

# Black women in post-apartheid South Africa, Nation-building and Radio: the case of Ukhozi FM

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## **COMPULSORY DECLARATION**

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced

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“But let endurance and steadfastness and patience have full play and do a thorough work, so that you may be perfectly and fully developed, lacking nothing” (James 1 verse 4)

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## Abstract

Nation-building as it relates to the notion of belonging, is a pertinent topic in post-apartheid South Africa. This is primarily because of the prevailing discourse about nation and belonging in apartheid South Africa, whereby citizenship to large sections of the population was on the basis of skin colour. In its hierarchical definition of citizenship and belonging, black women were on the bottom of the rung. This denial was reinforced through the content that was broadcast on national media. This changed with the advent of constitutional democracy. During the transition period from apartheid, the national media sought to convey messages that portrayed a nation characterised by equality and inclusivity. This minor dissertation is concerned with the extent to which the content broadcast on a radio programme engages black female listeners as citizens. It specifically focuses on the content broadcast on *Jabul Ujule* (Be Happy and Be Content): a programme on Ukhozi FM.

By way of background, it sketches a brief history of how radio was used by both the colonial and apartheid government to ‘imagine’ South Africa as well as construct a particular kind of public sphere. Following upon this, the dissertation locates Ukhozi FM’s history within the continuum that begins with the apartheid era and extends to the post-apartheid period and discusses the station’s role during both eras, focusing more fully on the latter period. In short, this minor dissertation looks at the history of *Jabul Ujule* in terms of the content that was broadcast during the apartheid era in order to understand the way in which black women were and are being engaged in the post-apartheid era. Methodologically, it uses discourse analysis to analyse transcripts of the broadcasts as well as a transcript of an interview with the presenter of the programme. Lastly, this work looks at how the infusion of advertisement into the programme’s content limits the extent to which the content engages its female listeners as citizens.

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# Introduction

## Background

When the apartheid government ‘imagined’ South Africa, it imagined a nation divided along racial lines whereby non-white South Africans were denied citizenship. Anne McClintock (1991) argues that black women were not only excluded from the socio-political and economic aspects of the nation due to their race, but also because of their gender. She explains that they were recognised as subordinates to their husbands. In addition, Nira Yuval-Davis (1997) argues that the nationalist discourse that was prevalent during the apartheid era perceived women as belonging solely in the domestic sphere as mothers.

The implications of this perception vary. One of them is that black women could not participate in the public sphere; in other words, they could not deliberate about the socio-political and economic conditions of the nation. Inasmuch as they were involved in anti-apartheid activities (Hassim, 1992; Ramphela, 1995); their activities were “muted...by the language of female service and subordination” (McClintock, 1991: 115).

This language was used in the radio programmes that were designed by the apartheid government for black women. Sekibakiba Lekgoathi (2009) alludes to the idea that women’s programmes were purported to teach women how to become better mothers and wives. This is because the apartheid government, perceived radio as a means with which to instruct black South Africans to assume identities that conformed to the apartheid policies (Davis, 2011). Therefore, radio fulfilled a strategic role in not only portraying a particular version of South Africa, but also in reinforcing a particular role that black women had to occupy.

In contrast to the apartheid government, the post-apartheid government perceived the media as an effective ally in its ‘imagining’ of South Africa as a constitutionally democratic nation, where black women are equal citizens irrespective of their race and gender (Manicom, 2005). In addition to depicting an inclusive and diverse nation, the SABC is mandated as a public broadcaster to serve the interests of South African citizens (Tomaselli, 2008) Therefore, one could assume that the content broadcast on SABC television and radio channels purported to engage women as citizens.

## **Focus**

In light of this assumption, this minor dissertation will seek to discern the extent to which the content broadcast on *Jabul Ujule*: a radio programme on Ukhozi FM, engages its female listeners as citizens. Furthermore, it will critically look at how the presence of advertising in the content of the programme affects the extent to which the female listeners are engaged as citizens. In order to accomplish this, it draws from three discursive fields: nationalism, gender and media. It will rely on Benedict Anderson's (1991) concept of the nation as an 'imagined community'. In relation to gender, this work will incorporate ideas by various feminist scholars who critically discuss the position of black women within the nationalist discourse, and as citizens in the post-apartheid South Africa. Lastly, it will discuss the role of radio in engaging listeners as citizens on the basis of the argument that what is conveyed by the media is not a reflection but a construction of reality (Bell and Garrett, 1998, et al).

## **Why *Jabul Ujule***

There are a number of reasons for choosing this particular radio programme. The first one is the station's history. Ukhozi FM first existed in the form of three minutes news bulletin in the 1940's and then formed part of Radio Bantu: a station created by the apartheid government to propagate its ideas. (Hamm, 1991). Thus, the station had and still has a strong historical presence in most Zulu-speaking communities. In my own experience growing up as a Zulu-speaking South African, I know that my granmothers, aunts and elderly neighbours in Johannesburg townships and in the rural areas in Kwa-Zulu Natal often tuned in to listen to the station.

The second reason is the station's popularity. Thokozani Mhlambi (2008) alludes to the large number of people who listen to the programmes on the station. There are approximately, seven million people who listen to the station (Ukhozi, 2013). This is primarily because of the informative style of the programmes, which captivate audiences through topics that are relevant to them (Ukhozi, 2013). *Jabul Ujule* (Be Happy and Content) is an example of such a programme. It focuses predominantly on female listeners (Ukhozi FM, 2013). Therefore, one could argue that a substantial number of female listeners are being engaged in informative discussions.

Lastly, the presenter of the programme is another reason. Dudu Khoza began working for Ukhozi FM during the apartheid era (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17). Therefore she is, using James Gee's (1997) ideas about discourse, a 'carrier' of the apartheid discourse as well

as the post-apartheid discourse about women and the nation. In other words, her views about women and the nation are arguably influenced by the abovementioned discourses. As a result women who experienced the effects of the apartheid regime, and women living in post-apartheid South Africa can relate to her.

### **The data and challenges**

The data used to answer the core question of the minor dissertation, consist of: a transcript of an interview with the presenter of the programme, transcripts of the programme's broadcasts, as well as newspaper articles pertaining to the content and history of the programme. The interview with the presenter of the programme, was conducted and recorded during a broadcast of the programme. In relation to the transcripts of the broadcasts, they were collected over a period of four months: from the month of February till the month of May. These months were chosen for two reasons. The first reason is the nature of this project. This is a minor dissertation; thus, has to be focused and succinct.

The second reason is that four months is substantial amount of time (within the limits of a minor dissertation) for one to understand the content of the programme in terms of the format and recurring topics of discourse. The transcripts were collected through the process of simultaneously listening to the programme through the internet and transcribing the content. This is because the programmes on Ukhozi FM do not reach the Western Cape.

The process of transcribing the programme's broadcasts and conducting the interview posed challenges. For instance, there were moments when the audio stream of the programme would be interrupted. As a result there were days when broadcasts were not transcribed. In addition, the time in which the interview was conducted was constrained because of the presenter's busy schedule. Despite these challenges, substantial information was gathered for the analysis.

### **Analysis**

The analysis of the transcripts and the newspaper articles is conducted through the use of discourse analysis. This is because this work closely examines the way in which language is used in the programme to construct the listeners and consequently the topics in a particular way. In order to accomplish this, this minor dissertation draws on the ideas of James Gee (1997), Deborah Cameron (2001), Michel Foucault (1972) and Allan Bell and Peter Garrett (1998) about discourse.

## Chapter Outline

The first chapter is concerned with the historical presence of radio broadly in Africa and specifically in South Africa. It looks at how radio has been strategically used in African countries to imagine nations since the colonial days (Bourgault, 1995). In doing so, the chapter explores how both the colonial and the apartheid government used the characteristics of radio to construct their ‘versions’ of South Africa. It then discusses the history of Ukhozi FM, in terms of how it was used to convey the ideals of the apartheid government as well as contradict them. Lastly, it looks at how the new political dispensation influenced the content broadcast on the station.

The second chapter situates the history of the programme: *Jabul Ujule* within the history of the station. Furthermore, this chapter discusses how the nationalist discourse in relation to women permeated the content broadcast on the programme that preceded *Jabul Ujule*. It then looks at how *Jabul Ujule*'s content engages its female listeners in the post-apartheid era. In the process, the chapter uses views by various feminist scholars such as Amanda Gouws (2005) about women and citizenship in order to interrogate the language and ideas embedded in the content.

Lastly, the third chapter explores the influence of advertising in the programme's content. This is because the content that is conveyed in the media does not exist in isolation, but is influenced by other factors such as advertising. Robert Hackett and William Carrol (2006) argue that advertising is one of the influential factors in the shaping of the content of radio broadcasts. This chapter specifically looks at how the advertising features on the programme affect the extent to which the content engages the female listeners as citizens. This is accomplished through a close examination of the language used during the features.

## **Chapter One: Radio and nation-building**

*Radio as an instrument in both the hands of the state and 'the people': History of Radio, Ukhozi FM and nation-building in South Africa*

### **Introduction:**

A substantial number of African scholars have written extensively about the effective use of radio as an instrument to construct particular notions about a nation and its citizens. Liz Gunner, Dina Ligaga and Dumisani Moyo (2011), for instance, argue that radio, “allows for the formation of national [community]” (1). They ascribe this to the accessibility of radio in terms of the content broadcasted on radio programmes. In addition, they note that radio is influential in the construction of meanings as well as in how listeners ‘imagine’ themselves as belonging to a nation. Therefore, the content that is broadcast on a radio programme can be effective in facilitating the process of nation-building in terms of engaging its listeners as citizens.

This chapter will be concerned with exploring how radio has been and is being used in the process of nation-building broadly within an African context and specifically in South Africa, in terms of the content that is broadcast. In the course of doing this, this chapter will explain Benedict Anderson’s (1991) notions about nationalism. It will then incorporate Anderson’s ideas in order to critically discuss how radio was utilized by both the colonial, and apartheid officials to ‘imagine’ deliberate constructions of South Africa and its populace. It will specifically look at how Radio Zulu was used by the latter officials. Lastly, this chapter will focus on how Ukhozi FM (previously Radio Zulu) is now used to ‘imagine’ a post-apartheid nation and create a sense of belonging for every South African.

### **1.1 The nation and radio**

Benedict Anderson (1991) argues that the concept of nationalism is difficult to understand when one tries to grasp its inception, and provide a concise definition. In an attempt to explicate the concept, Anderson argues that “nation-ness as well as nationalism are cultural artefacts of a particular kind” (1991:4). Therefore, nations are intentionally ‘made’ and the characteristics serve a particular purpose. On the basis of this argument, Anderson notes that a nation is “an imagined political community” (1991: 6). Anderson, elaborates by saying that the ‘members’ of the nation may not see each other; “yet in the minds of each [of them] lives the image of their communion” (1991:6).

This image of communion is characterised by the notion of kinship. Anderson argues that this sense of kinship, was made possible because of the emergence of print-capitalism. Print-capitalism-inter alia- “created monoglot mass reading publics” (Anderson, 1991: 43); thus, the circulation of a particular language created a situation whereby people who previously did not understand each other could speak the same language. When one considers the characteristics of radio, and how they manifest through the process of nation-building broadly in Africa and specifically in South Africa, one is able comprehend how radio was used to imagine the nation.

Andrew Crisell (1994) argues that radio is a distinct medium of communication and he illustrates this by conveying the different characteristics of radio. For instance, he notes that radio “is a blind medium” (1994: 4) in comparison to television. This is because the listener and the broadcaster cannot see each other nor can the listener see the message that is conveyed by the presenter. As a result, Crisell notes that the broadcaster has to establish a context that the listener will understand. The context also needs to create the impression that the listener and the broadcaster can relate to each other, to the extent that the interaction between them emulates an interpersonal type of communication. This means that the message that the broadcaster conveys, needs to be embedded within a discourse that reflects the language and topics with which the listener is familiar. Hence, the topics emerge from the listener’s everyday experiences.

Furthermore, Crisell conveys the idea that the voice of the broadcaster is a significant component of radio. This is because, similar to the context, the voice of the broadcaster creates a sense of familiarity for the listener. This is illustrated through a remark that Crisell quotes by a radio presenter. The presenter commented about the traffic that he had been part of before the broadcast of his programme. Crisell (1994) argues that it is through this remark that the presenter depicted himself as a person who is “liable to get stuck in traffic jams and miss [his] appointments” (1994: 6). Thus, because of the voice the presenter portrayed himself as ‘one of the listeners’.

In addition, there is a correlation between time and the presenter’s voice: the presenter’s voice relays what may be occurring at a particular moment as it occurs. The impact of this is that what is said by the presenter becomes infused with the listener’s everyday activities and consequently received as the truth. Lastly, Crisell argues that the presenter’s voice is able to conjure imaginations in the minds of the listeners.

He notes that “imagination is more than a ... visual faculty [;] it can [also] re-create abstract qualities and processes” (1994: 7). Therefore, one can argue that what is said by the presenter’s voice can influence the ideas that are realized in the mind of a listener.

The role that radio played in Africa during the colonial era reveals how the characteristics of radio - as discussed by Crisell – were interpreted and utilized in order to ‘imagine’ the different African nations. Louise Bourgault (1995) argues that “[r]adio was introduced to Africa during the colonial period and served initially to provide links for expatriates to the metropolises” (69). This meant that the British settlers, for instance, could ‘feel’ as though they were still in Britain through the content that was broadcast on the radio programme as well as the voice of the radio presenter.

One could also argue that the broadcasted message reproduced certain notions about what it means to be British or French, which the settlers then conveyed to the people within the colonies. Bourgault illustrates this, by noting that the radio services were used to validate a colonial notion of a nation. For instance, when speaking about the French service in Malagasy, Bourgault notes that “[b]esides serving resident French citizens, this service also hoped to underscore the value of colonial rule among Malagasy” (69).

In an attempt to ensure that the notions of a colonial nation were realized in the minds of the native, the radio services were broadcast in vernacular languages (Bourgault, 1995). One could argue that the use of a native’s language and voice, served to create the impression that the broadcasted message was true. This is because the voice of the presenter evoked a sense of familiarity (Crisell, 1994). In addition to using radio to underscore colonial rule, the settlers perceived “radio [as] a political instrument” (Bourgault, 1995: 72) with which to mitigate opposition from the natives by conveying the necessity of enforcing colonial laws.

Similar to other British colonies, radio in South Africa was used not only to create a sense of connection for the expatriates to their home countries, but also to convey an imagining of a society on the basis of the British culture. This is evident in the content that was broadcast on English radio services. Charles Hamm (1991) argues that the broadcasts were “designed to reinforce the class structure of British society” (148); hence, the strong emphasis on the characteristics of British culture. In relation to the natives, Hamm expresses the fact that the “[r]adio broadcasts to natives were initiated by the Native Affairs Department in 1940, as an emergency war measure to dispel disruptive rumours concerning the progress of World War II and South Africa’s role in the conflict” (148).

These broadcasts were conveyed in vernacular languages. Furthermore, these broadcasts were interpolations on the Afrikaans and English services. Therefore, the broadcasts served to control the information that the natives had about the war. Hamm, further explains that after the war the broadcasts for natives were extended in terms of the duration: from three minutes to thirty minutes. The reason for this extension can be seen in SABC's 1945 Annual Report. According to an extract from the report it was necessary for "European and non-European to understand each other and to remove the difficulties in the way of co-operation [but]...majority of African are illiterate, therefore, unreachable except through [the radio]" (Annual Report, 1945: 10-11 as cited in Hamm, 1991: 148-149). The African programmes referred to in the report "consisted of talks, dramas, and, most importantly, music" (Hamm, 1991:149).

When one closely reads the abovementioned extract from the report, one is able to observe not only what kind of nation the British in South Africa 'imagined' but also the kind of 'members' that formed part of this nation. Mahmood Mamdani (1996) alludes to the fact that in the late-nineteenth century most British colonies were constructed as bifurcated states. Mamdani explains that the bifurcated state is premised upon two judicial systems: civil and customary. The civil system stipulated that the colonists would be governed by civil law; thus, forming part of civil society. In contrast, the natives were subject to the customary system, which recognized natives not as individuals but as belonging to tribes. Mamdani argues that this meant that the natives were institutionally segregated; thus, denied the privilege of exercising their rights. It also meant that the natives did not have access to the civil society; hence, they could not participate in the public sphere.

Jurgen Habermas (1992) associates the public sphere with civil society. He notes that the public sphere is a space that consists of individuals who "come together as a public... [in order to] engage [the state] in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor" (1992: 27). Therefore, these individuals refused to accept the state's absolutist status, and consequently used their position as civilians to interrogate the state about matters concerning the politics, the social and economic issues pertaining to their communities.

The use of Habermas's conception of the public sphere enables one to reveal the idea that the broadcasts for South African natives in their own languages were intended to reinforce their identities as subjects, and consequently prevent them from speaking against the state.

Thokozani Mhlambi (2008) refers to this reinforcement by quoting a complaint by a male black listener concerning the broadcasts during the World War II period. Mhlambi notes the frustration the listener said that the broadcasts addressed black people merely as prospective soldiers as opposed to being engaged as citizens.

Hamm (1991) notes that when the apartheid government came into power, it sought to use radio to entrench the racial division between white and non-white South Africans. This is particularly evident from the 1960's, whereby a "comprehensive black service in South Africa was ... established... [in the form] of Radio Bantu" (Mhlambi, 2008:9). Radio Bantu comprised of different radio programmes, which correlated with the different ethnic groups in South Africa: Sothos, Zulus and Xhosas (Hamm, 1991). It was designed to enforce Hendrik Verwoerd's concept of separate development. Hamm (1991) explains that the rationale behind the concept was that: "before the arrival of Europeans, South Africa had been populated by various native tribes; each homogenous unit with a distant language and culture, each living within clearly defined geographical boundaries" (152).

The geographical boundaries referred to the rural areas; thus, natives were not meant to live outside of these boundaries. In addition, the rationale implies that the migration of black South Africans from the rural areas to the cities (Mamdani, 1996) during British rule interrupted that order. Therefore, Verwoerd's administration sought to restore the order by reinforcing the geographical boundaries. Furthermore, the concept of separate development portrayed the separateness of black and white South Africans as well as the rural occupation of black South Africans as a natural occurrence that ought to exist.

Tanja Bosch (2006) notes that "Radio Bantu was set-up [to target] the Black population with the slogan, one station, one nation" (251). Therefore, each station under Radio Bantu was mandated to persuade its listeners to believe that they belonged to a particular 'nation' that was different from South Africa; thus, black South Africans did not belong to the South African community. Radio Bantu was also tasked with the responsibility "of inducing the majority of black South Africans to accept their home-land status and to view it as independence and development" (Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 1989:100-101). Therefore, the content normalised the separate development ideology by depicting it as a concept that would benefit black South Africans. This depiction then provided black South Africans with a limited frame through which they could experience their world (Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 1989).

This is illustrated in the SABC 1961 annual report's description of the content for Radio Bantu stations. The report notes that "all material aired must comply with Christian ideals...it must not in no way undermine the safety and interest of the country or promote revolutionary inside or outside the country's borders. [The material also had to] reflect a positive and healthy view of the South African way of life" (as cited in Hamm, 1991:159-160).

## **1.2 Ukhozi FM**

Ukhozi FM owes its existence to the first Zulu broadcast during the Second World War as well as the establishment of Radio Bantu. King Edward Masinga was the first broadcaster to read a three minute news bulletin about the war at the SABC studio in Durban (Ukhozi FM, 2013). These broadcasts were during the Afrikaans and English programme. Thokazani Mhlambi (2008) explains that Masinga convinced Hugh Tracey: an ethnomusicologist, who was based in Durban and worked for the SABC that Zulu people needed to know about the war in a language that they understood. Subsequent to the war, these broadcasts focused on dramas and musical features.

In the 1960's the duration of the Zulu broadcasts became thirty minutes. This was a result of the creation of Radio Bantu station. Radio Bantu gave rise to vernacular programmes, which were categorised according to the different language groups in South Africa; thus, the Zulu programme was referred to Radio Zulu. Although the content on Radio Zulu was the same as what was broadcast during the three minute broadcasts, the apartheid government placed restrictions about what could be broadcasted. Liz Gunner (2002) alludes to these restrictions in her discussion about the connection between historical happenings, specifically in the 1970s, and the making of culture and historical meaning in relation to Zulu radio drama. In the process, she refers to the restrictive conditions under which the broadcasters at Radio Zulu worked in terms of what they could say on air.

Gunner (2002) argues that the conflict that was taking place during the 1970s and the restrictions that the state imposed on Radio Zulu, did not seem to deter the broadcasters and the producers of the radio dramas; instead, the challenges "seemed[ed] to have produced, perhaps, a particular edge and energy to [their] work" (Gunner, 2002: 265). This was evident in the work of Thetha Masombuka. Gunner speaks about the role that Masombuka played in *Ubongilinda Mzikayifani* (Will you wait for me Msikayifani): a drama that is recognised as a renowned Radio Zulu drama. It is a drama that is set in a rural Zulu village, and focuses on the main male character's pursuit of a young girl. In addition, it depicts the beautiful and authentic aspects of living in the village.

In the process of analysing the drama, Gunner notes that one may be led to read the play through the lens of the apartheid state's perceptions of the African people: permanent occupants of pastoral areas, not having a "place in the city except as brief sojourners" (Gunner, 2002: 268). However, Gunner argues that that would be a narrow reading of the drama. She notes that the drama lends itself to be read as "a source of dignity, an alternative to the silencing of the oppressive state structures." (Gunner, 2002: 267). Therefore, one could argue that the message of the drama deviated from what the state expected in terms of the content, and as a result the idea of separate development was not being realised in the minds of Radio Zulu listeners (Crisell, 1994).

In addition to the deviation, one could argue that the voices of the characters in the drama undermined the state's message. Gunner (2002) explains that most of the characters in the dramas were also the sports presenters. Therefore, listeners were able to recognize the voices and create the impression that they knew the people 'behind' the characters. As a result of the familiarity, the listeners may be led to subscribe to the alternative message expressed by the broadcasters as opposed to believing the dominant message that the state was propagating. Lastly, the use of the familiar voices in the dramas "could be said to provide voice [the listeners]" (Gunner, 2002: 267). The result of this is that the listeners were not treated the same way that listeners in Kenya were treated when the post-colonial state owned the media.

Christopher Joseph Odhiambo (2011), conveys the notion that when the Kenyan government controlled the Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation, it provided the listeners with broadcasts that imagined the listeners as individuals with void minds, which had to be "filled with knowledge from the all-knowing teacher [who was the state]" (41). In addition, Odhiambo argues that the consequence of this treatment was that the Kenyans could not liberally speak against the government.

In the South African case, the state assigned the task of 'teaching' to the Radio Bantu broadcasters. This is implied through the Corporation's decision to employ former schoolteachers as broadcasters. Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi (2009) argues that a majority of the broadcasters were required to have "a three year Teachers Diploma" (580). Lekgoathi also argues that the broadcasters were strategically chosen on the basis that they went to mission schools; thus, were supposedly conservative and non-political.

Thokozani Nene was one of the broadcasters on Radio Zulu and he reversed the state's strategy of using radio to teach its discourse about race. He did this through his clever use of the Zulu language. Gunner (2002) notes that Thokozani "used to end his readings with short snatches from the praise poem (izibongo) of one ...of the Zulu kings -Shaka, Cetshwayo, Mpande, Dingane- [and] he would vary his choice of royal personage, ... address[ing] them to his listeners [saying]: 'You, offspring of Zulu son of Mandela'" (Gunner, 2002: 269).

Nene's decision to incorporate the genre of praise poetry into what he said to the listeners, as well as direct the content of the praise poems to the listener arguably served two purposes. The first purpose was to portray an imagining of the listener that was contrary to the one conceived by the state: he referred to the listeners as decedents of royalty; thus, dismantling the depiction of the Zulu people as subordinates. The second purpose was to arouse a sense of pride and militancy within the listeners. This was because, the names that Nene noted did not only allude to the different prominent men in the Zulu culture, but also to the great battles in which these great men were involved.

The clever use of the language was not only employed by Thokozani Nene; the sport broadcasters, also 'played' with the language in order to counter the state's imagining of the nation and black people. Gunner (2002) argues that the sports broadcasters spoke in such a manner that non-Zulu speakers found the content attractive. She notes this sense of attraction towards the Zulu language created "a sense of a constituency, of 'serving the nation'" (Gunner, 2002: 265). Therefore, the same language that the state sought to use to silence the black listeners and keep them secluded, is the same language that the black people used to dismantle the boundaries of separate development and consequently imagine themselves as belonging to the South African community.

In the process of using the Zulu language to forge a sense of belonging, the broadcasters formed counter-publics in which they could convey a counter-discourse. Nancy Fraser (1990) refers to these alternative spaces, in her critique of Habermas's (1992) conception of the public sphere. Fraser's argument is premised on the notion that Habermas's conception of the public sphere is flawed, because of the assumptions it makes. She outlines the assumptions and one of them is the idea that the public sphere is singular. Fraser notes that Habermas makes the contention that in order for the public sphere to be successful as a deliberative space, it needs to consist of a single group of people who would then discuss a single common interest.

In contrast, Fraser argues that an effective society needs to consist of a multiple public spheres, whereby different publics exist. This kind of public sphere potentially enables the expression of different views pertaining to the condition of the state. Therefore, contrary to the kind of public envisioned by the apartheid government, the broadcasters indirectly created multiple publics in which black people could participate in discussions pertaining to the nation. Fraser argues that participation means being able to speak “in one’s own voice” (Fraser, 1990: 59). Therefore, one could argue that when the broadcasters creatively used the Zulu language, they defied the state’s instruction to imitate the oppressor’s voice.

Furthermore, one could argue that by using the Zulu language to create ways for the listeners to participate, the broadcasters on Radio Zulu to some extent contributed to the anti-apartheid movement initiated by alternative radio channels such as Radio Freedom and CASET: a predecessor of Bush Radio. Stephen Davis (2011) notes that Radio Freedom was established by the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) and emerged during the armed struggle in the 1960’s. Similar to the apartheid government, the creators of Radio Freedom “believed that radio held so much explanatory power” (Davis, 2011: 223). However, they used the medium to convey ideas contrary to the precepts of the apartheid government. Davis (2011) explains that the broadcasts sought to encourage the listeners to support and participate in the arms struggle.

In relation to CASET (Cassette Education Trust), Tanja Bosch (2006) explains that it functioned as a community radio that served to articulate the views of the marginalized in Cape Town. She also explains that the endeavours made by CASET led to South Africa gaining more international attention with regards to the injustice executed by apartheid officials . This attention led to the pressure that the apartheid government experienced from the international community to dismantle the apartheid system (Bosch, 2006). Although Radio Zulu was not as aggressive as Radio Freedom and CASET in their attempt to ‘speak against the state’; however, it contributed to the collection of protesting voices.

### **1.3 Post-apartheid South Africa and Ukhozi FM**

When South Africa became a democratic country, the new government sought to build a constitutionally democratic nation. Clive Barnett (1999) argues that the government perceived the media fulfilling an instrumental role in the ‘imagining’ of the demoractic nation. He argues that “radio and television [were] seen as important stations for symbolic representations of [the] rainbow concept of ‘one nation, many cultures’” (Barnett, 1999: 275).

This symbolic representation served as a departure from the slogan: “one station, one nation” (Bosch, 2006:251) which characterised the role of the SABC during the apartheid period. Therefore, contrary to the apartheid government the democratic government sought to create a sense of belonging for every South African as well as redress the effects of the apartheid past.

The pursuit to redress the past manifested itself at the SABC in different ways. One of the first ways was the renaming of the stations that were under Radio Bantu. For instance, Radio Zulu became Ukhozi FM (Ukhozi, 2013). The effect of naming Radio Zulu Ukhozi is that it – to some extent - dissolves the notion that the station is solely for Zulu-speaking South Africans. Although the programmes on the station are still broadcast in the language isiZulu; David Coplan (2011) notes that the station tries to broaden its appeal to people who speak different languages. It does this through inclusive topics as well as a variety of music genres. Therefore, the station seeks to convey the message of a diverse nation.

The restructuring of the SABC is another indication of the attempt to amend the effects of the past. Coplan (2011) explains that at the time when South Africa became a democratic country, the SABC was divided into three tiers of broadcasting: public, community and commercial. This was to ensure a separation of power between the SABC and the government, so that the government does not wield its authority in the operation of the SABC and consequently infiltrate the content broadcast on SABC channels. Furthermore, the restructuring served to ensure that the public ‘own’ what is broadcast on public broadcasters. In other words, the content broadcast on public broadcasters is meant to be premised on the interests of the public. This is because of John Reith’s convictions about public broadcasting.

Eric Rosenthal (1974) explains that John Reith was invited by the Prime Minister General J.B Hertzog in the late 1930’s to assess South Africa’s broadcasting system, with the intention of making recommendations on how it could conform to the British public broadcasting system. In the time that he spent in South Africa, he expressed his views about the characteristics of broadcasting. For instance, he argued that broadcasting should be “developed by a public corporation established by statute” (Rosenthal, 1974: 152). This was to legally guarantee the SABC’s position as a public broadcaster. John Reith also argued that public broadcasting had to “serve the interests of the whole public, not just those who could afford to buy it or who had the political clout to receive scarce information” (Tomaselli, 2008: 75).

Contrary to Reith's convictions, the apartheid government decided what it deemed as beneficial for the public as well as imposed its exclusive image of the public. However, during the post-apartheid era "public broadcasters set out to transcend [the particularities that emanated from the apartheid system]" (Tomaselli, 2008:90). The broadcasters used, amongst other means, the content of the programmes to accomplish this. The programmes on Ukhozi FM conform to the concepts "edutainment and infotainment as [their] guiding philosophy" (Ukhozi FM, 2013) in relation to the content.

This means that the content does not only seek to entertain the listeners, but also keep them educated and informed about what is happening in the country. Therefore, one could argue that the station seeks to place its listeners' need for information as a priority. Furthermore, one could argue that the content is less restrictive in comparison to what was broadcast on Radio Zulu; thus, the listeners could have access to information and possibly be engaged as citizens.

Tanja Bosch (2011), argues that the discussions that occur during a radio programme do not have to be traditionally political in order to enter the public sphere as noted by Habermas (1992); instead, the discussions may stem from everyday experiences that can be a mixture of the private and public. Bosch makes this argument in relation to the way in which the content on *567MW Cape Talk* is structured. Similar to some programmes on Ukhozi FM, *567MW Cape Town Talk* packages its content in an infotainment format: presenting information in an entertaining manner, which makes the listeners 'feel free' to engage in the discussion. Therefore, the content broadcast on some of the programmes on Ukhozi FM may seem mundane; yet can be seen as political.

Wisdom Tettey (2011) espouses this kind of content. He argues that it fosters a democratic culture. He makes this argument in relation to the democratic media terrain in Ghana. Tettey explains that because the media is not controlled by the state, it is permeable to various opinions and contentions. He continues to argue that it is in this kind of environment that individuals are able to realize their identity as citizens, whereby they are able to hold the state accountable as well as express their views in relation to the government and the condition of their country.

In addition, he argues that it is through the discussions that occur during the broadcast that the listeners are able to "[address] any misconceptions, misrepresentations or inaccuracies" (Tettey, 2011:23). This kind of engagement ensures an exchange of ideas, which filter into

what potentially becomes public opinion. Furthermore, this kind of engagement develops “civic competence [which] is the citizens’ ability to understand...and make appropriate demands on the state while meeting their responsibilities and obligations as citizens” (Tettey, 2011: 23). Thus, one could argue that what is broadcast on a radio programme has the potential to encourage the listeners to participate in the public sphere, and as result assert their citizenship.

## **1.4 Conclusion**

Therefore, the views and ideas that are broadcast on a radio programme can either serve the purpose of creating a sense of exclusion or belonging for the public within the nation. This chapter sought to understand the use of radio in ‘imagining’ South Africa. It explored the historical as well as the present use of radio, and found that radio can be used effectively as an instrument either to unite or divide a nation, whereby black people are either engaged as subjects or as citizens. Thus, in order for the ‘members’ of the nation to imagine themselves as belonging to the nation the content that is broadcast would have to lend itself to such an engagement.

## Chapter Two

### ***Jabul Ujule: its content and listeners***

#### **Introduction:**

*Jabul Ujule* is a programme on Ukhozi FM that draws its existence from the programme “*Akesishiyelane* (Let's Share Together)”: a programme that was broadcast on Radio Zulu during the apartheid era. In contrast to its predecessor, *Jabul UJule* was created with the intent to “not only reflect the [democratic] changes that were taking place [in the nation and at the SABC] but [also] to play a positive part in them” (SABC Annual Report, 1993). Furthermore, it was designed to serve “women between the ages of 25 upwards [and focus] mainly on women issues” (Ukhozi FM, 2013). This chapter will be concerned with the content of the programme, and particularly the extent to which its content engages its female listeners as citizens.

In the process, the chapter will seek to discern the discourse conveyed in the programme with regard to women. In order to accomplish this, the chapter will first critically look at the history of the programme against the history of Radio Bantu. This is because through studying the history of the programme, one is able to trace the trajectory of the discourse used to frame women on the programme. It will then incorporate ideas by feminist scholars regarding women and citizenship. Lastly, it will infuse the various views by scholars concerning discourse in the analysis of the broadcast transcripts, interview transcript and newspaper clips.

#### **2.1 History**

The show was first presented by Winnie Mahlangu and it was called “*Akesishiyelane* (Lets Share Together)” (Gunner, 2000: 228). It was in 1962 when Winnie Mahlangu began working for the SABC (Hlatshwayo, 1992). She was first involved with Ukhozi FM as a playwright as opposed to being a presenter (Gunner, 2000). This is because female presenters “constituted a small minority of announcers” (Lekgoathi, 2009: 592). Sekibakiba Lekgoathi implies that this small number of female presenters was indicative of the subordinate position that the apartheid government envisioned for black women. McClintock (1991) argues that during this era, black women were not only denied citizenship as a result of their race, but also because of their gender.

This is because “nationalisms are gendered” (McClintock, 1993:61), in the sense that conceptions of a nation are premised upon masculine ideas of what constitutes a nation. Partha Chatterjee (1999) makes the same observation, through his critical discussion about nationalism in relation to the period when India became a post-colonial nation. He argues that the ideas about what constituted an independent Indian nation were premised on a glorified sense of history, in which men fulfilled a pivotal role in the construction of the nation. As a result, the question of women’s involvement in the formation of the nation was mediated by men. He argues that it was the men who constructed the ways in which women had to conduct themselves within the process of nation-building.

The discourse of nationalism, during the apartheid period, conveyed particular constructions of women’s roles in relation to nation-building. These constructions are depicted as problematic by a number of scholars. This is because these constructions do not fully recognize the efforts made by black women to forge a nation not marred with oppression. McClintock (1993) argues that the concept of African nationalism, during the apartheid era, constructed women as auxiliary parties. In other words, black women were perceived as appendages to the efforts made by their male counterparts. She illustrates this in her discussion about the role that women in the ANC occupied. She notes that female members of the African National Congress (ANC) had to fulfil the role of “provid[ing] suitable shelter and entertainment for [male] delegates to the Congress” (McClintock, 1993: 74) as well as other domestic activities.

In addition, McClintock argues that women’s membership to the party was initially mediated through their role as wives to the male members of the party. This mediation was reinforced by the fact that customary law recognized black women’s “rights” on the basis of their marital status (McClintock, 1991). This meant that women’s contribution to the struggle had to be strictly within the paradigm of serving the male members of the ANC as their wives. Thus, their involvement in the process of conceptualizing the nation would be limited. The other construction pertains to motherhood. Nira Yuval Davis (1997) argues that the discourse of nationalism values women on the basis of their ability to ‘give birth’ to the nation both in literal and figurative terms. In other words, they were responsible for nurturing the sons who would ‘build’ the nation. This leads to a situation whereby “women [are discursively kept] within the domestic sphere” (McClintock, 1993: 64).

This discourse of women solely belonging in the domestic sphere permeated the content that the apartheid state instructed broadcasters on Radio Bantu to convey. Lekgoathi (2009) explains that the programmes on Radio Sotho, were “educational programmes mainly around subjects such as hygiene, sewing, childcare and cooking” (592). Although Lekgoathi’s views relate to Radio Sotho, he implies that this was the standard nature of the content on women’s programmes on Radio Bantu stations. Sonia Bathla (1998) argues that this kind content would be found in “human interest stories, [in] domestic settings” (18). In addition, she claims that this is because women’s stories are portrayed as ‘non-political’; thus, only appeal as ‘soft’ stories. Therefore, one could argue that the content broadcast on women’s programmes on Radio Bantu stations indirectly portrayed the listeners as less significant.

Furthermore, the broadcasts sought to ‘teach’ the listeners how they could be better wives and mothers. This is because similar to the male broadcasters, most of the female broadcasters were chosen on the basis of their teaching qualification. Therefore, the language they used when engaging the female listeners was instructive. In addition, the content reinforced the listeners’ rural identities that the government sought to impose. For instance, the station managers at the SABC, who were Afrikaans speaking males, required Mahlangu to broadcast in the rural areas. She would be invited by women in the farms to come and see their vegetation (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17).

These managers would expect Mahlangu, to encourage the women to work with their hands (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17). One could argue that this kind of encouragement, sought to instil in the minds of the women the perception that they could only be productive in the rural areas. In addition, the encouragement restricted both the listeners and Mahlangu from engaging in the public sphere through the content of the programme. In other words, Mahlangu could not overtly speak to the women about the political conditions of their lives during the broadcast of the programme. Lastly, one could argue that the content’s focus on the work that women did on the farms was meant to keep the women preoccupied with such tasks ,and potentially discourage them from opposing the state.

The restriction that Mahlangu experienced was exacerbated by the conditions in which the female presenters on Radio Bantu had to work. Lekgoathi (2009) notes that “women announcers were paid lower salaries than men and were made to feel that they were visitors” (584). In addition, Lekgoathi argues that the contribution that the female presenters made to radio was not recognised. In making this argument, he implies that the contribution that male

presenters such as Thokozani Nene<sup>1</sup> made was deemed by other broadcasters on Radio Bantu as more significant than that of female presenters. Thus, one can argue that the female broadcasters were perceived as appendages to the attempts made by their black male counterparts to defy the apartheid government.

Despite this perception, Winnie Mahlangu refused to embrace the discourse that portrayed her as the state's mouthpiece as well as the discourse that depicted her as an appendage in the struggle against apartheid; instead, she asserted herself. This is apparent in Hlatshwayo's (1992) description of her character. Tom Hlatshwayo notes that Mahlangu "preferred working among men" (23); this implies that she did not perceive herself as less capable to do the work that her black male counterparts were doing.

Furthermore, Hlatshwayo notes that Mahlangu used the content of the programme to "[declare a] war against poverty and illiteracy" (1992: 23). Hlatshwayo also notes that Mahlangu perceived hosting the show as an opportunity to draw from her experience as a teacher to enlighten her listeners. Thus, when she told the women in the rural areas about the best ways to grow vegetables she was not only doing what the state expected her to do, she was also empowering the women by drawing from her own personal experience.

This is because growing vegetables could potentially enrich their livelihoods. In doing so, Mahlangu appropriated the content and used it for her purposes and thus – in a limited sense - created a counter-discourse that could convey the effects of the apartheid system on the livelihoods of the women in the farms. Therefore, although the content on Mahlangu's program could not directly engage the female listeners as citizens of South African, it created the impression that it was possible for women to engage in discussions pertaining to both the socio-political and socio-economic conditions of their lives in relation to the nation.

## **2.2 A new era, a new programme**

This possibility was fully realized when South Africa became a democratic nation. The political transition ushered in optimistic expectations for women. Sonia Bathla (1998) argues that democracy connotes accessibility for women into the public sphere. Furthermore, as a result of the democratic principal: freedom of speech, women should be able to express themselves. This association, between media and democratic ideals was evident at the SABC during the transition and in the subsequent years. Clive Barnette (1999) alludes to the fact

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<sup>1</sup> As discussed in chapter one, Thokozani Nene is one of the broadcasters on Radio Zulu who subverted the apartheid message in his use of the Zulu language Liz Gunner (2002).

that when South Africa became a democratic nation, SABC's role became premised upon the precepts of the constitution. Freedom of speech is one of the precepts that are integral in SABC's policy (SABC, 1993).

It is because of this precept that the SABC seeks to express views that are representative of every South African, and consequently encourage a sense of belonging in the new South Africa. The 1996 SABC Annual Report explains that radio stations accomplished this in the initial years of democracy, by conveying the message of community development. It notes that the radio programmes motivated listeners to be involved in community development initiatives. This was evident in the content of Winnie Mahlangu's programme, when Dudu Khoza became the presenter in 1993. In the early years, the programme was called: *Ezomama* (women matters). Furthermore, the primary focus of the content was community empowerment: women were empowered with information on how they could develop their communities (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17). Therefore, both black men and women were addressed as 'active members' of the new South Africa.

However in the later years, the programme became a combination of a magazine show and talk-show (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17). This meant that the content of the programme would not only place emphasis on community empowerment, but it would also encompass other topics that would be of interest to the female listeners as well as to the males who listen to the programme. In order for one to discern the extent to which the content of the programme engages its female listeners as citizens, one has to first explore arguments made by scholars concerning black women and the concept of citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa.

### **2.3 Citizenship and the content on *Jabul Ujule***

Amanda Gouws (2005) argues that the concept of citizenship was construed by the post-apartheid government, as a concept premised primarily on the liberal rights discourse whereby individuals claim their rights "through their engagement with the state" (8). This is because the apartheid government had succeeded in implementing segregation by denying certain groups of people their rights. Therefore, the post-apartheid government espoused the notion that it would be through a rights-based democracy that individuals who had experienced inequality could assert their citizenship status; thus, validate their belonging "within a national community" (Manicom, 2005: 33).

The correlation between women's citizenship and their rights is evident in the preamble of the Women's Charter for Effective Equality. Linzi Manicom (2005) notes that the Charter was written collaboratively by women activists during the transition period in South Africa, and quotes the first sentence of the preamble: "[a]s women, citizens of South Africa we are here to claim our rights" (21). Thus, as noted by both Gouws and Manicom, the rights discourse was portrayed by the post-apartheid government as well as by women activists as a way of redressing the inequality and exclusion experienced by women during the apartheid era.

When one closely looks at the content broadcast on *Jabul Ujule*, one is able to discern traces of the right-discourse. For instance, the language used by the government officials that are interviewed on the programme emanates from this discourse. The officials utilize language associated to this discourse to encourage listeners to act as citizens; thus, they use the discourse to construct particular societal identities (Gee, 1997). This was evident on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February. On this day the programme was broadcast at Vryheid: a town in Kwa Zulu Natal, during the re-registration of social grants (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/02/22).

Home Affairs department officials came to Vryheid so that the residents in the area and surrounding areas could re-register for their social grants. During the broadcast, Dudu Khoza asked a representative from the Home Affairs department about the importance of the re-registration. In response the representative stressed the need for female listeners to act as responsible citizens by re-registering within the allocated time. He also implored the listeners to be responsible citizens by cautioning them to desist from using illegitimate methods of registration such as using other women's children. Therefore, the representative did not only create a connection between one being a citizen and the practice of exercising rights, but he also implied what one ought to do and not do as a citizen.

In addition, the presenter reinforced the representative's message. In response to the representative's views, the presenter noted that people had no excuse not to register especially because the government came to their communities to provide them services. The implication of this is that, it is the listeners' responsibility to utilize the services provided by the government. This message of a responsible citizen who utilizes the government's services, correlates with Gouws's (2005) argument, that the notion of citizenship entails one having a relationship with the state.

It is not only through the interviews with government officials that the rights-based discourse is incorporated into the content; it is, also through the discussions that occur on national holidays. For instance, on Human Rights Day the presenter insisted that the listeners phone into the programme and express not only their rights but also their responsibilities (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/03/21). One could argue that this enabled the listeners to appropriate and assert their 'membership' to the nation (Manicom, 2005 and Anderson, 1991). This notion of belonging to the nation because of one's right, was also conveyed on the 22nd of April. This was the day when the Hapo Museum was launched in Pretoria at the Freedom Park (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/04/22) in celebration of Freedom Day on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April.

The name of the museum is derived from the Khoisan language, and it is reflective of the nation's historical trajectory: from a period of oppression and division to a period of nation-building (Mabotja, 2013). This is because the museum conveys the narrative of the Khoisan people, and how their lives transformed from being defined by oppression to being defined by freedom under the democratic nation. In a conversation between one of the station's presenters and Dudu Khoza, the presenter conveyed the idea that the launch of the museum is the fulfilment of Mandela's dream of reconciliation.

In addition, Khoza noted the idea that the opening of the museum would increase the presence of the Khoisan people in public discussions. In saying this, she implied that the opening of the museum expressed the recognition of the Khoisan people as members of the democratic South Africa. Furthermore, the conversation evoked in the minds of the listeners social ideas to which they can relate indirectly and directly. For instance, the experience of marginality is an idea that may resonate with the female listeners who experienced apartheid. Therefore, the discussions that occurred on the abovementioned national holidays conveyed "the symbolic value of [rights]" (Gee, 1997: 34-35) with regards to one's citizenship.

Inasmuch as one's rights enables one to avow their citizenship status, Manicom (2005), Hassim (2005) as well as other feminist scholars argue that the rights discourse is not sufficient as a foundation on which women's citizenship can be built. Gouws (2005) argues that the rights-discourse, portrays individuals as removed from their individual social conditions. In other words, it does not comprehensively recognize the connection between the individual and the social condition in which they are positioned.

As a result, the right-based discourse cannot completely encompass the social problems that are experienced by women. Hence, Manicom (2005) argues that “rights in themselves cannot transform the conditions of inequality” (38).

This was illustrated on the programme, on International Women’s Day in an interview with the Premier of Gauteng: Nomvula Mokonyane. The conversation between Khoza and Mokonyane pertained to the rape incidents that occurred in South Africa, particularly those involving old women and young children subsequent to the rape and murder of Anene Booysens (Gasa, 2013). Mokonyane argued that the legal system, particularly the implementation of laws concerning the protection of women and children, had to be reassessed. She said this in relation to a hypothetical situation in which a woman who is bruised from being physically abused is asked at the police station to provide evidence when reporting domestic abuse. She noted that this is an unfair requirement, as it may further victimize the woman who is reporting the case.

In addition to observing the inadequacy of rights, Mokonyane noted that the state has to intervene (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/03/08). This idea of state intervention is a recurring idea in the show. One often hears announcements by government officials about community meetings, where they will address the community about solving the social problems within the community. Gouws notes that state intervention is an aspect of the rights-discourse, whereby the state is responsible for ensuring the fulfilment of individual’s rights. She argues that this is problematic especially in relation to women, because it “encourages passivity and reliance on the state” (2005:9).

Gouws contends that this reliance is counter-productive, especially when one considers the idea that even though there are progressive statutes in relation to women’s issues; “many aspects of conditions in the private sphere [have] remained unchanged” (2005:8). For instance, the law regarding women’s reproductive rights empowers women to have ownership over their bodies; however, the discourse pertaining to their bodies does not create an environment that is conducive for them to express the idea that they own their bodies.

Kathleen Jones (1990) argues that some men discursively construe the presence of women’s bodies in the public sphere as an offence. This is because a woman’s body is arguably construed as being related to emotions as opposed to reason, and thus, does not belong in the public sphere. Furthermore, she notes that when a woman’s body is spoken about, it is depicted as vulnerable and in need of men’s protection. As a result, Jones argues that the

discourse pertaining a woman's body limits women in the sense that they cannot completely exercise their citizenship.

Furthermore, this limitation illustrates Gee's (1997) idea that "[d]iscourses are ... defined in relationships of ... contestation with other [d]iscourses" (22), whereby the discourse of liberal rights is in conflict with the discourse about women's bodies. Therefore, a woman could be raped, and yet refuse to be perceived as a victim; and thus, be unable to speak in the public sphere about the violation. As a result of this limitation, Jones as well as other feminist scholars suggest that one of the ways in which women can fully express their citizenship, is through "the aphorism [:] personal is political" (Jones, 1990:787). This means that women's experiences and struggles are constructed as political; thus, deemed as important in the public sphere. The consequence of this is that women's issues and struggles can potentially be infused into what constitutes public opinion.

The programme's feature: "engivuka nazo" (current news) endeavours to be that platform, whereby women can infuse their struggles into the public sphere. It is during this feature, that listeners actively participate in discussions concerned with how they could transform the problems present in their lives and communities. This feature focuses on topics that are pertinent to the listeners and their context. It also acts as an alternative public sphere for its female listeners. Nancy Fraser (1990) argues that an alternative public sphere is a space that is contrary to Habermas's conception of the public sphere. Fraser notes that in practice, Habermas's conception of the public sphere did not perceive issues related to women as matters to be discussed by members of the public sphere; instead they would be relegated to the private sphere.

However, as noted by Jones, the private sphere places boundaries on what could be spoken about. Therefore, in alternative spaces women could explore matters that were pertinent to them. In addition to being able to speak, Fraser (1990) alludes to the idea that in the alternative spaces, women do not have to conform to masculine notions of how one ought to behave in the public sphere. This was evident in the programme, for instance, when Khoza decided to speak about women who had had an abortion. She spoke about this topic from the viewpoint of women. In addition, Khoza provided the women with an option to have their stories broadcasted anonymously. In the process, she insisted that women who had had or contemplated having abortion phone into the programme as opposed to the male listeners. The reason that she gave was:

Uyabona ngiyazi ukuthi abantu besilisi iyabantinta lento. Akhekho engamthinti kabi. Ngiyazi ukuthi abantu besilisa baya jaga ukusho ngedlela ibaphatha kabi lento. Masiqale ngokukhuluma nomama ababekhane naloku

You see I know that males are affected by abortion. There is no one who is not badly affected by it. I know that males are quick to judge and express their disagreement. But let us start by speaking to women who have gone through the process (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/05/14)

Therefore, the male listeners were not permitted to interfere with the discussions between Khoza and the female listeners. When one closely reads the above statement, one can argue that the presenter makes note of two contesting discourses. The one discourse stems from the Zulu culture, where the notion of building a family is paramount to men and is associated with childbirth (Hunter, 2006). Although the presenter does not explicitly mention the ideas contained in the Zulu culture, one can assume that she is deriving her ideas from the culture because of the presence of the Zulu culture on Ukhozi FM (Ukhozi fm, 2013), and because she is a Zulu-speaking South African; thus, familiar with what is deemed as significant in the culture.

The other discourse relates to a woman's body and the notion that she owns her body; thus, is able to make decisions that she deems as appropriate. The presenter chose to focus on the latter discourse, and frame it as more significant. As a result, different women who requested to be anonymous phoned into the programme. Furthermore, the presenter encouraged the women to tell their stories in a manner that would be comfortable for them as opposed to conforming to a particular narrative. The presenter did not only allow the women to convey their experiences, but she also infused her opinions.

This then created the impression that she related to what the callers were saying. For instance, in response to a caller's despondency concerning the contraceptives that had not been effective, Khoza asked the caller about her partner's willingness to use a condom. In response to the caller's answer, Khoza made a comment about the caller's partner saying: *yilehlobo engavumi icondom* (he is the type of man that does not use the condom as a contraceptive) (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/05/14).

This comment does not only reveal the idea that the presenter relates to the caller; it also compares the caller's partner to men who refuse to use condoms. The presenter made the comparison using a disapproval tone; whereby she implied that she disapproves of men who do not use condoms. Therefore, the feature *engivuka nazo* creates moments where different women can express themselves not only as citizens who know their rights, but also as members of the public who can infiltrate the public sphere with matters that are supposedly apolitical: matters pertaining to the private sphere (Fraser. 1990).

Manicom (2005), as well as other feminist scholars argue that the presence of different women's voices is paramount in the expression of women's citizenship. Manicom makes this argument in relation to the Women's Charter for Effective Equality. She contends that the charter's portrayal of women as a collective identity is problematic. It is problematic because it creates the impression that women's different experiences are homogenous. Manicom argues that this perpetuates the depiction of women, "as inherently and uniformly disadvantaged" (2005: 29). Furthermore, it disregards the different socio-political and economic locations in which women are situated.

It is not only through the feature *engivuka nazo* that one would find voices of different women, but it is also through the feature: *emajukujukwini nomama* (in the rural areas with women) and the *Motswako* feature. These two features broadly reflect two groups of women from different locations: women in the rural areas and women in the semi-urban and urban areas. The feature *emajukujukwini nomama*, in terms of its concern, is reminiscent of the period when Winnie Mahlangu was the presenter of the programme. Similar to when Mahlangu presented the programme, the feature is concerned about women in the rural areas.

However, the discourse pertaining to the women has evolved. This is because "language-in-action is always ...an active building process" (Gee, 1997: 11). In other words, the content broadcast during the feature does not conform to the description of the rural women as: "the most impoverished, the most oppressed and the most in need of assistance" (Mindry, 2001: 1203). Deborah Mindry (2001) critically discusses the former description, and notes that it is a common construction of rural women in South Africa within the Non-Government Organisation (NGO) sector.

She explains that some NGOs that work with women in rural communities, portray themselves as the solution to the impoverishment. Furthermore, she argues that this depiction is reminiscent of the construction that the apartheid government had of rural women, which it used to confine rural women in the margins. In contrast the feature portrays the rural women as women who make initiatives to transform their lives and communities. This is apparent firstly in the impetus for the creation of the feature. In a magazine interview, Dudu Khoza explained that the feature was:

“initiated by rural female listeners who approached [her] about initiatives they were running for underprivileged families [who] are based in rural areas. [They] then decided to form a women’s club which helps with funeral needs for those who can’t afford to bury their loved ones...as well as contributing to other needs that poor people are struggling with” (Marula News Services, 2013:11).

Therefore, the feature is designed to serve the women in the rural areas. This is evident in the kind of questions that the presenter asks her guests as well as the comments she makes in response to what the women say when they phone into the programme. For instance, in an interview with Sikhumbuzo Thabede: the Managing Director at Moyomuhle Social Investments Solution, the Khoza enquired about the ways in which women in the rural areas could benefit from the services provided by the consulting company (Transcript of broadcast,2013/04/24 ).

In addition to extracting beneficial information, Khoza encourages the women to utilize the employment and education opportunities that are available to women. She does this because of the conviction that she has about women in the post-apartheid South Africa. She believes that black women are liberated, and consequently are able to establish themselves within the context of education and the workplace; thus, perceives women according to the discourse of empowered women (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17). Jones (1990) refers to this discourse, by noting that when South Africa became a democratic country a shift occurred, whereby women asserted and portrayed themselves as empowered.

This discourse does not only influence Khoza’s beliefs, but also the kind relationship she has with the female listeners during the broadcast. She compares her relationship to the one that a person would have with women in a stokfel: an informal financial association where

members distribute fixed amounts of money in rotation (Ardene, 1964), as well as converse about the different profitable ways in which they can use their money (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17). As a result of the nature of the relationship, the female listeners in the rural areas are urged to continue to be agents of change in their communities. Therefore, one could argue that the information that is conveyed to the women in the rural areas through the feature endeavours to discursively remove them from the margins.

The discourse of empowered women is also apparent in the *Motswako* feature, particularly in terms of the topics discussed during the feature and the presenter of *Motswako*. *Motswako* is a magazine and women's programme on SABC 2. The focus of the programme is based on "the dynamic, aspirational and inspiration upliftment of women in general" (SABC, 2013). Therefore similar to *Jabul Ujule*, the programme seeks to address topics that are stimulating and pertinent to women (SABC, 2013). However, it arguably appeals to women in semi-urban and urban areas. This is apparent in the topics that were discussed on *Jabul Ujule*, in the conversations between Dudu Khoza and the host of the show: Penny Lebyane (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/04/30). The conversations between Dudu Khoza and Penny Lebyane occur every week on the day after the television broadcast of *Motswako* and range from topics that pertain to beauty to those related to the socio-political issues that different women experience

Penny Lebyane is representative of women who are not only empowered as noted by Jones (1990), but who also utilize their right to interrogate what is broadly considered to be the norm in societies in relation to women. For instance in a conversation with Khoza, Lebyane prompted a discussion concerning the conflict that may occur between a woman's personal right and cultural rights. This conversation emerged from the views that Fikile Magubane, the author of *Son, Are you hanging or Standing*, shared during a television broadcast of *Motswako*. Magubane noted that she felt like her personal rights had been violated, when she could not perform burial rites after her son's suicidal death before she performed the traditional rituals required by her family. In response to Magubane's experience, Lebyane argued that:

*Kufanela sikhulume nabantu abadala ukuthi amasiko bebawenzelani nabantu  
abasele bezwe...I mean really. As a nation we need to interrogate izinto  
zamasiko*

We must speak to older women to ask them why they practiced certain traditional rituals so that family members who are left behind [grieving the death of a relative who committed suicide] may know...I mean really. As a nation we need to interrogate traditional practices. (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/04/30)

A close reading of Lebyane's views arguably reveals a contention between culture and civil rights: the cultural expectation to perform burial rituals verses Mangbane's civil right to privacy. Manicom (2005) alludes to this contention by noting the idea that culture expects women to behave in a manner that may be in conflict with their rights. Similar to Manicom, Joy Ezeilo (2005) makes the same observation about the conflict between culture and rights. She argues that the rights discourse has been portrayed by cultural relativists, as a concept that is foreign to African cultures; thus, irreconcilable. In response to this contention, Ezeilo argues that culture is not static; instead, it is subject to change.

This is also what Lebyane suggests, when she insists that traditional rituals ought to be interrogated and reassessed. In addition, she implies that other women ought to do as she does. She does this by using the pronoun: "we". Deborah Cameron (2001) argues that the conversations that individuals have are embedded with the "social voices available to the [individuals]" (15). She notes that this is evident through, inter alia, the use of the collective pronoun 'we'. Therefore, Lebyane does not only encourage the women to be critical, but she also includes herself in the collective of women she is addressing. Furthermore, one could argue that the use of the collective pronoun serves to evoke a dialogue between the different women who listen to the programme, about how culture can affect their expression of citizenship. This is apparent in the phrase: "We must speak to older women" (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/04/30)

Although the programme, provides its listeners with information that relates to them as citizens in terms of knowing their rights; the content's construction of the listeners as mothers limits their engagement as citizens. Gouws (2005) as well as other feminist scholars argue that the construction of women as mothers within the context of citizenship is problematic. Manicom explains that the conceptualisation of women's citizenship on the premise of motherhood is about women "claim[ing] their rights by virtue of their moral responsibilities in the family, community and to the nation" (2005:31). Furthermore, Gouws argues that this

conceptualisation is used to incorporate into the discourse of citizenship the care work that women do in their communities.

The construction of women as mothers has been used in South Africa's and other African countries' history to mobilise women to be involved in political revolution. McClintock (1993) alludes to this past, with regards to the way in which women in the ANC perceived themselves in relation to the liberation struggle. She notes that these women would refer to themselves as mothers of the revolution, whereby they would influence the nature of the fight against oppression by employing particular characteristics of a mother.

The depiction of women as mothers is a recurring portrayal on *Jabul Ujule*. When one considers the strong presence of the Zulu culture on the station (Ukhozi, 2013), one would understand the recurrence. Sean Hanretta (1998) discursively looks at the position that women occupied during the days of Shaka Zulu. In his discussion he refers to the important decisions that were made by the elderly women pertaining to certain aspects of the structure of the royal family and the tribe. Shireen Hassim (1993) also reflects on this significant role in relation to the Inkatha Freedom Party's Women's Brigade during the apartheid era. She notes that the party's notions of the nation and women stemmed from ideas that were prevalent during the Shaka Zulu period. Thus, women's political role derived from their role as mothers.

She argues that the family was seen as a site in which women had to protect their families. This is apparent in the feature *emajukujukwini nomama* particularly every Thursday. On this particular day, the women are not only referred to as women in the rural areas, but also *omama abakhulekayo* (women who pray). In this feature, women are encouraged to enact their Christian faith by praying for their personal problems. Furthermore, they are encouraged to use the practice of praying to address the social problems in their communities.

This is reminiscent of the rhetorical saying in most black Presbyterian churches: *baphi omama abazo khuleka* (where are the women who will pray), which is a call to women who are mothers to engage in spiritual warfare; thus, use prayer as a 'weapon' against the social problems. This saying is taken from the scripture: Jeremiah 17 verse 9, which refers to the need for women to arise and pray for change. Furthermore, it relates to the use of Christianity in the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal during the pre-1994 elections period. Michael Mbona (2011) argues that the members of the Natal Church Leaders' Group played an instrumental role as Christians in abating the violence that was prevalent in the province. Therefore, the

reference to women as mothers who pray serves to mobilize women as well as create a connection between being a mother and having an influence in society.

The way in which Khoza interacts with her male listeners, illustrates the connection between motherhood and influence. She implicitly uses her motherly status, to command the respect of the male listeners in discussions during features such as *engivuka nazo* (current news). Furthermore, she occasionally refers to the content producer and the sound engineer of the programme as her “boys” (News Services, 2013:10) during the broadcast. This reference creates the impression that Khoza, to some extent, has influence on how the content on the programme is conveyed. Inasmuch as motherhood is associated with influence, the kind of influence that one can have is confined within that role.

Inasmuch as there is value in the construction of women as mothers, Manicom argues that there is a difference between mother-citizen and women-citizen. The difference lies in the different social locations that ‘women’ and mothers occupy in society. Therefore, the conflation of the two in the conceptualization of citizenship denies this difference.

Furthermore, Gouws argues that women “are not just mothers but women who share a common political situation whether they are mothers or not” (2005: 5); thus, when women’s citizenship is premised upon the concept of motherhood, then there is a possibility that women who are not mothers may be excluded.

## **2.4 Conclusion:**

Therefore, when one looks at the content of the programme one sees that there are instances in which the female listeners are engaged as citizens. For instance, features such as: *engivuka nazo*, *emajukujukweni nomama* and *Motswako* involve the female listeners in discussions that create the impression that they are being spoken to as citizens. However, the discourse of women as mother-citizens limits this engagement in relation to the experiences and the issues that can be discussed on the programme.

## Chapter Three: Mother-citizen as the consumer

### Introduction:

James Gee (1997) compares discourse to a dance and notes that it is “the ‘masters’ of the dance [who] will allow [what will be] recognized ...as a possible instantiation of the dance” (19). Thus, similar to Michel Foucault (1972), Gee makes a correlation between the construction of ideas and power, whereby the way in which a message is conveyed is not a mere coincidence; instead, it serves a particular purpose. In relation to the content that is broadcast in the media, there are different parties and institutions that influence the different discourses that are conveyed through the media (Hackett and Carrol, 2006).

This chapter will be concerned with how advertising influences the recurring portrayal of the female listeners as mothers on *Jabul Ujule*. In doing so, the chapter will first explore broadly the relationship between public broadcasters and advertising. It will then critically seek to discern how the presence of advertising, further limits the extent to which the content on *Jabul Ujule* engages its female listeners as citizens. It will accomplish this through analysing extracts of transcripts of the programme.

### 3.1 Public broadcasters and advertising

The use of advertising by public broadcasters is depicted as contentious by a number of scholars. Margie Comrie and Susan Fountaine (2005) for instance, argue that the presence of advertising in public broadcasting programmes compromises the broadcaster’s responsibility to serve the public. This is because of the characteristics of advertising and how they influence the content on public broadcasting programmes.

Anthony Dukes and Esther Gal-Or (2003) note that advertising is market orientated. This means that adverts strive to ‘sell’ a product in a competitive manner. In addition, Dukes and Gal-Or argue that advertising perceives the recipients of the adverts as target markets. As a result, advertisers forge a contractual relationship with media outlets that attract individuals who match the profile of their target market (Dukes and Gal-Or, 2003). Furthermore, they argue that media outlets enter into a relationship with the advertisers as a means of generating revenue. Therefore, “media with a large audience have negotiating leverage ...over the contract price for advertising slots” (Dukes and Gal-Or, 2003: 222).

Iren Meijer (2005) argues that the transactional relationship between advertising and broadcasting is expected in commercial but not in public broadcasting. Despite this distinction, one finds the prevalence of adverts on public broadcasting programmes. This is because public broadcasters do not exist in a vacuum; instead, they are “integrated in the processes of generating economic capital” (Carroll and Hackett, 2006: 35). In other words, in order for public broadcasters to sustain the work they do they utilize the finances generated from advertising (Tomaselli, 2008). Furthermore, Comrie and Fountaine (2005) allude to the idea that public broadcasters such as radio stations compete with commercial media in order to retain the listeners.

This sense of competition is apparent in the South African public broadcasting context. Clive Barnett (1999) argues that the democratisation of the SABC was accompanied by an “opening up of new opportunities for profitability” (659). These opportunities manifested into the proliferation of private radio stations (Tomaselli, 2008). Hence, Pieter Fourie (2003) notes that radio stations at the SABC have “to compete with 14 private radio stations” (155). Thus, in order to remain relevant and sustain the cost of doing so, public broadcasters in South Africa infuse advertising into their programmes.

This infusion can be observed, *inter alia*, in the construction of the message embedded in the content and the message itself. Karen Johnson-Cartee (2005) argues that the messages that are conveyed through the media are not a reflection of reality; instead, they are a construction of reality. This is apparent through, among other media devices, the framing of the content. Johnson-Cartee explains that “frames are the structuring devices of cultural narratives [thus] they evoke what is already within an individual” (2005:27).

Furthermore, Johnson-Cartee notes that framing involves the process of selection, whereby particular aspects of a culture are emphasised. When advertising is infused into the content, the emphasis is then placed on the message of the advert. Therefore, the message of the advert influences what information is conveyed to the public. This information “is assumed to be known to the audience” (Cook, 1992: 172). Guy Cook (1992) argues that the information that is perceived as normal by the public is based on the assumptions that the advertisers make about specific groups of people in the public. These assumptions pertain to the presumed personalities as well as the lifestyles of the people who form part of the target market. Hence, Cook argues that adverts strive to project the world that is supposedly familiar to the audience.

There are a number of ways in which these assumptions are communicated in the advert (Cook, 1992). The one that relates to radio is voice, whereby the listeners recognize the assumptions through the language and voices used in the advert. Cook argues that the recognition does not only create the impression that the public can relate to the message of the advert; but it also serves to convince the public to ‘buy’ the product that is being advertised. This is because the product ‘fits into’ the lives of the public.

Meijer (2005) argues that the correlation between the product and particular members of the public leads programme-makers in public broadcasting to consider “the wishes and desires of their audience” (32). Although one may argue that this consideration is made when programme producers create quality programming in a non-commercial context; however, because of the influence of advertising this consideration is made in order to serve commercial interests. Thus, the programme makers show preference “for entertainment over controversy, serious political debate” (Herman and McChesney, 1997: 6) to the extent that the content is commodified. This culminates to the treatment of the public as consumers.

### **3.2 *Jabul Ujule* and advertising**

An analysis of the content of the programme *Jabul Ujule* reveals the prevailing presence of advertising. In a newspaper interview, the presenter Dudu Khoza alluded to this by saying that “[the programme] can’t do without [the] advertisers because [the programme] is essentially a woman’s programme [and] everyone wants a piece of a woman’s buying power” (Sibiya, 2009:1). In light of this statement, one could argue that the advertisers who choose the programme are predominately interested in women specifically mothers as a target market. Hence, one finds advertisers such as: Cuddlesome<sup>2</sup>, KOO Beans and OMO.

Inasmuch as the content of the programme informs the listeners about their rights<sup>3</sup>, it is structured in such a manner that it accommodates the persuasive style of the advert features. This is apparent in the ‘Mama KOO’ feature. Similar to the dialogue between Dudu Khoza and her listeners, the feature entails a conversation between a representative from the KOO Beans company and a caller. The representative is portrayed as an expert cook. Deborah Cameron (2001) notes that “experts [are those who]...define, describe and classify things and people” (16). Therefore, they determine how an idea is understood (Foucault, 1972).

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<sup>2</sup> A product for babies. See: <https://www.pepstores.com>

<sup>3</sup> This was mentioned in chapter two.

Susan Smulyan (1993) reiterates this by arguing that the portrayal of the representative as the expert is effective because it creates the impression that the expert's instructions are credible and thus listeners are susceptible to follow the instructions. She makes this argument, in relation to the radio programmes for women in America during the 1920s. She notes that the producers of these programmes, made efforts to make the programmes conducive to the advertisers who sought to appeal to the female listeners as home-makers. They did this by employing experts in home economics who, for example, gave instructions on how to cook.

In relation to *Jabul Ujule*, a representative from KOO Beans is responsible for constructing the feature's content and selecting the caller (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17). In addition to the instructions, the conversation consists of the caller's views about how she used KOO Beans to enhance her meal (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/03/07). The callers who are selected are those whose views concur with the representative's views about how good the product is. This concurrence creates the impression that the views of the caller and the representative are intertwined to the extent that the caller 'becomes' the expert. This is accomplished through ellipsis. Guy Cook (1992) notes that ellipsis is used in adverts to signify an "omitted unit [that] is recoverable from a previous sentence" (Cook, 1992: 148). Therefore, what is omitted by the representative may be traced in what the caller says. As a result one may be led to perceive the views expressed by both the representative and the caller as common knowledge (Cook, 1992).

The conversation between the caller and the representative, arguably leads one also to observe the implicit similarity between the caller and KOO Beans: the caller is portrayed as being as good at cooking as the product is at enhancing one's meal. Thus, the recipient of the advert is as much a text as the product that is being advertised (Cook, 1992). This message of the product and the recipient 'being one' is also apparent in the 'OMO mail bag' feature. It is created through the implicit message that the OMO washing product is as effective at cleaning stains on clothes, as most women are 'good' at being mothers (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/04/24). In addition to the views expressed during the 'Mama Koo' and the 'OMO' feature; the sense of oneness is also apparent in Dudu Khoza's opinions about the correlation between the women who listen to the programme and the content. She notes that:

"if you talk about abantu besifazane you start with a newlywed somebody fresh from the box, uyafika nje uzoqala emzini ufuna ukuimpressa ufuna ukwenza amarecipe they get such things from nje omamKoo... siba no Johnson and Johnson esiba nabo la where they groom umama esuka phansi "

Translation: when you speak about women, you start with a newlywed, a fresh somebody fresh from the box. She started her married life and she is going to build a home, she wants to impress, she wants to learn recipes. They get such from uMama Koo... while she is cooking she is learning at the same time. Then we have Johnson and Johnson who groom women from an early stage  
(Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17)

When one closely looks at the quoted statement, one can argue that the advertised products are not only portrayed as being interrelated to the women, but they cater for them as they become mothers. Furthermore, the descriptions of women mentioned in the statement are premised on the assumptions made by both the presenters and the advertisers about women and what they 'need'. The effect of this is the implicit impression that the products that are being advertised ought to be bought as they 'fit into' the lives of the women who listen to the programme. Therefore, as noted by Dudu Khoza, "[the programme] sell [the products] for [the advertisers]" (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17).

However, the notion of selling is not conspicuous in the content of the programme. Cook (1992) argues that adverts are usually not explicit about their intention of selling the product; instead, they employ the practice of soft selling. Cook explains that this is "the implication that life will be better with the product" (Cook, 1992:10). This is apparent in the programme through the conversations between Dudu Khoza and the OMO representative. The conversations are embedded with social issues that conceal the objective of selling the product. The social issues stem from a letter written by a listener and read during the broadcast. The letter often conveys the listener's stain-related problem as well as their personal story, which makes reference to a social issue (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/05/15).

A listener, for instance, wrote a letter about how her employment circumstances changed and how that affected what she could and could not afford. She then explained that she needed advice on which cheaper product she could use to remove a red ink stain (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/05/15). In response to the letter, both Khoza and the representative sympathised with the listener. In doing so they appropriated the language and the experiences shared by the listener.

As a result, one could argue that the OMO feature acts as a platform for the listeners to express their lived experiences as citizens. However, a closer look at the advice that the representative gives reveals the commercial interest of the representative. She said,

“[a]ngikwazi ukukhuluma ngeminye imikhiqizo ngaphambi iOMO :I cannot speak about any other product except about OMO (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/05/15).The representative says this because as an OMO representative she , using James Gee’s (1997) ideas, embodies the values and ideas of the OMO brand. Therefore, inasmuch as the representative understands the listener’s situation, she refers the listener to the OMO product.

In addition to recommending OMO, she mentions the different characteristics of the OMO product that make it effective for removing the stains. In doing so she implies that the effectiveness of the product enables the listener to spend more time being a mother (Transcript of broadcast, 2013/05/15).Thus, OMO is inconspicuously portrayed not only as a product that ‘fits into’ the lifestyle of the target market but also as a necessity.

The other way in which the OMO product is implicitly sold, is through the competition that is broadcast often after the feature. The competition entails a series of questions that test the listeners’ knowledge about the characteristics of OMO. The listeners enter the competition by submitting information that is written on the OMO packet and when they answer the questions correctly they win three thousand rand. Therefore, the competition acts as an incentive for the listeners to ‘act’ as consumers on the programme and ‘buy’ the product.

### **3.3 Consumer versus Citizen**

This treatment of the listener as a consumer limits the extent to which the content on the programme engages the listeners as citizens. Kate Soper (2007) argues that the concepts consumer and citizen are not mutually exclusive. Thus, one could be a consumer without compromising their role as a citizen. She uses consumer boycotts that result in social change, to illustrate how one can assume their identity as a consumer and citizen simultaneously.

However, the kind of consumer that is being addressed on *Jabul Ujule* is the kind whose consumer status curtails her ability to be engaged as a citizen. This is because, the message conveyed through the advert features perpetuates the construction of women as mother-citizens, and this influences the way in which the female listeners imagine themselves as members of the South African community. Furthermore, the message insists on a particular kind of mother. The OMO and Mama Koo feature speak to the female listener as a mother who cooks and washes for her children respectively. This construction of the female listener has a number of implications. The first one relates to the assumption about the knowledge that the female listeners have to receive: how to better mothers (Smulyan, 1993).

This particular construction of a mother also shapes the views that the female listener can express during the broadcast, whereby she is placed in a position where she is expected to speak about certain aspects of being a mother. She is also placed in a position where her views have to conform to the light tone of the advert feature. This light and jovial tone of the conversation impacts the tone that the presenter uses even when she is discussing a serious matter with the listeners. Although it is possible for one to convey serious matters on the radio in a jovial manner (Bosch, 2011); however, the jovial tone limits the degree to which the listeners' views could be considered as significant in the public sphere. Jones (1990) as well as other feminist scholars argue that it is imperative for women's views to be taken seriously because it validates a sense of belonging in the nation.

The other implication of the construction is that the perception of women solely occupying the domestic space is normalised. This is done in numerous ways. Firstly it is through the emphasis that the advert's message places on the home. Smulyan (1993) argues that the focus on the home is deliberate because advertisers perceive the home as a "centre of commerce" (303). The repetition of the advert's message is another way in which the domestic occupation of women is normalised.

The advert features on *Jabul Ujule* broadcast on a particular day every week; thus, the message is reinforced. Furthermore, the message becomes part of the listeners' reasoning. Allan Bell and Peter Garrett (1998) argue that a close examination of the language used in the content of media texts, reveals the reasoning behind content. Therefore, the conversations during the "Mama Koo" feature and the chosen letters for the "OMO mail bag" provides one with an insight into the convergence between the advertisers' views and the listeners'

Similar to the repetition, the language that is used to create the correlation between the female listeners and the product also influences the normalisation of women's occupation of the domestic space. For instance, the word 'Mama' in the name of the KOO Beans feature implies that it is the norm for a woman to be a mother that cooks. Lastly, the normalisation of the perception is also achieved through the reappearance of the content that was broadcast during the apartheid era on Radio Bantu stations. The apartheid government insisted that women be 'instructed' on how to perform domestic duties. It did this in order to ensure that black women remained 'outside' of the public sphere<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Lekgoathi (2009), as noted in chapter two

The effect of this reappearance is that the perception becomes the accepted way in which one engages women. Michel Foucault (1972) alludes to this by arguing that discourse embeds itself into practices and ways of understanding the world.

In addition to constructing a particular notion of the female listeners, the advert features engage the listeners on the basis of their presumed socio-economic status. This is apparent in the categorisation of the listeners according to the socio-economic group to which they belong. Dudu Khoza noted that the listeners belong to different Living Standard Measurement (LSM) groups (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17). Kinnon Scott (2005) explains that LSM refers to a tool with which one can survey the living conditions of a household.

The South African Advertising Research Foundation uses this tool in order to “[divide] the population into 10 LSM groups, 10 (highest) to 1 (lowest)...by categorising [the population across race and gender] according to their living standards using criteria such as degree of urbanisation and ownership of cars and major appliances” (The South African Advertising Research Foundation, 2013). Khoza elaborated about the categorisations in her discussion about one of the purposes of the Motswako feature. She explained that

*iMotswako isinika exactly esikufunayo for LSM 7 and 8 ngoba asifuni uma belalela uKhozi bazizwe besemajukujukweni ngenkani bazizwe sikathi they are left out :*

Translation: Motswako gives us exactly what we need for LSM 7 and 8 because we do not want the listeners of Ukhosi to feel like they are in the rural areas by force, to feel like they are left. (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17).

In other words, the Motswako feature assists the programme in appealing to women who belong to the 7 and 8 categories respectively. Therefore, what is considered as a matter of interest is arguably determined by the categorisation in which the female listeners belong. The problem with this categorisation is that, similar to the conceptualisation of women in the Women’s Charter<sup>5</sup>, it denies the possibility of difference among the women in the LSM groups by assuming that women who belong in LSM 1, for example, have similar experiences.

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<sup>5</sup> Manicom (2005), as noted in chapter two

The advert competitions that the listeners partake in after the advert features, is another example of how the content engages the listeners on the basis of their economic status. It is only when the listener has bought and knows the contents of the product that she is able to participate in the programme and be 'rewarded' through a cash prize. This kind of engagement is problematic for a number of reasons. The first reason relates to the notion of access, whereby the listeners who can afford to buy the product are the ones who can speak 'on air'.

The assumption that is made by the advertisers is that the women who listen to the programme can afford the OMO packet; hence, the presence of the feature. However, one could argue that this is not the case for every listener. Therefore, there is a possibility that the listener who cannot afford the product may not be engaged by the content. The implication of this is that the listeners who cannot afford it may be excluded and denied the opportunity to exercise their right to express their views during the broadcast of the programme.

The second reason stems from the impressions created by the cash prize award. For instance, one is led to think that the cash prize may to some extent solve the listener's social problems. This impression is often conveyed through the questions asked by Dudu Khoza after the listener has been told that she has won the cash prize. Khoza would ask the listener what she will do with the cash prize after she establishes the listener's social situation. The other impression is that the financial gain from the competition empowers the woman who wins the cash reward.

Smulyan (1993) notes that this impression is a common trend with adverts, whereby they evoke the idea that "success could be gained by purchasing products" (311). Therefore, the cash prize does not only 'solve' the imminent social problem of the listener, but it also has an impact on the personhood of the listener. Khoza refers to this sense of empowerment in her views about women's progress in post-apartheid South Africa. She notes that there are women who earn more than their husbands, and are thus empowered (Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17). This conveys the impression that there is a connection between financial gain and progress.

The effect of this sense of progress is that it potentially distracts one from discussing the discrepancy between the rights and the socio-economic as well as political challenges that the listeners may experience. As noted in the previous chapter, scholars such as Amanda Gouws (2005) argue that the true realization of women's citizenship is dependent, among other

factors, on the ability for women to use their rights as means with which to address their socio-economic and political challenges. Furthermore, the impression creates a false sense that women are not in the margins of society as a result of their financial gain.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

Therefore, the presence of advertising exacerbates the content's inability to fully engage the female listeners as citizens. This is because the success of the adverts on the programme hinges on the construction of the women solely as mothers. Furthermore, the existence of the programme depends on the revenue generated from 'selling' broadcasting slots. Hence, the dilemma that the programme finds itself in: on the one hand it has to serve the listeners as citizens as per its public broadcasting mandate and on the other hand it has to make the content permeable to the influence of advertising.

## Conclusion

“Broadcasting in and of itself cannot secure the realization of democracy nor succeed in the task of nation-building” (Barnett, 1999: 667)

This dissertation concerned itself with the question: to what extent does the content on the radio programme, *Jabul Ujule* engage its female listeners as citizens. It looked at this question, with regards to the subordination that black women experienced during the apartheid era because of their race and gender (McEwan, 2003; Hassim, 1992 et al), and the possibility of them being included as citizens in the constitutionally democratic nation, through the messages conveyed in the media.

In its attempt to answer the question, this dissertation began in the first chapter by looking at the history of radio in relation to nationalism in the broad African context and specifically in South Africa during the colonial and apartheid period respectively. It explored the history through the lens of Anderson Benedict’s (1991) conceptualisation of nationalism and Andrew Crisell’s (1994) ideas about the characteristics of radio. The exploration revealed that both the British and the apartheid government were deliberate in their ‘imaginings’ of South Africa.

It was also evident in this chapter that radio was an effective ‘tool’ to disseminate the discourse about the nation and its ‘members’ because of its intimate and relatable nature. Crisell explains that the intimate nature of radio, leads to a situation in which listeners absorb the message that is embedded in the broadcasted content because they recognize the voice and the language in which the message is conveyed.

This was illustrated through the discussion about Radio Bantu, which consisted of stations that represented the different ethnic groups in South Africa and thus, was designed by the apartheid government to reinforce the separation between white and black South Africans as well as amongst black South Africans. In light of this, this chapter discerned that Radio Bantu also served to establish an exclusive public sphere in which black South Africans did not have access. It is within this context that Ukhozi FM (Radio Zulu) was established (Hamm, 1991).

Although the content on Radio Zulu conformed to the requirements of the state, Liz Gunner’s (2002) discussion about the dramas during the apartheid era, demonstrates how the broadcasters on Radio Zulu used the Zulu language to circumvent the restrictions and create a

sense of belonging for the listeners. This sense of belonging was realized when South Africa embraced constitutional democracy. The nation's democracy influenced the role fulfilled, and message conveyed by SABC stations such as Ukhozi FM. Cliver Barnett (1999) refers to the idea that public broadcasters purported to portray an inclusive image of the nation and in the process engage South Africans as citizens. Therefore, this chapter illustrated the idea that radio can be used either to reinforce racial division or replicate the image of a democratic and inclusive nation.

It is against this background that the second chapter, focused on the content broadcast on *Jabul Ujule*. In order to understand the extent of citizen engagement, this chapter situated the history of the programme within the history of radio particularly during the apartheid era. It was evident that the apartheid government expected the content broadcast on women's programmes to exclude black women from the main public sphere as well as 'confine' them within the domestic sphere as wives and mothers.

However, when South Africa became a democratic nation black women's citizenship was enshrined into the constitution. This chapter revealed that one of the implications of this is that women can theoretically be addressed as citizens; thus, participate in the public sphere. It also revealed through the views of feminist scholars that women's citizenship is premised upon the rights-discourse, whereby a women's citizenship is validated by her ability to exercise her rights (Manicom, 2005 et al). A close reading of the content on *Jabul Ujule*, showed instances in which the rights-discourse is conveyed.

In the course of exploring the views of feminist scholars, this chapter discussed the inadequacy of rights as a foundation for women's sense of belonging. The inadequacy pertains to the inability of rights to address solely the socio-political and economic challenges that women experience within the private sphere. In response, feminist scholars such as Amanda Gouws (2005) argue that it is imperative for women from different backgrounds to use the public sphere to grapple with the discrepancies, and consequently make the personal political (Jones, 1990). This was observed in the content, during the following features: *emajujukwini nomama* (in the rural areas with women), *engivuka nazo* (current affairs) and *Motswako*. It is during these features that the challenges that the female listeners experience are expressed and represented.

Inasmuch as the content engages the female listeners as citizens, in terms of informing them about their rights as well as creating an impression that they can express their differences, the recurring portrayal of the listeners as mother-citizens is problematic. This is because the portrayal conceives women's citizenship, according to their social responsibility in their communities and the nation. Liz Manicom (2005) argues that this results in women being limited in relation to how they can avow their citizenship

Chapter three argued that the limitation is exacerbated by the presence of advertising features on the programme. It made this argument in relation to the contested relationship between advertising and public broadcasting. The chapter revealed that advertising is focused on market interests whilst, public broadcasting is meant to serve the interests of the public. As a result, the content serves to attract the listeners who 'fit' into the profile of the advertisers. Therefore, inasmuch as the content on the programme seeks to engage women as citizens, it also has to be conducive for advertisers.

This predicament revealed the idea that the process of nation-building is limited. Benedict Anderson (1991) argues that an imagined nation "has finite...boundaries" (6). Therefore, one could argue that the 'imagining' of women as citizens in the new South Africa is-as argued in the second chapter-insufficient to capture the differences amongst women. In addition this predication reveals the notion that "broadcasting in and of itself cannot secure the realization of democracy nor succeed in the task of nation-building" (Barnett, 1999: 667). This is firstly because it is enmeshed in a consumerist discourse, which - especially with regards to the programme - compromises citizen participation (Lewis and Inthorn, 2005). Thus, although radio is an accessible and relevant medium of communication; it is unable to fully engage women as citizens. Furthermore, the world that is portrayed is not a reflection of reality, but a construction; thus, it is unable to capture fully the lived experiences of the listeners.

Therefore, the media cannot be black women's only 'ally' to create a sense that they belong to the new South Africa as citizens. Carolyn Byerly and Karen Ross (2006) argue that if media were to be used in the endeavours to engage women, then an alternative use - in comparison to the mainstream use - would have to be considered.

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Transcripts:

See Appendix A.

## **Appendix A**

Transcript of interview, 2013/04/17

Transcript of broadcast, 2013/02/22

Transcript, 2013/03/21

Transcript of broadcast, 2013/03/08

Transcript of broadcast, 2013/05/14

Transcript of broadcast, 2013/04/24

Transcript of broadcast, 2013/04/30

Transcript of broadcast, 2013/03/07

Transcript of broadcast, 2013/04/24

Transcript of broadcast, 2013/05/15