

Contents

Abstract	iii
Declaration	iv
List of Abbreviations	vii
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background to the Formation of the MDDA	1
1.2 Rationale for an MDDA	2
1.3 Shifts in Government Approach.....	3
1.3.1 Shifts in government's approach to the MDDA's mandate	3
1.3.2 Shifts in government's approach to funding.....	4
1.4 Burning questions.....	6
1.5 Conclusion.....	7
Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework.....	8
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Definitions of Key Terms	8
2.3 Analytical Paradigms.....	12
2.3.1 The liberal pluralist school.....	12
2.3.2 The critical political economy of the media school	18
2.4 Conclusion.....	26
Chapter Three: Methodology	28
3.1 Introduction	28
3.2 Designing the Study and Selecting a Sample	29
3.3 Collecting Qualitative Data	31
3.3.1 Interviews.....	31
3.3.2 Documentary evidence.....	33
Chapter Four: The State of Media Development and Diversity in South Africa.	35
4.1 Introduction – the Apartheid Media Landscape	35
4.2 The Post Apartheid Macro-Economic Context	37
4.3 The Post Apartheid Media Landscape.....	39
4.3.1 Broadcasting developments	39
4.3.2 Print media developments	45
4.4 Conclusion.....	49
Chapter Five: Findings.....	50
5.1 Introduction	50
5.2 The Early MDDA Negotiation Period.....	50
5.2.1 The beginning	50
5.2.2 The Task Group on Government Communications	52
5.2.3 The community media sector plays a powerful role	54

5.2.4	Business takes strong opposing positions	56
5.3	Negotiations Intensify	59
5.4	Government Puts its Cards on the Table	63
5.5	Strong Reactions to Government’s Position.....	66
5.6	New Proposals Rejected, Compromises Embraced.....	70
5.7	Parliamentary and Post-Parliamentary Processes.....	73
5.8	Conclusion.....	75
Chapter Six: Analysis.....		78
6.1	Introduction	78
6.2	GCIS’s Original Position – A Predominantly Critical Political Economy of the Media Approach.....	79
6.3	Key Stakeholder Bargaining Positions	80
6.3.1	Community media positions	81
6.3.2	Department of Finance positions	83
6.3.3	Commercial media positions	83
6.3.4	Department of Communication positions	84
6.3.5	International donors	85
6.4	The Negotiation Process Unfolds	85
6.5	Implications for Media Development and Diversity	88
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....		91
7.1	Assessing the Outcomes	91
7.2	Present MDDA Operations.....	95
7.3	The Way Forward and Areas for New Research.....	96
Bibliography.....		98

List of Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
Comtask	Task Group on Government Communications
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CTP	Cape and Transvaal Printers
FXI	Freedom of Expression Institute
GCIS	Government Communication and Information System
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
IMDT	Independent Media Diversity Trust
LSM	Living Standards Measurement
MDA	Media Development Agency
MDDA	Media Development and Diversity Agency
MIT	Marketing Industry Trust
NAB	National Association of Broadcasters
NAIL	New African Investments Limited
NCMF	National Community Media Forum
NCRF	National Community Radio Forum
NFVF	National Film and Video Foundation
NGO	Non-govermental Organisation
OSF-SA	Open Society Foundation South Africa
PDA	Print Development Agency
PMSA	Print Media South Africa
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAAN	South African Associated Newspapers
SANCO	South African National Civics Organisation
SANGOCO	South African NGO Coalition
SAPA	South African Press Association
SATRA	South African Telecommunications Authority
USA	Universal Service Agency