and tastes in the domestic cultural space of the new South Africa through the medium of the market. This is not a new theme in South African broadcasting, having been a concern animating the National Party's hostility towards television during the 1950s and 1960s. This history suggests that an appeal to standard conceptualizations of cultural imperialism are neither theoretically or politically adequate in relation to the new situation (see Nixon 1994). The process of broadcasting reform in the 1990s indicates that the continued legitimacy of regulation in the broadcasting sector is likely to depend on supporting the production capacity and competitiveness of domestic film, television and music industries, rather than upon traditional cultural-policy aims of cultural unification and integration. Accordingly, since 1996 the achievement of cultural-policy aims of language equity and cultural pluralism in broadcasting have been recast as dependent on broader economic policies for the media and communications sectors.

Since late 1996 the SABC has significantly revised its previous language commitments, in a context where it has found that it could not sustain the costs of the language allocation and format introduced during 1995 and 1996. The corporation has proposed publicly that the time is right "for a revisit of the constitutional guarantees for languages" (SABC 1996b, 8). The SABC has undertaken a review of the financial viability of using regional broadcasting services to fulfill its language and local content obligations (SABC 1997a; SABC 1997b). It has also returned to the principle of broadcasting in two language blocks of Nguni and Sotho language-groups; further reduced multi-lingual programming, and increased Afrikaans programming in order to draw audiences and attract revenue. The SABC has thus shifted back towards a market-place model of language provision that was favored during the early 1990s, prior to its transformation into a public service broadcaster (Van Vuuren and Maree 1996, 22). This shift has taken place within a broader context in which the public broadcaster is being restructured as a state-owned public company as a prelude to possible partial privatization (RSA 1998).

In 1992-1993, the SABC received 71% of its revenues from advertising, and 23% from licence-fees. In 1995-1995, this proportion had shifted to 78% and 17% respectively (SABC 1996b). The SABC's *increasing* dependence on advertising revenue has meant that the ambitious language mandate established during the course of 1994 and 1995 in an effort to maintain its dominant position in the broadcasting environment has had to be revised. In this process of revision, the political power

of the SABC relative to that of the IBA has been clearly established. During 1996 and 1997, the SABC consistently blamed the IBA for its financial problems, on the grounds that the IBA had 'imposed' an unrealistic requirement to broadcast in eleven languages. (In fact, the IBA did not strictly 'impose' a mandate on the SABC at all. It simply confirmed the SABC's own position on languages as articulated during the *Triple Inquiry*). This line of argument has helped to undermine the legitimacy of the IBA's regulatory role (Dlamini 1997), and thus has increasingly enabled the SABC to circumvent its authority. More generally, the legitimacy of the IBA was seriously undermined in the course of 1996 and 1997, as a result both of internal financial mismanaging and by external efforts by the SABC, M-Net⁶, and the government to reign in the considerable degree of independent authority that the regulator can, in principle at least, exercise over broadcasting reform. The critical issue in the post-Triple Inquiry period has been the inability and unwillingness of government to be forthcoming with adequate funding for the SABC. The IBA's proposals in 1995 assumed that the public broadcaster would become less dependent on advertising revenue, and would be compensated by government funding. Through force of necessity as well as political calculation, the government has been able to undermine the effective authority of the IBA over the broadcasting sector by obliging the SABC to become more, not less, dependent on commercial revenue sources, and supporting the public broadcaster in undermining the IBA in the process.

The issue of language has figured much less prominently in the drawn-out process of licensing a new privately-owned terrestrial television service, which began in late 1996 and was completed in 1998. While Afrikaans organizations have continued to lobby for regional broadcasting services to meet the needs for language diversity (JRB 1997), language issues tended to arise during this process as part of more general questions regarding the extent of public service obligations the new service should have. Commercial interests argued that, since the obligation to provide equitable language programming had been claimed by the SABC during the Triple Inquiry, this effectively negated any commitment contained in the IBA Act to view the provision of diverse public service programming collectively across the whole broadcasting system (Free-to-Air 1997, M-Net 1997). In contrast to these arguments, the Independent Producers Organization of South Africa (IPOSA) argued that the IBA should take an innovative but strong position on language for a new television service (IPOSA 1997). IPOSA, a stakeholder organization formed in 1996 to represent the local film,

music, and television production industry, has become the most articulate group lobbying the IBA, SABC, and government agencies on language issues in broadcasting. IPOSA's primary concern is with the enforcement of local content quotas as a way of boosting local production capacity, and only secondarily is this legitimized in terms of meeting political imperatives of linguistic and cultural diversity. The visibility and effectiveness of new organizations like IPOSA and the National Association of Broadcasters, founded in 1992 to represent the collective interests of broadcast organizations, illustrates an important shift of emphasis in broadcasting policy in the period since 1996. The influence of independent 'civil society' organizations with connections with broader popular movements has declined, and been supplanted by stakeholder organizations representing particular interests within the communications industry. As broadcasting has become a focus of increased attention from the government, so the political and cultural imperatives underwriting language policy in broadcasting have been subsumed by economic imperatives dictated by the importance of media and communications in the international economy.

V. CONCLUSION

This paper has discussed the patterns of participation and the politics of representation in South African broadcasting reform in the mid-1990s. I have argued that different organisations (including public agencies, civil society groups, and private broadcasters) have mobilized their own interpretations of the relationship between language, identity, and equity, and deployed these interpretations through different mediums of decision-making (including public forums, litigation, and markets) in order to shape outcomes most favorable to their constituencies and interests. Tracing these patterns reveals that there have been important changes in patterns of institutional decision-making in South Africa broadcasting policy in the course of the 1990s. During the period from 1990 to 1993, independent 'civil society' groups had significant input in shaping agendas and secured important political concessions from both the NP and ANC. As a result, during the Triple Inquiry process in 1994 and 1995, policy-formulation took place largely independently of direct government direction. This process was, relative to the South African past and by comparative international standards, a remarkably open, consultative and deliberative undertaking which drew on a diverse public sphere of opinion, interests, and organizations. Since 1996, the implementation of policy has

involved a greater degree of government direction, driven by the explicit concern of the ANC to assert greater authority over media for both political and economic reasons. The policy review undertaken from late 1997 through to the middle of 1998 has produced draft outlines of broadcasting legislation which makes significant revisions to the blueprints developed from 1993 to 1995 (see RSA 1997; RSA 1998). This review was explicitly shaped by the imperatives of government industrial and competition policies. Certain decisions were decided in advance of the process of consultation. The most significant of these was the determination of the government to merge the IBA with the South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority. The new merged body is significantly less independent of government than the IBA, and is more narrowly concerned with spectrum regulation and licensing rather than broad policy-making, over which the government has now clearly exerted its authority (see Goldman 1998).

Compared to the 1994-1995 inquiry process, the mediums for participation and political representation were re-shaped during the course of the 1997-1998 policy review. This largely reflects the broader restructuring of the relationships between the state and civil society as the ANC has consolidated its authority, and has therefore been able to negate certain features of the power-sharing agreements which were put in place in large part to protect the entrenched interests of privileged minorities (Maphai 1996). While there remains widespread support for decision-making processes which extend beyond the confines of elected officials by including a broad range of interests in consultative policy-forums, the dimensions and means of access to these forums have been significantly redefined (see Horwitz 1997). Civil society organizations, formed in a period of political opposition during the 1980s and early 1990s, have been transformed into formal interest-groups and stakeholder organizations as a condition of gaining access to bureaucratic decision-making structures. While this transformation might be interpreted as a diminution of popular participation in broadcasting policy, it should certainly be acknowledged as an inevitable outcome of the establishment of legitimate political structures of representative democracy in South Africa. In this sense, then, it is a reflection of the structural changes through which most South Africans have acquired much greater political influence and effective means of political representation (see Seekings 1996).

These institutional transformations are behind the diminishing attention paid to language as a

separate, distinct issue in broadcasting policy since 1996. During 1994 and 1995, the formulation of broadcasting policy was effectively screened from the direct pressures of these imperatives, allowing much greater weight to be given to the cultural politics of language as such. Policies towards language equity in broadcasting are now clearly subordinate to the logics of commercialization and commodification which follow from the place ascribed to the communications industries in the ANC's strategy for economic growth through internationalization. This paper has suggested that the formulation and implementation policies for language-equity in broadcasting have been shaped by a field of unequal social relations which remain in place even after the formal end of apartheid. This is illustrated, firstly, by the institutional infrastructures mobilized in support of different language-groups during Triple Inquiry, and secondly, by the pressures emanating from the more diffuse network of social relations of ownership and income distribution which have had a significant impact in shaping broadcasting reform since the end of the Triple Inquiry. In both respects, the mediums for the representation of language-groups in policy and decision-making forums have tended to have unequal effects. Favorable outcomes have tended to display a 'bias' towards certain language-groups: those with established institutional support networks, those able to exercise economic leverage, or tacit government support, and those language-groups with linguistic affinities with cognate languages which can therefore be consolidated into a certain threshold population size. By examining the politics of representation at the institutional level, it becomes clear that while the South African broadcasting environment has been significantly transformed during the 1990s, the rhythm and shape of contemporary transition processes in this sector continue to be governed in significant ways by social relations inherited from the past.

Table One

Provincial distribution of home languages, 1994.

| | RSA (%) | W Cape | E Cape | N Cape | Free State | North West | Kwa-zulu | Gauteng | Mpumalanga | Northern |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------|--------|--------|------------|------------|----------|---------|------------|----------|
| Afrikaans | 14.9 | 61.81 | 8.93 | 68.42 | 15.09 | 9.0 | 1.93 | 19.72 | 8.57 | 3.64 |
| English | 9.52 | 20.71 | 3.86 | 2.74 | 1.52 | 1.04 | 16.84 | 17.19 | 1.83 | 0.65 |
| Afrikaans/ English | 0.19 | 0.71 | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.10 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.39 | 0.08 | 0.02 |
| Ndebele | 0.83 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.20 | 0.03 | 0.0 | 0.85 | 6.43 | 1.37 |
| Northern Sotho | 9.92 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.13 | 0.92 | 0.73 | 0.04 | 8.43 | 15.98 | 62.48 |
| Southern Sotho | 6.83 | 0.27 | 0.14 | 0.74 | 59.27 | 3.23 | 0.35 | 11.52 | 2.79 | 0.91 |
| Swazi | 2.25 | 0.01 | 0.0 | 0.01 | 0.20 | 0.27 | 0.03 | 1.22 | 25.15 | 0.32 |
| Tsonga | 4.69 | 0.02 | 0.0 | 0.14 | 0.64 | 0.81 | 0.03 | 3.89 | 11.52 | 26.47 |
| Tswana | 9.07 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 19.56 | 4.81 | 78.91 | 0.01 | 7.38 | 1.89 | 1.91 |
| Venda | 0.35 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.12 | 0.0 | 1.16 | 0.11 | 1.01 |
| Xhosa | 18.13 | 15.46 | 86.69 | 6.37 | 9.25 | 4.18 | 1.20 | 6.08 | 1.45 | 0.22 |
| Zulu | 22.00 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.27 | 5.99 | 0.56 | 78.67 | 19.36 | 22.15 | 0.41 |
| Other | 1.26 | 0.82 | 0.17 | 1.50 | 1.98 | 1.02 | 0.82 | 2.82 | 2.04 | 0.59 |

Source: Calitz 1996.

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NOTES

1. The Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge is the premier Afrikaans cultural organizations, established by the Afrikaner Broederbond in 1929 to co-ordinate the diverse efforts of organized Afrikaner nationalist cultural politics.

2. Apart from the CRMLNM, only one other formal submission to the Triple Inquiry was made explicitly on behalf of African language-groups. This was from the provincial administration of the former Gazankulu homeland in support of a Tsonga television service (Gazankulu Television Services Committee 1995).

3. The issue of provincial public broadcasting (as distinct from privately-owned regional services) has been a highly controversial issue throughout the period under discussion in this paper. Debates have focused upon the future of the broadcasting services of former homeland states, and in particular of the Bophuthatswana Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). These so-called TBVC broadcasters (from Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei) were slated for integration into the SABC as early as 1994. The IBA supported this recommendation, despite the BBC's arguments that the existing infrastructure of homeland broadcasters could serve as the basis for provincial broadcasting services (Addison 1995). However, during the Triple Inquiry the future of these services was being considered separately by government, the SABC and the TBVC broadcasters (Emmett and Martin 1995). The determination to integrate these services into SABC is animated in large part by the ANC's opposition to policy scenarios which lean too far towards federalism (see Robinson 1995). The BBC resisted integration, and continued to operate independently, with the tacit support of the provincial government of the Northwest Province. After much delay, the integration of the TBVC broadcasting services into the SABC was finally completed at the beginning of 1998. This marked the effective completion of the process of constructing a single national public broadcaster, and indicates that, for the time being at least, the question of provincially decentralized public broadcasting has been closed.

4. The IBA was forced to revise this evaluation in the wake of the amendment of the Triple Inquiry's recommendations by Parliament (see IBA 1996b).

5. "CIW" is a demographic category used by the South African Advertising Research Foundation, in its All Media Products Survey, the main source of data on consumption of media services South Africa.

6. M-Net is the privately-owned subscription terrestrial television service launched by the major South African press groups with the agreement of government in the mid-1980s. M-Net's license conditions were protected from revision by the IBA Act in 1993. As a consequence, it continues to enjoy significant competitive advantages compared to both new broadcasters and the SABC.