Theodorus du Plessis

The development of a multilingual language policy at the SABC since 1994

This article describes the development of a new multilingual broadcasting system within the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), from the 1995 editorial language policy up to and including the adoption of the current (2004) policy. The concept of a multilingual broadcasting system is defined; and an overview of the development of the SABC's multilingual language mandate is provided. An analysis of the 1995 language policy is conducted, and the management of the policy within the context of broadcasting reforms is investigated. Essentially, the SABC follows a pragmatic multilingual approach, in an endeavour to find a general language platform without ignoring language diversity, as reflected in the two language policy principles, "shared languages" and "equitable treatment". The increase in the use of English and its establishment as the anchor language, the downscaling of Afrikaans, and the general handling of multilingualism must be appraised in terms of this context, rather than quantitatively.

Die ontwikkeling van 'n meertalige taalbeleid binne die SABC sedert 1994

Hierdie artikel beskryf die ontwikkeling van 'n nuwe meertalige uitsaaibestel binne die South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) vanaf die redaksionele taalbeleid van 1995 tot en met die aanvaarding van die huidige beleid (2004). Die konsep "meertalige uitsaaibestel" word omskryf en 'n oorsig gegee van die ontwikkeling van die SABC se meertalige taalmandaat. 'n Analise word gemaak van die 1995-taalbeleid en die bestuur daarvan binne die konteks van uitsaaihervorming word ondersoek. Die SABC volg in wese 'n pragmatiese meertalige benadering, een wat poog om 'n algemene taalplatform te vind sonder om taaldiversiteit te ignoreer, soos weerspieël in twee taalbeleidsbeginsels, naamlik "shared languages" en "equitable treatment". Die toename in die gebruik van Engels en die vestiging daarvan as ankertaal, die afskaling van Afrikaans en die algemene hantering van meertaligheid moet ooreenkomstig hierdie konteks beoordeel word, eerder as kwantitatief.

Prof L T du Plessis, Unit for Language Mangagement, University of the Free State, P O Box 339, Bloemfontein 9300; E-mail: dplesslt.hum@ufs.ac.za

One of the major challenges facing the SABC over the last ten years has been the need to overcome its legitimacy crisis as a state-controlled apartheid institution (Mpofu 1996: 27, Collins 1993: 86, Duncan 2001: 114).[1] The Corporation had to be transformed from a state broadcaster into a true public broadcaster (Duncan 2001: 7). Just as the language policy of the former SABC (prior to 1993/1994) had contributed to the rendering of broadcasting services along the contours of the apartheid regime (Teer-Tomaselli 2004: 29), language-in-broadcasting policy was to play a significant part in this transformation. A repositioned SABC needed to establish a multilingual dispensation that would reflect the priorities of a new socio-political order and that would differ significantly from the previous one.[2]

Essentially the new SABC was to redefine multilingual broadcasting within the context of a new political dispensation and against the background of a new language clause that envisaged a correction of past language disparities. Although its 1976 language mandate was formulated vaguely enough to allow for such reinterpretation, additional progressive legislative and other policy measures were inevitably required to guide this complex process.

In this article the evolution of a redefined multilingual broadcasting dispensation at the SABC between 1994 and 2004 is described. The cursory overview focuses on the SABC's 1995 editorial language policy with particular emphasis on the changes to the multilingual broadcasting dispensation and how the policy was interpreted and managed until the adoption of the current (2004) set of editorial policies. The concept of multilingual broadcasting is defined and a synopsis given of studies on multilingual broadcasting in South Africa. Thereafter, an overview follows of the development of the SABC's language mandate as defined in broadcasting legislation during this period and a brief analysis is given of its 1995 editorial language policy. Finally, the management of this policy within the context of broadcasting reform comes under scrutiny and conclusions are drawn.

---

1   With due recognition to Phumza Manqindi, Herculene Olivier, Nikiwe Matibula, Ronette Vrey, Vanessa White and Nadia van Rensburg for assistance with this article.

2   Cf Heugh 1994: 11, Mpofu 1996: 51, Duncan 2001: 109, Barnett 2000: 56.

1. Multilingual broadcasting

When discussing multilingual broadcasting we need to distinguish between at least two types of broadcasting systems, a majority language broadcasting system catering primarily for the majority languages of a country (Baker 2003) and a minority language broadcasting system catering specifically for minority languages (Edwards 2004).

Viewed collectively, a multilingual majority language broadcasting system typically caters for different concurrent language channels (radio or television) as found in multilingual countries such as Belgium, Switzerland and Spain where majority languages enjoy relatively equal status within a polity. However, viewed separately such services are essentially monolingual. Nevertheless, instances of multilingual broadcasting may be found on the individual language channels where provision is made for the use of another language. This may occur in news programmes on television where the original feed may be in a language other than that of the channel and where subtitles are sometimes used. Where the original language is muted and dubbed the instance of multilingualism obviously decreases accordingly. The broadcasting system of Germany, for instance, largely favours the second option. With the diffusion of languages of wider communication (as is happening with the diffusion of English in the world), this practice of providing for the use of another language seems to be occurring more often (Baker 2003: 422-3), especially with regard to music that is broadcast in the original language. Nevertheless, although the broadcasting system as a whole may be described as multilingual, the individual broadcasting services still broadcast predominantly in one language and should preferably be described as monolingual services.

Another variety of a multilingual majority language broadcasting system caters for multilingual language channels (radio or television) and even multilingual programmes such as those found in countries like Singapore and South Africa. These broadcasting services cater for languages that enjoy equitable status within a polity. Viewed separately, the different services broadcast routinely in more than one language of the country (or even in other languages, including minority languages). One may indeed consider such broadcasting services as representative of multilingual broadcasting. Although one may find differences in language preference and inequalities in terms of time allocation (where

some languages are viewed or heard more often than others), these broadcasting services nevertheless differ from monolingual services that also broadcast in other languages. Essentially multilingual services strive to broadcast in more than one language on a routine basis whereas monolingual services broadcast in other languages on a rather *ad hoc* basis and very limitedly so. However, one should be careful to use purely quantitative measures to assess the degree of multilingualism achieved by a multilingual broadcaster, since many non-quantifiable factors play a role in determining the spread on air time as will be argued later in the case under discussion.

Multilingual broadcasting may therefore refer to the offering of a variety of listening and viewing options in more than one language on the same broadcasting service on a regular basis.

The actual accommodation of more than one language in broadcasting may be realised in different ways: through bilingual or multilingual programming (obviously including varieties such as subtitling or simulcasting (Kruger *et al* 2000: 3-5), or occasional single-language or minority-language schedules (for instance language blocks) (Cormack 1993: 102).

In a minority language broadcasting system provision is made for three broadcasting types, for instance broadcasting in indigenous languages, such as the services provided by the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation in Canada; broadcasting in established (minority) languages, such as Télévision Franco-Ontarienne in Canada and Radio Éireann, Radió na Gaeltachta and Teilifís na Gaeilge in Ireland; and broadcasting in new minority languages, such as several USA radio stations that broadcast in 26 non-English languages and commercial radio stations in Australia that devote more than 2.5% of transmission time to languages other than English (Edwards 2004: 173-81).

There are at least two positions regarding separate language channels for radio or television. One school of thought is that separate language channels do not necessarily represent the best solution for minority languages (or for that matter, marginalised or disadvantaged languages), as the debate on linguistic ghettoisation would suggest. It could be argued that integration into a majority language channel such as in the case of what the BBC did for Gaelic broadcasting (Cormack 1993: 106) and Welsh television on BBC1 and ITV until the establishment of a Welsh-

language television station (Grin & Vaillancourt 1999: 27), would counter the possible effects of linguistic ghettoisation by increasing the language visibility of minority languages. However, although language visibility might increase, the integration of a minority language into a majority language channel may also work to the detriment of such a language as Edwards (2004: 175) points out.

A second school of thought is that a separate language channel could increase the language visibility of the minority language. Grin & Vaillancourt (1999: 27) claim that increased language visibility in the media for a minority language plays an important role in cultivating positive language attitudes which may lead to the increased usage of such a language and thus ultimately may contribute to the legitimisation (or relegitimisation) of the language. This is so because

> [...] television watching is nowadays an essential part of leisure activities of large tracts of the population, particularly the young. Offering language programming is therefore likely to have a significant impact on actual minority language use (Grin & Vaillancourt 1999: 97).

The authors base their claims on a case study on minority language visibility of the Welsh-language television station, Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C). Their findings confirm that S4C "is a key element, if not cornerstone in the revitalisation of Welsh". However, Browne (1992: 429-30) finds that despite the success of Radió na Gaeltachta as an important force in sustaining and revitalising the Irish language, it is not succeeding in drawing young audiences and may have to compromise by admitting some English to counter the shortcoming. Watson (2002: 754-5) in turn mentions the impact of market forces which require TG4, the Irish-language television station, to maintain the broadcasting of English-language programmes.

Multilingual broadcasting has become a fixed feature of contemporary broadcasting. In many instances multilingual broadcasting is necessitated by language policies at national level. As such, language policy in broadcasting plays an important role within a country's language political dispensation. Within such a relationship national broadcasters may be seen as co-orchestrators or agents of language policy. Language policy in broadcasting should thus not be considered in isolation. Quantitive assessments of multilingual broadcasting may in the end not prove useful as the "larger picture" may not be appreciated.

The notion of multilingual pragmatism could thus be a useful approach in considering the management of multilingualism in broadcasting.

2. Studies in language policy in broadcasting in South Africa

Language policy in the broadcasting media has received considerable attention in South Africa, especially since the early part of the 1990s when political transition was on the cards. Steyn (1995) provides a detailed overview of the language politics during the transitional period and offers a comprehensive description of the move towards a new language dispensation at the SABC. However, the focus of his study is primarily on Afrikaans and television. Steyn (2001) provides an overview of language political developments, but also covers more recent developments regarding language policy in broadcasting. This study too has a narrow Afrikaans focus. In fact, the specific focus on Afrikaans and television is a pattern repeated in many of the studies on language policy in the broadcasting media in South Africa produced since the 1990s.[3] One of the re-occurring findings emanating from these studies is that the SABC is not fulfilling its language mandate with regard to the South African languages other than in the instance of English and that the position of Afrikaans in broadcasting has been downscaled in favour of English. Some attention has also been given to the position of the indigenous languages in the broadcasting media of South Africa.[4] These studies likewise emphasise the dominance of English in broadcasting and stress the lack of language visibility for the African languages.

Several studies have approached the development of language policy in broadcasting without bias to a particular language.[5] A notable feature of these studies is the marked difference in approach between the more sociolinguistically inclined corpus studies on the one hand and the more sociologically inclined studies on the other. The first category of studies

---

3   Cf Van Rensburg *et al* 2001, Truter & Lubbe 2002, Truter 2003, Du Toit 2002, 2004.
4   Cf Mmusi 1998, Matusa 1999, Moloi 1999, Sibiya 2001.
5   Cf Hwengere 1995, Barnett 1999 & 2000, Ridge 2000, Kamwangamalu 2001, Kruger & Kruger 2001, Kruger *et al* 2000, Kruger *et al* 2002, Olivier 2003, Teer-Tomaselli 2004.

seems to be focusing on language policy implementation *per se*, whilst the latter category seems to be focusing more broadly on the challenges facing the SABC as public broadcaster in establishing a new multilingual broadcasting dispensation within the context of a changing broadcasting environment.

Findings from the sociolinguistic studies corroborate those of the language studies mentioned before and emphasise the shortcomings in the implementation of a new multilingual dispensation at the SABC.[6] These shortcomings are even described in quantitative terms and the apparent mismatch between language policy and language practice at the SABC is highlighted. Generally speaking, these studies demonstrate a rather descriptive approach, while an in-depth analysis of language policy development at the SABC since 1994 is largely lacking. The sociological studies (Barnett 1999, Teer-Tomaselli 2004) also demonstrate a more descriptive approach towards language policy development at the SABC. What has emanated from these studies is that language has indeed played a central role in the repositioning of the SABC since 1994. Amongst the core contributing factors of this are the changed language policy environment at national level, the re-regulation of broadcasting and the consequential reformulation of the SABC's language mandate, as well as the influence of market mechanisms and financial constraints. The studies demonstrate how these factors have influenced the development of a new notion of language equitability that is determined by prominent language policy issues of the day. Of notable interest is the popular pressure for increased visibility of the indigenous languages whilst not reducing airtime for Afrikaans drastically and bringing in more English for a variety of reasons. However, these studies also do not provide an in-depth analysis of language policy development at the SABC since 1994.

Language policy in broadcasting in South Africa has received considerable scholarly attention since 1994. Some of this interest has been sparked by concern about either the apparent downgrading of Afrikaans in broadcasting, or concern about the apparent lack of progress in promoting the indigenous languages. The emphasis seems to be on televi-

---

6 Cf Hwengere 1995, Ridge 2000, Kamwangamalu 2001, Kruger & Kruger 2001, Kruger *et al* 2000, Kruger *et al* 2002, Olivier 2003.

sion and a quantitative assessment of the SABC's language allocation on television. These studies generally criticise the Corporation for apparently failing to meet its language mandate. However, the mentioned studies generally fall short in terms of describing language policy development at the SABC from 1994 to 2004 within the overall context of broadcasting developments during that period. A number of studies describe the relation between broadcasting reform in South Africa and language policy development within the SABC, emphasising the central role of language in the (broadcasting) reform process and how language policy formulation and implementation since 1994 have been influenced by a variety of factors. Among these factors are the process of political transformation in the country, the adoption of a new language clause in 1993 and its subsequent amendment in 1996, the regulation of broadcasting in South Africa, changes in the status and use of the South African languages, the impact of market-related forces and financial factors in general. These studies also suggest that the SABC is attempting new approaches to language treatment in broadcasting as part of its broader legitimisation project. The changed language dispensation at the SABC and the significant language shifts since 1994, including the replacement of Afrikaans as anchor and dominant broadcasting language by English, should be understood against this background.

3. Language policy development at the SABC

A clear understanding is required of what is meant by the SABC's language mandate as determined by broadcasting legislation, and the Corporation's language policy for its broadcasting services, a policy that will be described as an editorial language policy (Olivier 2003: 60, 64). Obviously, the two should always be read together. This overview does not cover the corporate language policy of the SABC, an aspect of SABC language policy that has not been studied in depth.

3.1 The language mandate of the SABC

The language mandate of broadcasters in South Africa is determined by broadcasting legislation. South African broadcasting legislation goes back to the Radio Act (Act 20 of 1926) which was amended by the first Broadcasting Act (Act 22 of 1936). This act made provision for broadcasting within the Union of South Africa, as well as for the establish-

ment of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Both acts underwent several amendments until the adoption of broadcasting legislation that introduced television to South African audiences through the Broadcasting Act (Act 73 of 1976). The language mandate contained in this legislation already provided for multilingual broadcasting (albeit limited to the SABC):

> 12(3) The corporation shall frame and carry out its broadcasting programmes with due regard to the interests of English, Afrikaans and Bantu culture (Act 73 of 1976).

This act was amended in 1993 to make provision for the establishment of the first independent SABC board (Broadcasting Amendment Act 73 of 1993), one of the important developments that introduced the dawn of a new broadcasting era in South Africa. The other important development was the adoption of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act (Act 53 of 1993) that provided for the first independent broadcasting regulator in South Africa.

3.2 The Independent Broadcasting Authority Act (Act 53 of 1993)

The Independent Broadcasting Authority Act (IBA Act), sometimes described as a product of political compromise (Barnett 1999: 282), was adopted in October 1993 by the former Transitional Executive Authority (TEC) and initially implemented to regulate the broadcasting dispensation during the transitional period. It provides for the regulation of broadcasting activities through the establishment of the first independent broadcasting authority in South Africa and for public broadcasting services to meet the language needs of different communities. Section 2 of the IBA Act states that the primary purpose of the Act is as follows:

> […] to provide for the regulation of broadcasting and for that purpose to, inter alia- (a) 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 [my emphasis, TdP].

Read together with the Broadcasting Act (Act 73 of 1993, as amended) the legal framework was established for setting up a new-look multilingual broadcasting environment in South Africa that would correlate

with the new official language dispensation that the Interim Constitution had brought into being.

3.3 The Broadcasting Act (Act 4 of 1999)

The current Broadcasting Act (Act 4 of 1999, as amended) has replaced all previous broadcasting legislation. It establishes a new broadcasting policy for the Republic of South Africa, provides for a Charter for the SABC, amends certain provisions of the IBA Act and includes several other important provisions regarding the regulation of broadcasting. This act provides for a three-tier broadcasting system in South Africa: public broadcasting, commercial broadcasting and community broadcasting. It contains a general language mandate for South African broadcasters, as well as a specific language mandate for the three tiers of broadcasting. The general language mandate of broadcasters in South Africa reads as follows:

> A range of programming in the Republic's official languages must be extended to all South Africans as circumstances permit (s3(6)).

The SABC broadcasting mandate is dealt with separately under Chapter IV of the Broadcasting Act that makes provision for a public broadcasting service. The language mandate of the commercial and community broadcasting services will first be examined against the background of the general language mandate mentioned above, before giving an exposition of the public broadcasting service mandate. Section 30(1) of the Broadcasting Act states the following regarding commercial broadcasting services in South Africa:

> 30(1) Commercial broadcasting services when viewed collectively-
>
> (a)must as a whole provide a diverse range of programming addressing a wide section of the South African public;
>
> (b) must provide, as a whole, programming in all South African official languages;
>
> (c) may provide programming in languages other than South African official languages, where the Authority is convinced that such services can be commercially viable.

No specific language mandate is provided for the commercial services of the SABC. Section 11(a) of the Act merely states that its commercial services are "[…] subject to the same policy and regulatory structures outlined […] for commercial broadcasting services".

The language mandate for community broadcasting services is formulated as follows:

> 32(4) The programming provided by a community broadcasting service must reflect the needs of the people in the community which must include amongst others cultural, religious, language, and demographic needs.

It should be noted that the SABC's public service component includes a community service component. However, the Act does not contain a specific provision on language for this component of the broadcaster.

Essentially the two sets of provisions allow for a multilingual broadcasting system in South Africa that provides for broadcasting services in the official languages, but also in other languages. It is notable that it contains no quantitative requirement regarding the treatment of official languages in broadcasting. Furthermore, no distinction is made between radio and television. By implication, an assessment of the fulfilment of the SABC's language mandate for the mentioned two categories of services can probably not be done easily on quantitative grounds. This would explain why a commercial service such as SABC3 can largely broadcast in English.

The language mandate for the public service of the SABC, on the other hand, compels the broadcaster to provide services in all official languages. It reads as follows:

> 10(1) The public service provided by the Corporation must -
>
> (a) make services available to South Africans in all the official languages;
>
> (b) reflect both the unity and diverse cultural and multilingual nature of South Africa and all of its cultures and regions to audiences;
>
> (c) strive to be of high quality in all of the languages served... (Act 4 of 1999)

The focus of this overview falls on the public broadcasting service provided by the SABC. Although the Broadcasting Act clearly provides for a multilingual public service, no quantitative requirements or directives are included, and no distinction is made between radio and television. The implication again is that an assessment of the fulfilment of the requirements of the language mandate cannot be done on quantitative grounds. For instance, the mere fact that the SABC is offering radio services in all eleven official languages (through primarily its language services) and is covering all eleven official lan-

guages in its television services, may technically be seen as largely meeting the requirements of the language mandate.

Given the very broad guidelines regarding language treatment provided by the Broadcasting Act, we can see the need for more specific arrangements to be provided for in the broadcasting licensing conditions and SABC editorial language policy.

3.4 Broadcasting licence conditions

The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) was established in terms of the ICASA Act (Act 13 of 2000) as a new incorporated broadcasting regulator. One of the regulatory tasks of ICASA is to ensure compliance by broadcasters in South Africa with the IBA Act and the Broadcasting Act. This is done through various mechanisms, including the issuing of broadcasting licences. These licences contain more specific provisions regarding the broadcasting mandate of a particular service, as well as its language mandate (Langa 2004: 3). According to Langa, ICASA only managed to deal with the amendment of SABC radio and television licences during 2005 when the new licensing conditions for the SABC (valid 23 March 2004 to 22 March 2012) became effective in June of that year.[7] These may be seen as the first licensing conditions reflecting the new language priorities of South Africa. The 2005 licensing conditions will not be considered for the purposes of this overview.

The broadcasting licences under review were thus originally issued in terms of the 1976 Broadcasting Act (Act 73 of 1976) and consequently largely reflect the language priorities valid during that period. These licences state the name of the service (the only aspect that has changed over the period under discussion), the licence number, the type of service and the authorisation given. The language mandate is mentioned under section 2 of the licensing conditions. Provision is made for 18 radio licences: 11 of these are for full-spectrum language stations (broadcasting "predominantly" in each of the official languages); two others for a bilingual full-spectrum urban music service (CKI FM) and a multilingual facility service (Radio 2000); a further two for com-

---

7   Oral information provided by Ms Lidia de Sousa, Senior Manager, Licensing and Monitoring Complaints, ICASA, Johannesburg on 5 July 2005.

munity stations (Radio Lotus and XK FM) providing services in languages other than the official languages; and three for commercial radio stations, one bilingual (Good Hope FM) and two others "predominantly" English. Except for in the case of CKI FM, where the conditions require 60% of the broadcasting to be in English and 40% in isiXhosa, no specific language allocation is prescribed. It may, nevertheless, be concluded that the licensing conditions for the SABC radio services that were valid until recently enabled the Corporation to meet its language mandate both as public service and commercial service broadcaster.

The licences for the SABC's three television services follow the same pattern as those for radio broadcasting and state the name of the service (also the only aspect that has changed over the period under discussion), the licence number, the type of service and the authorisation given. The language mandate is mentioned under section 2 of the licensing conditions, as well as under a further section, "General terms, conditions and obligations". Section 2 specifies the languages that are to be broadcast over the specific service and the latter section contains an important condition requiring the broadcaster to ensure that it broadcasts "collectively [...] in all official languages". Provision is made for three television services: two public services (SABC1 and SABC2) and one commercial service (SABC3). The language mandate for the latter requires programming "predominantly" in English, whilst the two public channels are required to provide services in all of the official languages. SABC1 is required to broadcast programming "predominantly" in the Nguni language group and English. SABC2 is required to broadcast programming "predominantly" in English, the Sotho language group and Afrikaans, XiTsonga and TsiVenda. No specifics regarding broadcasting time-allocation are provided for the two public television services. In terms hereof it may thus also be concluded that the licensing conditions for the SABC television services that were valid until recently also enabled the Corporation to meet its language mandate both as public service and commercial service broadcaster.

The above overview demonstrates that the language mandate of the SABC is defined in very broad terms leaving the door open for a rather pragmatic approach to the management of multilingualism within the services of the broadcaster.

3.5 The SABC's editorial language policy

In terms of section 11(b) of the amended Broadcasting Act (Act 64 of 2002) the SABC is compelled to develop a language policy and submit it to the Minister of Post and Telecommunications for approval. The SABC's editorial language policy thus regulates the language dispensation of its radio and television services. In so doing it gives expression to its language and broadcasting mandates in general.

Within a year after the establishment of the "new" SABC in 1994 when a new democracy and language dispensation were initiated, the SABC had already undergone two editorial policy rounds. This is more than can be said of most state institutions — even Parliament, a high profile institution in terms of language visibility, only finalised its language policy during 2004. The first language policy of the SABC, which was adopted on 16 February 1995, came into effect during March of that year (SABC 1995) and has since been revised following a process of extensive public consultation. The resultant revised language policy came into effect on 1 April 2004 as part of the SABC's general editorial policy (SABC 2004b). Although it differs in several aspects (Du Plessis 2005) it largely concurs with the 1995 version, particularly regarding the meeting of the language mandate (Olivier 2003: 67, Du Plessis 2005). In essence, both versions provide for the operationalisation of multilingualism in broadcasting at the SABC and thus play an important role within the process of repositioning the broadcaster with respect to its former position in the 1990s. The 2004 provisions will not form part of this overview.

The SABC's 1995 editorial language policy (SABC 1995) consists of nine sections. The first three (mandate, background and basis of the SABC language policy) provide the general and legal setting for the policy. Section 4 provides an extensive policy framework. Section 5 covers the implementation guidelines and Section 6 the programme guidelines. Sections 7 and 8 could be considered to be the heart of the policy. Here provisions are made for language treatment in the SABC's radio services (Section 7) and television services (Section 8). In Section 9 provisions are made for language treatment in the SABC's commercial services. The policy is written in a legal style, using a language similar to that of legislation containing numbered sections and subsections.

In keeping with its language mandate to provide services in the official languages, the SABC's 1995 editorial language policy indeed makes provision for both radio and television services in the official languages. The policy provides for separate language radio stations, but for multilingual television services that will provide "equitable" programming in all official languages. Also, provision is made for broadcasting in non-official languages. Insofar as language treatment is concerned, the policy emphasises the principle of equitability although in a pragmatic way. A distinction is made between home languages and shared languages, obviously a useful distinction for programming on the television services. Another important provision concerns the correction of past imbalances with a requirement for more television broadcasting time in disadvantaged languages. The editorial language policy is less committed in respect of a requirement of the language mandate to provide high-quality programmes and only requires the broadcaster to be sensitive to sociolinguistic dynamics and to recognise variety. Nevertheless, the language mandate in this regard is also formulated in very broad terms.

Although the SABC's editorial policy seems to be meeting the requirements of its language mandate, it neglects to provide quantitative benchmarks with regard to time allocations, especially in respect of broadcasting time for the official languages on television. Essentially, the 1995 editorial language policy reflects the broad sentiments contained in its language mandate and the broadcasting licensing conditions issued by ICASA. Provision is indeed made for multilingual programming (especially in the SABC's television services), but the language policy is framed in such a way that it allows for a pragmatic approach to the management of multilingualism in broadcasting. The emphasis placed in the policy on equitability (and not equality) confirms this. The 1995 editorial language policy of the SABC does not provide a multilingual template or formulaic approach that can regulate multilingual broadcasting in a quantitative manner.

4.   SABC language policy and language practice

The SABC's 1995 editorial language policy was mainly intended to help the Corporation create a new multilingual broadcasting dispensation in accordance with its new language mandate and the changing

language dispensation of the country. As Heugh (1994: 10) so accurately phrased it at the time,

> [t]he SABC is in the unenviable position of having to be the first, as well as the most visible and audible, agency to define a plan for implementing the principle of equity of 11 official languages.

Although there may be a difference of opinion as to whether the SABC succeeded in meeting this challenge after 1994, there seems to be agreement that the language dispensation at the broadcaster did change. Ridge (2000: 56-60) points to some of the important "shifts relating to language" that occurred in the broadcasting media since 1994, such as the increased use of English in the electronic media, the use of a markedly more South African English and the presentation of multilingualism as "normal" in sport, news and entertainment programmes. According to him, multilingualism has become the norm as can be seen through the introduction of the system of language alternation (switching between cognate languages, as well as English and Afrikaans) in broadcasting, especially at the SABC. Not all, however, would agree that multilingualism has become the norm in broadcasting. In a more recent appraisal, Van Rensburg (2004: xi) concludes in less objective terms that since 1994 a shift has occurred to downscale Afrikaans and place English in the dominant position (as anchor language of the Corporation) while reluctantly persisting to promote the smaller local African languages. The underlying suggestion is that the SABC is not delivering on its mandate (Du Toit 2002, 2004), a stance supported by the critics of SABC language policy. Such criticism is primarily levelled at the SABC's television services which allegedly favour English. The SABC in response is arguing that given operating constraints, it is indeed fulfilling its language mandate, albeit not altogether perfectly as yet (SABC 2004a).

Our overview of language policy development in broadcasting reveals that these criticisms cannot be levelled at the lack of a comprehensive editorial language policy at the SABC. Rather, it would seem that criticism is actually directed at problems with policy implementation, implying some shortcomings in the way the SABC has (not) been implementing its 1995 editorial language policy. This subject will require an appraisal of language policy implementation at the SABC against the provisions of its editorial language policy (and obviously its language mandate). Since there is seldom a perfect congruence between

language policy and language practice (Schiffman 1998), the most one can do is to study the way in which the 1995 editorial language policy of the SABC was realised between 1994 and 2004, or alternatively, to study the way it was not realised. The objective of the first undertaking would be to focus on the factors that contributed to the variation in language policy implementation, rather than on the discrepancies between policy and practice, as most critics would emphasise. Such an approach would allow us to understand better the evolvement of multilingual broadcasting practice at the SABC.

In the ensuing section the broadcasting services offered by the SABC before and after 1994 will be compared, whereafter tendencies regarding the allocation of airtime to different languages since 1994 (focusing primarily on the television services) will be contrasted. Finally, some of the "operating constraints" referred to above that have influenced the establishment of a new multilingual dispensation at the SABC will be reviewed.

4.1 Radio and television portfolio

In 1994 SABC language policy[8] was still guided by a clause from the apartheid-style Broadcasting Act (Act 73 of 1976), stipulating that the Corporation "shall frame and carry out its broadcasting programmes with due regard to the interests of English, Afrikaans and Bantu culture" (section 12(3)). This "language mandate" should be read together with the language clause of the country's constitution that was valid until its replacement by the 1993 Constitution (Act 200 of 1993). Section 89 of the tri-cameral Constitution (Act 110 of 1983) provided for the equal treatment of Afrikaans and English as official languages at national level and for the official use of the nine African languages at regional level, leading to a consequential disparity in status between the two groups of languages.

Although multilingual, the SABC's radio and television services before 1994 largely reflected this sociolinguistic disparity. Its 22 radio services included eleven separate language stations (albeit in the newly declared official languages of the democratic South Africa) established

---

8   No evidence could be found of an explicit language policy document regulating
     language in broadcasting at the SABC before 1995.

between 1936 and 1983, as well as a range of commercial and other services broadcasting primarily in English and Afrikaans and also in English only (SABC: 2005a, 2005b). The three television services comprised TV1, CCV and NNTV (Mpofu 1996: 21-3). TV1 was established in 1976 as South Africa's first television service and broadcast in Afrikaans and English. It was aimed at a white, urbanised middle class. Before 1993 broadcasting during the day was primarily in English, but during prime time the two languages were alternated on a 50/50 basis (one evening Afrikaans followed by English, the next evening the opposite). TV1 was financed primarily through income derived from advertisements.

CCV (Contemporary Community Values) was established in 1992, consolidating TV2, TV3 and TV4, three channels that had been established since 1976 to cater for black viewers. Almost 49% of CCV's programmes were broadcast in English and the balance in IsiZulu, IsiXhosa, Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana, on a similar blocking and alternating pattern to that of TV1. Occasional programmes were broadcast in Tamil and Hindi. By 1992 CCV had the largest television audience in South Africa and generated 69.4% of its income from advertisements (Mpofu 1996: 22).

NNTV (National Network Television) developed from TSS (Topsport Surplus), a special sport channel that had been established on a temporary basis in 1991 (SABC 2005a, 2005b). The service acted as a "surplus channel" for educational and cultural programmes. NNTV broadcast primarily in English and no advertising was allowed. By 1994 NNTV attempted to establish itself as a public broadcasting service and tried to move away from a Eurocentric approach. The channel was financed from licensing fees and sponsorships (Mpofu 1996: 22). As "national broadcaster" the SABC enjoyed the monopoly of the air waves in South Africa.

The SABC's radio portfolio was relaunched on 28 September 1996, breaking the mould in which SABC Radio had been cast since 1936 (SABC 2005a, 2005b). Accordingly, six of the SABC's regional radio stations were sold to private enterprises and the language stations were renamed.

The SABC's new radio portfolio was notably the result of the restructuring of broadcasting in South Africa which was primarily brought about by the Triple Enquiry Report of the IBA. Nevertheless, this restructuring did not radically impact on the SABC's ability to provide "distinct

and separate national radio services of equal quality for people speaking each of the 11 official languages, as part of a broader portfolio of public broadcasting radio services", as section 4.4.1 of its 1995 editorial language policy requires. Its public services portfolio, however, is meeting this requirement, although the services have been renamed to move away from the apartheid-era names. The eleven language stations have been maintained, including the remaining Afrikaans/English bilingual services (although for fewer stations). The new Xhosa/English bilingual service is being continued and a new multilingual service, XK-FM, broadcasting in the !Xu and Kwe languages (as well as Afrikaans), has been added, meeting another policy requirement that the SABC "shall strive to broadcast in non-official languages where feasible" (section 4.6). In keeping with the 1995 language policy requirement, that "the SABC will run commercial services for financial reasons" and that "[l]anguages used in such services will be based on market requirements", as provided for in section 9, the commercial service portfolio broadcasts primarily in English. Collectively considered, the SABC is operating a multilingual radio portfolio.

The SABC's television portfolio was relaunched on 4 February 1996 (SABC 2005a, 2005b), largely maintaining the language groupings from the previous dispensation, but without the former racial divide. The visibility of marginalised languages such as XiTsonga and Tsi-Venda increased on the public television services, in keeping with the requirements of section 4.4.2 of the 1995 editorial language policy for "equitable programming in all 11 official languages" and section 9 regarding commercial services. Also, the use of South African Sign Language in news and other programmes has been introduced and special programme slots created for this language in keeping with section 4.7 of the language policy.[9]

The foregoing comparison reveals that qualitatively speaking the SABC is maintaining a multilingual television portfolio in accordance with the requirements of both its language mandate and editorial language policy.

---

9   Although South African Sign language generally is also deemed a "marginalised language" within the South African context, the scope of this article is limited to the treatment of the eleven official languages within the broadcasting dispensation at the SABC.

4.2 Language spread

No data are currently available on the language spread of the SABC's bilingual and multilingual radio services and no study has been undertaken on the actual broadcasting time allocated to the predominantly monolingual language stations. The focus of this review shall thus fall on SABC1 and SABC2, the multilingual television channels.

Data on the overall language spread in programming on the SABC's television services indeed confirm English dominance, but also indicate that the other official languages are not completely absent in television broadcasting (DoC 2002: 10-1).

Data on the language spread during prime time (18:00-22:00) do suggest changing tendencies regarding English dominance. In fact, the comparison even suggests a gradual increase in multilingual programming and a corresponding decrease in English dominance in broadcasting in more recent years.

Figure 1 indicates a sharp increase in language visibility for the indigenous languages on SABC1 in 1996, but a gradual decrease after that period. However, from 2000 onwards there is a gradual increase in their visibility.

Figure 2 confirms similar tendencies for SABC2. However, in comparison with the indigenous languages, visibility in Afrikaans has increased significantly and consistently since 1996 with a third of viewing time during the prime-time slot being allocated to Afrikaans by 2004 as compared to the viewing time in 1996. Interestingly, Geyser & Du Plessis (2005) report a corresponding decline in the coverage of complaints by newspapers regarding the downscaling of Afrikaans on SABC2.

The above comparison confirms that considered together, by 2004 SABC1 and SABC2 were offering multilingual broadcasting services in accordance with the requirements of section 4.4.2 of the 1995 editorial language policy for "equitable programming in all 11 official languages". In terms of prime-time broadcasting the SABC had by 2004 increased programming in all of the eleven official languages. Outside of prime time English was the primary language of broadcasting, suggesting a diversified approach to language policy implementation. This approach did not differ essentially from the situation that prevailed before 1996.
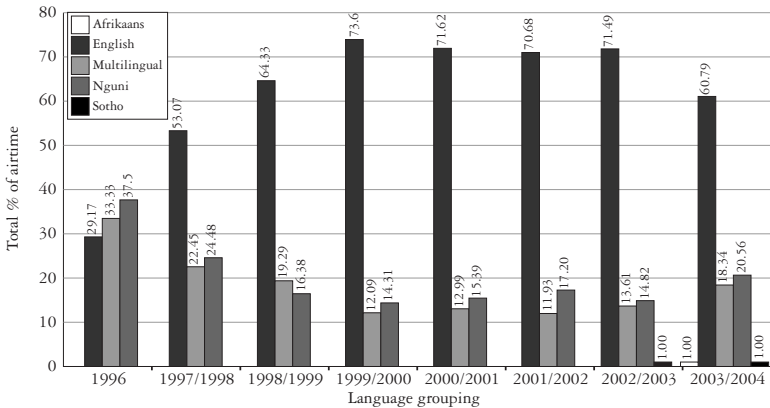
Figure 1: Languages on SABC 1
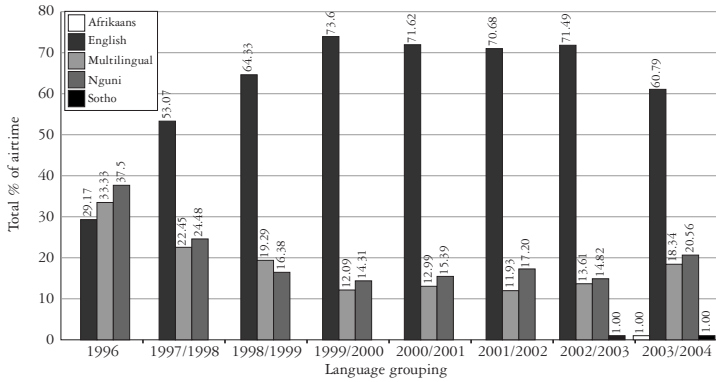
Sources: Olivier 2003: 70; DoC 2002

Figure 2: Languages on SABC 2

Sources: Olivier 2003: 70; DoC 2002

The above figures do not reveal the tendencies between 1994 and 1996 when there was a sharp decrease in the visibility of Afrikaans and an increase in the visibility of the indigenous languages and English. The trends reflected illustrate the complexity of implementing a new language dispensation at the SABC. We note a definite decline in multilingual broadcasting from 1996 until 1999, but a steady increase from 2000. Such trends suggest different "periods" of language policy implementation and factors other than language policy guidelines influencing language policy implementation, an important consideration in attempting to describe the evolution of language policy in broadcasting. A detailed description of these factors could lead to a more nuanced perspective on language treatment in broadcasting at the SABC.

4.3 Language policy periods

Barnett identifies three distinct broadcasting phases between 1990 and 1998: a pre-1993 period; a period that coincides with the establishment of a new SABC board in 1993, and a period from 1994 until the Triple Enquiry in 1996, a period that according to Teer-Tomaselli (2004: 33) is referred to as the "golden season of public broadcasting in South Africa". She seems to be suggesting that the period between the Triple Enquiry and the Broadcasting Act (Act 4 of 1999) and the period thereafter should be treated as further periods of reorganisation at the SABC. Since this overview covers the period 1994 to 2004, the emphasis will fall on the latter three periods which will be referred to as as the period of reform (1993-1996), the period of transformation (1996-1999) and the period of corporationalisation (1999-2004). Essentially these three periods coincide with developments in the broadcasting environment that have impacted on the SABC and correlate with the language tendencies witnessed in Figures 1 and 2.

The reform period covers the period from the amendment of the 1976 Broadcasting Act (Act 73 of 1993, as amended) and the IBA Act (Act 153 of 1993) until the launching of the "new" SABC in February 1996. This period coincides with the reformation of the SABC from a state broadcaster to a truly national broadcaster (Mpofu 1996: 27-8) that would contribute constructively and independently to the transition to a democratic dispensation in South Africa. Existing broadcasting services were accordingly reorganised in terms of the new priorities to

signal a clear departure from apartheid-style broadcasting, especially as far as television was concerned. The current channels were retained but reorganised by regrouping the languages on CCV and including Afrikaans on this erstwhile "black" channel. English became the main language on the former "white" TV1 (SABC 2004a). NNTV evolved into a public channel broadcasting primarily in English but with "regional breakaways" in the other languages (Truter & Lubbe 2002: 201).

The IBA's Triple Inquiry, which aimed at ensuring the feasibility of the public broadcaster, limitations on cross-media ownership and local content quotas for South African broadcasters, dominated this period (Barnett 1999: 283). The IBA's report was accepted by Parliament early in 1996 with a recommendation that six of the SABC's regional radio stations be sold. The report also recommended that the first two television channels be established as public services and the third as a commercial service (Barnett 1999: 287).

The new SABC's first editorial language policy was developed during the reform period, laying the foundation for a new multilingual broadcasting dispensation. Section 5 of the 1995 editorial language policy introduced two central principles of this new multilingual dispensation, for instance the notion of "shared languages" ("spoken, understood and extensively used by substantial numbers of people outside of the group which speak them as their native language or language of first choice") and the notion of equitable treatment of the official languages in broadcasting. These principles constituted a clear move away from the language blocks of the old dispensation. According to Barnett (2000: 57) this was done to balance language demands with financial constraints. The regrouping of languages on television mentioned before is one of the outcomes of this policy principle, as is the increase of English programming. In fact, English's replacement of Afrikaans as the broadcaster's preferred language during this period, within corporate operations as well as on air, reinforced the changes in the new language dispensation. Truter & Lubbe (2002: 197, 200-3) mention several of these, such as the decision to make English the language for internal usage and anchor language and the "standardisation" of the broadcaster's name to the English "SABC" in April 1994. The overall downscaling of Afrikaans on television is directly linked to the reform period at the SABC.

The transformation period (1996-1999) coincides with the esta-
blishment of the SABC as public service broadcaster from the time of
the launching of the "new" SABC in February 1996 until the coming
into force of the revised Broadcasting Act (Act 4 of 1999) in May 1999.
During this period a "new" transformed SABC was launched that broadly
fitted the new South Africa that was taking shape with new renamed
television channels and radio stations with a new identity. On 4 February
1996 the SABC relaunched its three new television channels, SABC1
(replacing CCV-TV), SABC2 (replacing TV1) and SABC3 (replacing
NNTV). During September 1996 the SABC sold its six regional radio
stations to private owners and on 28 September 1996 relaunched its
radio portfolio according to a new model (Barnett 1999: 292-3). The
radio stations were renamed in such a manner that the name of the
language was not reflected — another step to move away from the apart-
heid era. With the new services in place the process of visible transfor-
mation was completed and the SABC evolved from a state broadcaster
to a public service broadcaster accountable to the entire South African
nation (SABC 2005a, 2005b).

However, the SABC developed serious financial problems during this
era owing to a loss of income from the sales of its commercial radio
stations, advertising income (related to the change in language sche-
dules) and licence income (related to protests from Afrikaans speakers)
(Teer-Tomaselli 2004). At the same time the cost of producing indi-
genous language and multilingual programmes added to the financial
woes of the Corporation. An international consultancy, McKinsey, was
called in to investigate the matter and made significant recommenda-
tions that assisted the SABC during 1997 to effect considerable savings.
The Corporation increased its income, but sacrificed quality and had
to lay off 1400 employees (SABC 2005a, 2005b, Teer-Tomaselli 2004:
34). One of the significant outcomes of the McKinsey report was the
redefinition of the SABC as a "publisher-broadcaster" rather than a
"producer-broadcaster" (Teer-Tomaselli 2004: 35). The report also in-
formed the policy process that led to the formulation of the new Broad-
casting Act (Act 4 of 1999) (Teer-Tomaselli 2004: 35). Moreover, the
report indirectly contributed to the overall broadcasting policy review
process between 1997 and 1998 (Barnett 1999: 288) that led to the es-
tablishment of ICASA as a new incorporated broadcasting regulator.

The new language groupings on television were entrenched during this period, with SABC1 catering for English and the Nguni group of languages and SABC2 for English, Afrikaans and the Sotho group of languages as well as XiTsonga and TsiVenda. Financial constraints experienced during this period led to a sharp increase in English programming and a sharp decrease in the language visibility of the indigenous languages. At the same time, broadcasting in Afrikaans slowly started to increase again. Barnett (2000: 59-62) shows how the increased dependence of the SABC on advertising income during this period made the broadcaster more subject to market forces. The gradual increase of visibility in Afrikaans during this period is a direct result of this factor.

The corporationalisation period of the SABC (1999-2004) coincides with the establishment of the broadcaster as a "limited liability" company of which the state was to hold 100% of the shares in terms of the Broadcasting Act (Act 4 of 1999) that came into effect in May 1999. This act for the first time included a charter on the SABC and very clearly stated the guidelines for the broadcaster to function as a public service broadcaster. The act determined that the SABC should operate its public and commercial services as separate entities. The process of corporationalisation was completed by 1 October 2003 when the SABC officially became known as the SABC Ltd (SABC 2005a, 2005b).

The promulgation of the Broadcasting Act (Act 4 of 1999) is seen as the most important development influencing the reorganisation of the SABC. It was set to change irrevocably the face of broadcasting in South Africa (Teer-Tomaselli 2004: 35). The amalgamation of the IBA with the South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority (SATRA) to form ICASA in July 2000 (Wigston 2001: 18) was a further significant development in this period. ICASA currently regulates the airwaves and is the agency responsible for licensing broadcasting in South Africa and ensuring compliance of broadcasters with the IBA Act and the Broadcasting Act. The licences issued contain more specific provisions regarding the broadcasting and language mandates of a particular service (Langa 2004: 3). The first comprehensive regulations were published in 2003, providing for quotas on local programme content, as well as language stipulations (Langa 2002, Orgeret 2004: 158). With the amendment of the Act in 2002 the SABC was required to develop editorial policies and submit these to ICASA after receiving public comment (Kantor 2003: 4).

Another notable feature of the corporalisation period is the further gradual increase in the visibility of Afrikaans and the indigenous languages on television. This period saw the introduction of daily television news bulletins in all of the official languages, as well as the introduction of the first current affairs programme in an indigenous language (SABC 2005b).

5. Conclusion

One of the challenges for the "new" SABC after 1993/1994 was to establish a new multilingual broadcasting dispensation that would serve the ideals of the new democracy. The language mandate of the broadcaster contained in broadcasting legislation provided the broad minimal requirements for such a dispensation and the 1995 editorial language policy of the SABC provided more practical guidelines and principles for implementation. Since multilingual broadcasting had been organised along apartheid lines up to then, the challenge now was to reconceptualise multilingual broadcasting in its entirety. The language policy laid down the core principles of this new multilingual dispensation. Essentially the SABC adopted the kind of balanced approach suggested by Hwengere (1995: 67), namely finding a common language platform, whilst not ignoring language diversity. The core principles of shared languages and equitable treatment of all official languages underline this new approach towards language treatment in broadcasting. As a result the multilingual broadcasting profile after 1993 changed qualitatively, if not on quantitative grounds. One should understand developments such as the increased use of English and its establishment as anchor language, along with the downscaling of Afrikaans against this background.

Although quantitative measurements of this policy implementation may provide some insight into particular language allocations, these may not necessarily improve our understanding of language developments at the SABC. More research is thus required on the process of establishing a new multilingual dispensation on the basis of qualitative principles, especially since the adoption of the 2004 editorial language policy. It would be interesting to follow further developments in this regard.

Bibliography

BAKER C

2003. *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

BARNETT C

1999. Broadcasting the rainbow nation: media, democracy, and nation-building in South Africa. *Antipode* 31(3): 274-303.

2000. Governing cultural diversity in South African media policy. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 14(1): 51-66.

BROWNE D R

1992. Raidio na Gaeltachta: reviver, preserver or swan song of the Irish language? *European Journal of Communication* 7: 415-33.

CORMACK M

1993. Problems of minority language broadcasting: Gaelic in Scotland. *European Journal of Communication* 8: 101-17.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS (DoC)

2002. Language diversity in broadcasting. Presentation at the SABC Board Language Workshop. Sandton, 29 November 2002.

DUNCAN J

2001. *Broadcasting and the national question*. Johannesburg: Freedom of Expression.

DU PLESSIS T

2005. Multilingual language policy at the SABC — perspectives on the SABC as co-orchestrator of language policy. Unpubl paper delivered at the colloquium, Language and politics in South Africa, Joint Conference of the Southern African Applied Linguistics Association and Linguistics Society of Southern Africa, Dikhololo 6-8 July 2005.

DU TOIT K

2002. Taaldiversiteit in 'n geglobaliseerde samelewing. *LitNet* Taaldebat. Geborg deur die Taalsekretariaat. <http://www.litnet.co.za/taaldebat/dutoit.asp>.

2004. Afrikaans en die Suid-Afrikaanse uitsaaiwese. Van Rensburg (red) 2004: 42-54.

EDWARDS V

2004. *Multilingualism in the English-speaking world*. Oxford: Blackwell.

FOURIE P (ed)

2001. *Media studies: institutions, theories and issues, 1*. Landsdowne: Juta Education.

GEYSER R & T DU PLESSIS

2004. Language complaints at the SABC — a preliminary analysis. Unpubl paper delivered at the 5th International MIDP colloquium, Multilingualism and the Media. University of Antwerp, Antwerp, 29 November to 1 December 2004.

GRIN F & F VAILLANCOURT
1999. *The cost-effectiveness evaluation of minority language policies: case studies on Wales, Ireland and the Basque Country*. ECMI Monograph 2. Flensburg: European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI).

HEUGH K
1994. Plugging into SABC language tangle. *Democracy in Action* 8(6): 10-1.

HWENGWERE M M
1995. Public service broadcasting and language: an analysis of policy options for South Africa. Unpubl MA mini thesis in Cultural and Media Studies. Durban: University of Kwazulu-Natal.

KAMWANGAMALU N
2001. The language planning situation in South Africa. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 2(4): 361-445.

KANTOR L J
2003. Presentation on SABC draft editorial policies. Dept of Journalism, University of Rhodes, Grahamstown, 10 October 2003.

KIBBEE D (ed)
1996. *Language legislation and linguistic rights. Selected proceedings of the Language Legislation and Linguistic Rights Conference, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, March 1996*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

KRUGER J-L & H KRUGER
2001. *Subtitling in South Africa. Summary Report*. PanSALB Occasional Papers 4. Arcadia: Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB).

KRUGER J-L, T SELEPE & M VERHOEF
2002. Subtitling and the empowerment of African languages on television. Unpubl presentation at a PanSALB conference, Pan South African Language Board, Pretoria, 19-20 March 2002.

KRUGER J-L, M VERHOEF &
H KOTZE
2000. *Subtitling in South Africa. Project report to the Pan South African Language Board*. Vanderbijlpark: Potchefstroom University for CHE.

LANGA M
2002. SABC language workshop. Presentation by Mandla Langa, Chairperson Independent Communications Authority of South Africa, SABC language workshop. Sandton, Sandton Convention Centre, 29 November 2002.

2004. Four year ICASA anniversary and ten years of communications regulation. Keynote address for stakeholders' evening by Mandla Langa, Chairperson Independent Communications Authority of South Africa, ICT Africa Investment Summit, 30 June 2004.

MAKONI S B & N KAMWANGAMALU (eds)

2000. *Language and institutions in Africa*. Cape Town: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS).

MATUSA D

1999. Language policy and language practice in South Africa: An uneasy marriage. *Language Matters. Studies in the Languages of Southern Africa* 30: 83-98.

MMUSI S

1998. On the eleven official languages policy of the new South Africa. Kibbee (ed) 1998: 225-39.

MOLOI M L B

1999. The treatment and promotion of the eleven official languages in the South African media. MA thesis in Applied Linguistics. Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

MPOFU A

1996. The role of the public broadcaster in a future South Africa: broadcasting policy research: the framework report. Mpofu *et al* (eds) 1996: 6-57.

MPOFU A, S MANHANDO & K TOMASELLI (eds)

1996. *Public service broadcasting: policy directions towards 2000*. Johannesburg: Anthropos Publishers.

OLIVIER J A K

2002. *African television content regulations*. Vanderbijlpark: Independent Communications Authority of South Africa.

2003. Die moontlikhede wat onderskrifte die SABC-TV bied in die erkenning en beskerming van taalregte. Ongepubl MA-verhandeling in Taalpraktyk. Potchefstroom: Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir CHO.

ORGERET K S

2004. Unifying and dividing processes in national media: the Janus face of South Africa. *Critical Arts* 18(1): 147-62.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA (RSA)

1926. *Radio Act 20 of 1926*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

1936. *Broadcasting Act 22 of 1936*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

1976. *Broadcasting Act 73 of 1976*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

1993a. *Broadcasting Amendment Act 22 of 1993*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

1993b. *Broadcasting Act 73 of 1993*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

1993c. *Independent Broadcasting Authority Act 153 of 1993*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

1993d. *Constitution Act 200 of 1993*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

1999. *Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

2000. *Independent Communications Auhority of South Africa Act 13 of 2000*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

2002. *Broadcasting Amendment Act 64 of 2002*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

RIDGE S
2000. Language policy and democratic practice. Makoni & Kamwangamalu (eds) 2000: 45-64.

SCHIFFMAN H F
1998. *Linguistic culture and language policy*. New York: Routledge.

SIBIYA E D M
2001. Media and the development and promotion of African-language literature: Ukhozi FM and Ilanga. Unpubl MA thesis in African Languages. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION (SABC)
1995. *Language policy of the SABC, no CNN002/02*. Aucklandpark: SABC.

2004a. *Die taalbedeling op die SABC: die mandaat van die nasionale uitsaaier. MG0/02.02.2004.*

2004b. *SABC editorial policies*. Aucklandpark: SABC.

2005a. Development of broadcasting in SA. <http://staticfiles.sabc.co.za/VCMS taticProdStage/CORPORATE/SAB C%20Corporate/Document/This_is _the_SABC_text.doc>.

2005b. The SABC in detail — Ten years. <http://staticfiles.sabc.co.za/VCMS taticProdStage/CORPORATE/SAB C%20Corporate/Document/About %20SABC/The%20SABC%20In% 20Detail/tenyears.doc>.

STEYN J C
1995. Die taalstryd in die oorgangstyd. Gesindhede teenoor Afrikaans 1990-1994. *Stilet* Supplement 1: 1-150.

2001. Afrikaans 2000: nuwe suksesverhale en terugslae. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 41(2): 122-23, 130.

TEER-TOMASELLI R
2004. Transforming state owned enterprises in the global age: lessons from broadcasting and telecommunications in South Africa. *Critical Arts* 18(1): 7-41.

TRUTER E
2003. ’n Ontleding van die reaksies in die media op die taalbesluite van die SAUK, 1994-1996. *Acta Academica Supplementum* 2: 32-57.

TRUTER E J J & H J LUBBE
2002. Die polemiek in die oorgangstyd (1994-1996) rondom die taalbesluite van die South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) rakende Afrikaans. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 42(3): 197-214.

VAN RENSBURG F I J
2004. Verantwoording. Van Rensburg (red) 2004: ix-xv.

VAN RENSBURG F I J (red)
2004. *Afrikaans — lewende taal van miljoene*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

VAN RENSBURG F I J, E F J MALHERBE & K J H LANDMAN
2001. *Taalverskuiwing sedert 1994. Die prosesse van bevoorregting, ontmagtiging en verwaarlosing*. Kaapstad: Vrydaggroep en Naspers.

WATSON I
2002. Irish-language broadcasting: history, ideology and identity. *Media, Culture & Society* 24: 739-57.

WIGSTON D
2001. A South African media map. Fourie (ed) 2001: 3-104.