

**“Beautiful powerful you”: an analysis of the subject positions offered to
women readers of *Destiny* magazine.**

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Abstract

Women's magazines are popular cultural forms which offer readers representations intended to advise women on how to work towards and achieve idealised femininities. They perform such a function within the wider socio-historical context of gender relations. In a country such as South Africa, where patriarchal gender relations have historically been structured to favour men over women and masculinity over femininity, the representation of femininity in contemporary women's magazines may serve to reinforce or challenge these existent unequal gender relations.

Informed by a feminist poststructuralist understanding of the gendered positioning of subjects through discourse, this study is a textual analysis that investigates the subject positions or possible identities offered to readers of *Destiny*, a South African business and lifestyle women's magazine. Black women, who make up the majority of *Destiny*'s readership, have historically been excluded from the formal economy. In light of such a background, *Destiny* offers black women readers, through its representations of well-known business women, possible identities to take up within the white male dominated field of business practice. The magazine also offers 'lifestyle content', which suggests to readers possible ways of being in other areas of social life. Through a method of critical discourse analysis, this study critically analyses the subject positions offered to readers of *Destiny*, in order to determine to what extent the magazine's representations of business women endorse or confront unequal gender relations.

The findings of this study are that *Destiny* offers women complex subject positions which simultaneously challenge and reassert patriarchy. While offering readers positions from which to challenge race based gender discrimination – a legacy of the apartheid past – the texts analysed tend to neglect non-racially motivated gender prejudice. It is concluded that although not comprehensively challenging unequal gender relations, the magazine whittles away some tenets of patriarchy.

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Introduction

This study critically examines the representations of women in *Destiny*, a South African publication which positions itself as a business and lifestyle women's magazine. Since their inception, women's magazines have been concerned with teaching or informing women on how to be women, or in other words, how to be feminine (Beetham 1996). That women's magazine producers assume that women need these publications to offer them advice on how to act as women in various contexts, suggests that femininity is taken up and exercised, rather than naturally possessed and expressed. It is not a biological fact but is developed and learnt through cultural practices. This is Connell's (1987) view of femininity which I adopt in this research. Femininity exists within the boarder framework of gender power relations (Connell 1987). It exists in relation to masculinity, and in a patriarchal setup, the feminine is considered to be subordinate to the masculine, in what Connell (1987) refers to as the patriarchal gender order. In the patriarchal gender order, therefore, women are subordinate to men.

The purpose of this study is to examine representations of femininity in *Destiny* and to determine the ways in which they tend to sustain or challenge the patriarchal gender order. To carry out such an examination, I make use of the poststructuralist concept of representation as discourse. Broadly speaking, discourse means the governing statements that provide a way to meaningfully speak about and produce knowledge about a particular topic (Hall 1997:44). Discourses provide positions from which individuals can make sense of the world. These are called subject positions (Hall 1997). By willingly taking on the subject position offered within a particular discourse the individual becomes a subject of that discourse (Hall 1997).

As cultural texts which are produced to meaningfully say something about the world, women's magazines draw from and articulate various discourses and in so doing, offer certain gendered subject positions from which readers can understand and exercise femininity. This research is therefore a textual study focusing on the way language is used in selected *Destiny* texts to offer women particular feminine subjectivities. As it is a textual study, this research does not provide information on whether readers actually willingly take on the subject positions offered. What it does do is provide a critical analysis of the gendered

subject positions the magazine privileges and how it may contribute to the wider gender discourses in South African society.

My interest in carrying out this study was influenced mainly by *Destiny*'s positioning in the market as a business and lifestyle magazine for women. Since the magazine was first published in 2007, it has been marketed as the first of its kind, offering women business and financial information, as well as general lifestyle content (DestinyConnect 2009). Its producers state that the magazine targets women who are interested or engaged in business (DestinyConnect 2009). I was therefore interested to see how businesswomen were represented in the magazine. Who were they? What characteristics defined the *Destiny* businesswoman? What made her successful? This was particularly fascinating to me in the context of South Africa where the field of business has historically been a predominately white male space. Furthermore, the magazine tended to feature black women on its covers who were represented as entrepreneurs, businesswomen and professionals. I therefore felt that given an apartheid South African history, in which black women were largely excluded from professional work, this magazine offered representations which suggested that in the new South Africa, black women could be and are professionals. On the surface, it thus seemed to me that *Destiny* was taking a feminist stance, explicitly stating that as part of its core identity, it provided women information on business, in an environment where business is dominated by men. The producers also seemed to be asserting that black women in particular, were legitimate businesspeople in a *white* male dominated space. By carrying out this study, I therefore intended to determine, through analysis of the deeper structure of its representations, whether the magazine actually challenged unequal gender relations as it seemed to do at a surface level.

I begin Chapter 1 with an overview of the history and positioning of *Destiny* in the South African magazine market, as well as a brief discussion on its founding editor. This chapter also provides an overview of the South African socio-historical context, focusing on the social, political and economic position of women in the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. The discussion includes an outline on women in business and social and economic policies which are aimed at increasing the number of women in national leadership and business.

Chapter 2 provides a discussion of the theoretical literature that underpins this study. The concept of the gender order as well as the structuring of gender relations in patriarchal society is discussed, followed by an overview of poststructuralist understandings of gender in discourse. The concept of representation as discourse is explained, including its links to power and knowledge and the way in which discourse produces subjects and subjectivities. The chapter then offers an overview of the different strands of feminism and how they have historically viewed femininity and concludes with an overview of postfeminism, a form of popular feminism usually represented in popular media.

In Chapter 3, I place my research in the context of critical studies that have already been carried out on women's magazines. I first discuss the literature on research done on women's magazines in the West. Following this is a synthesis of the most prominent themes relating to the representations of women, as found in studies of South African magazines.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodological underpinnings of this research. The qualitative methodology informing this research is explained, followed by a discussion of critical discourse analysis as an approach. The research process is then outlined and explained.

Chapter 5 provides the analysis and the research findings. I relate these findings to the literature discussed in Chapters 2 and Chapter 3 and also place them within the broader context of the background outlined in Chapter 1.

In the conclusion I draw inferences about the discursive work done by *Destiny* based on the findings discussed in Chapter 5. I discuss the implications of such discursive work in light of the South African gendered socio-cultural context.

Chapter 1: Research Context

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a background to the research with a discussion on *Destiny* and a broad overview on women in South Africa. It is a summary of the political, social and economic state of affairs which has shaped the lives of these women. The chapter begins with an overview of *Destiny*, its readership, associated publications and a brief discussion on its founding editor. Following this, I discuss the position of women in apartheid South Africa, focusing on their economic struggles and political participation. The section on women in post-apartheid South Africa engages with some of the political gains towards women's emancipation since 1994, as well as the struggles black women continue to face in the public and private sphere. As *Destiny* is primarily read by black middle class women, my contextual discussion focuses mainly on this group.

1.2 *Destiny* Magazine

Established in 2007, *Destiny* is a South African monthly business and lifestyle women's magazine (DestinyConnect 2009). It is an A4 size glossy aimed at an affluent black readership. Ndalo Media, the publisher which owns the magazine describes the publication as follows:

DESTINY is a high-end business and lifestyle magazine for women... aimed at accomplished, stylish and intellectually curious women who are either interested in, or actively engaged in business. As the first publication of its kind in South Africa, it aims to fill a void for business and financial information that connects, supports and inspires women who are professionals, entrepreneurs, businesswomen and general business enthusiasts (DestinyConnect 2009:0)

The producers, who are predominately female, thus see *Destiny* as a means to facilitate and guide women's development as professionals and businesspeople. One of the ways in which the magazine seems to attract readers is to feature a woman whom producers perceive as a successful professional or businessperson on the front cover of each issue. As part of a response to questions I posed to the editorial director of the magazine, Ingrid Wood, on 10 August 2010, she states that in order for a woman to be placed on the cover, she must not only be involved in business in some way but also have a "name and profile in [her]

industry". She also has to have a "proven track record in her field of expertise so that she can offer advice, share success strategies and provide inspiration to other women". A cover star is also encouraged to share the more private aspects of her life which readers may not know. Wood describes the women who appear on *Destiny* covers as "real women" to whom readers can relate. In response to a question on what defines success for the "*Destiny* woman", Wood states that it is about achieving her goals and feeling good in knowing that she's helped others as she's done so. She adds that a successful woman needs to find her own balance between work and play in order to be satisfied and to achieve a state of mental, spiritual and emotional wellbeing.

Wood further asserts that although *Destiny* aims to present "serious" content on women in business they have tried to keep the content interesting by making it lively. It is for this reason the magazine's design has been changed at different intervals over its three years of existence. Wood says they have attempted to develop a "more engaging colour palette", jazz up headlines, increase white space and increase the number of lifestyle pictures.

As noted earlier, *Destiny* is owned by Ndalo Media, a publishing company jointly owned by its managing director Khanyi Dhlomo and publishing group Media24. Publisher of over 60 magazine titles in South Africa in addition to several of the country's newspapers, Media24 is wholly owned by Naspers, a multinational media company with interests in sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern Europe, South Asia and South America (DestinyConnect 2009; Naspers 2010). *Destiny* therefore forms a small part of a matrix of media publications under a multinational conglomerate.

In July 2009, Ndalo Media launched *Destiny Man*, the men's version of *Destiny*, which according to its publishers is

[a]imed at accomplished, self-assured, affluent, stylish and business-minded South African men. It is the only men's magazine in the country that combines compelling business content with fashion, grooming and lifestyle (Destiny Man 2010:0).

The essence of this men's magazine is captured in its tagline: "Bold, distinguished you" as opposed to the *Destiny* woman tagline, "Beautiful, powerful you". The producers thus try to make a distinct separation between what defines women and what defines men.

On *DestinyConnect.com* which is the extension of *Destiny* for women, subscribers and non-subscribers can contribute, read and watch multi-media content supplied by the Ndalo Media producers. Participants may choose to engage with a male or female mentor usually deemed successful in corporate enterprise or administration. In addition, one can chat with the editor on selected days, start a blog or watch a video on the latest *Destiny* magazine cover photo shoot. The website also links readers to other popular networking sites such as *Facebook* and *Twitter*. In this way, Ndalo Media is able to extend its reach and communicate with its readers and others who may not necessarily read the magazine.

1.2.1 Readership

Destiny has a readership of approximately 186 000 with its target audience in LSM 7-10 (SAARF 2009)¹. This makes it a publication aimed at affluent readers who are likely to spend money on upmarket consumer goods. The readership is almost evenly split between fully employed and unemployed individuals at 45.9 percent and 50.2 percent respectively (SAARF 2009). Individuals in part-time employment make up 3.9 percent of the readership. The majority of readers have completed a high school education but have not studied further. Statistics also show that 90.2 percent of *Destiny*'s readers are black, 61.8 percent female and 38.2 percent male (SAARF 2009)². So although *Destiny* is aimed at a female readership it is able to attract a significant number of male readers. The readership is distributed fairly evenly across age groups of 16-49 years of age, with a small group of readers above the age of 50 (SAARF 2009).

1.2.2 The founding editor

A magazine's editor has a significant amount of influence on the representations found in it. Ferguson argues that an editor of a women's magazine can be viewed as the "high priestess" of the cult of femininity who represents herself in harmony with the image of the magazine (1983:119). In light of this it is interesting to consider the role played in the magazine's history and identity by the founding editor and managing director of *Destiny*, Khanyi

¹ The South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF) uses the Living Standards Measure to estimate spending on consumables by various sectors of the South African population. LSM 7-10 are those sections of the population that consume the widest range of goods and services.

² These are the latest statistics available at the time of writing but figures are from research carried out before *Destiny Man*, the men's version of the *Destiny* was launched in July 2009.

Dhlomo. I would like to argue that her public persona encapsulates the character of the *Destiny* woman and that she uses it to give a ‘human’ face to the magazine’s producers.

Khanyi Dhlomo arguably comes from a more privileged background than most black people in apartheid South Africa. Born in 1973, she acquired a private school education at a well established girl’s school in Durban. Her mother Nokukhanya Dhlomo was educated as a teacher while her father, Oscar Dhlomo, was an active and well-known figure in national politics under the Inkatha Freedom Party in the 1970s. After the transition to democracy he sat on the boards of several companies including one of South Africa’s largest banks, Standard Bank, and oil multinational corporation, Shell South Africa (Naidoo 2007). Currently, the Dhlomos own a sugar farm, a property and gaming company, an investment company and an industrial packaging company (Bouwer 2008:32).

After high school, Khanyi Dhlomo began a bachelor of commerce degree at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg. Before completing the degree, she decided to take on various media jobs which included reading radio news on Metro FM and television news at the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) (Bouwer 2008). She also worked as a presenter on a television magazine show. Dhlomo became the fashion and beauty editor of *True Love* magazine in 1993, then aged 20. Two years later she became the magazine’s editor. *True Love* was a women’s magazine which targeted the young black consumers who were emerging in post-apartheid South Africa (Laden 2003). While she was editor, the magazine’s circulation doubled from 70 000 to 140 000 (Gordon 2010).

In the eight years she was editor of *True Love* Dhlomo also married, had two children and completed a bachelor of communications degree. In 2003, she left *True Love* and took on a position as the head of South African tourism in Paris (Gordon 2010). After 20 months in Paris, she studied towards an MBA at Harvard University. She then returned to South Africa to establish Ndalo Media, which then led to the launch of *Destiny* in 2007 (Gordon 2010).

On the whole, Dhlomo is celebrated by her peers in the magazine industry. While editor of *True Love*, the magazine was named consumer magazine of the year by *AdVantage*, a South African magazine for professionals in media, marketing and advertising (Khumalo 2010). In 2003 she was named one of the most influential women in the media by *The Media*

magazine, and in 2008, was one of several nominees in the Vodacom Women in the Media Awards (Khumalo 2010).

Dhlomo has featured twice on the cover and cover stories of *Destiny* – in November 2008 and March 2010. The 2008 narrative focuses on her academic and career accomplishments and appears on the cover in Audrey Hepburn inspired attire, denoting a classic femininity (DestinyConnect 2008). The article states that she not only established and directs Ndalo Media but also helps to run the Dhlomo family businesses (Bouwer 2008). The second feature focuses on her wedding and will later be analysed as part of this research. Each month, photographed in clothing which conjures up a sense of simple sophistication rooted in traditional Western notions of femininity, Dhlomo presents her *Destiny* editor's letter to the readers. It is evident that Dhlomo's persona plays an integral part in the reader's experience of the magazine. Her life story, lifestyle and performance as a South African celebrity in many ways epitomises the *Destiny* woman. Her identities as businesswoman, entrepreneur, tireless student, global citizen, mother and wife are periodically articulated to the magazine's readers so that they have become synonymous with the *Destiny* image.

1.3 Women in apartheid South Africa

In attempting to investigate the discourses privileged by *Destiny* as a cultural form, it is important to consider the historical and current context in which it is embedded (Thompson 1995). In the discussion below, I provide a current and historical assessment of the socio-political and economic position of women in South Africa. Middle class black women make up the majority of *Destiny*'s readers and they also prominently feature in the magazine. My contextual discussion therefore pays particular attention to the economic status and experiences of black women in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. This section focuses on women during apartheid.

South Africa has a long history of gender discrimination stratified along racial lines (Cock 1989). While white women were allowed to vote in 1930, black women were only able to participate in the democratic national vote of 1994 (Ramirez et al. 1997). Cock (1989) argues that it is not possible to speak of a sisterhood to which all women in South Africa belonged as white women tended to be in positions of privilege and power as compared to black women who were largely disempowered. There was no space in which this division was more acutely

evident than in the institution of domestic service (Cock 1989). Many black women worked long hours under white “madams” often for an unfair wage and separated from their families (Cock 1989:1). These women were generally trapped in this domestic labour in order to earn money to survive (Cock 1989).

If not employed in the limited number of formal jobs, most black women were restricted to living in overcrowded rural Bantustans (Cock 1989). While men often went to urban areas to find work, the women were left to fend for their families with few agricultural supplies on non-arable land (Cock 1989). It was not uncommon for spouses who had left for formal employment not to send wages home (Cock 1989). The burdens of domestic responsibility and breadwinning fell on the shoulders of these women. Men however generally retained authority within the family, despite long absences (Seidman 1993:296).

It was not until the 1970s that there was a substantial increase in the participation of women in the labour force (Seidman 1993). Just over a decade before the official end of apartheid in 1994, most black women worked in “the least skilled, lowest paid and most insecure jobs” under dismal working conditions (Cock 1987:134). Cock notes the following employment statistics for black women in 1982:

11 per cent of employed African women were in the professional sector (mainly nursing and teaching which accounted for 95 per cent of African women employed in this sector); 3 per cent in the clerical sector; 5 percent per cent in the sales sector; 17 per cent in agricultural production; 13 per cent in manufacturing and 50 per cent in services (including domestic service) (1987:134-5).

Those employed in the services sector were mainly involved in food, clothing and textiles production (Cock 1987). In general African women had limited choice in the kinds of jobs they could take on due to limited formal education and a sex-race segregated labour market (Cock 1989; 1987). This lack of choice meant they were forced to work extended hours and travel long distances to and from work. However, as the figures above show, there was a small group of black women who worked as professionals who were likely to live better lives than most women. So although black women were generally marginalised, not all faced the same level of suffering.

The discourses of sexism and racism which informed apartheid employment patterns also informed areas of legal and social life. Under customary law, black women under the age of twenty-one were as regarded minors (Cock 1989). If married under customary law, they were regarded minors under the guardianship of their husbands and thus were unable to enter any legal contract, not even to acquire a credit account or hire purchase agreement without their husband's prior permission (Cock 1989). In general therefore, black women were "subjects" rather than "citizens", of what Mamdani refers to as the "bifurcated state" (1996:16). While this bifurcated state created an identity for black women as subjects governed under customary law, white women were regarded citizens with individual rights under civil law (Mamdani 1996).

Under the apartheid state, black women thus generally suffered a "triple oppression as blacks, as women and as workers" (Cock 1987:139). In a study carried out by Seidman (1993) many of the black women she interviewed aspired to have an idealised nuclear family not separated due to migrant labour and where the husband's salary covered family expenses (Seidman 1993). However many other women argued that although their jobs were insecure, back-breaking and badly paid, they preferred the financial independence their work provided as compared to waiting for the provision of a male partner. Instead, in order to cope with the difficult circumstances they faced, many urban black women demonstrated what Cock (1987) refers to as a practical sisterhood as they assisted and supported one another in childcare and household work.

Politically, women organised and played a significant role in the struggle against apartheid. For instance, in 1954, women established a women's political movement named the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) (Geisler 2000). This was a non-racial movement which was a part of the Congress Alliance that consisted of the African National Congress (ANC), the white Congress of Democrats, the Coloured People's Organisation and the South African Indian Congress (Hassim 2006). FSAW was established to address the specific needs of women which were believed to be sidelined in the male dominated political organisations. Most notably, FSAW, together with the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL), led the now iconic 20 000 strong August 1956 anti-pass march on the government Union Buildings in Pretoria (Hassim 2006). Following a period of political repression from the 1960s, women's organisations and movements began to actively re-

emerge in the 1970s (Geisler 2000). Most notably in 1992, the Women's National Coalition was established to play the active unified political role once performed by FSAW. The emerging women's organisations, including the revived ANCWL, were to play a significant role in asserting women's equal rights during the transition to democracy (Geisler 2000). Throughout the history leading up to the end of apartheid however, it was not easy for women's movements to have an impact as they often faced resistance from men within their own ranks. For instance, in the ANC, male leaders often called for greater control of the women's league, while women desired to assert their autonomy (Hassim 2006). In addition greater emphasis was placed on the struggle against racial over gender oppression (Geisler 2000). Thus women were considered to be black first and women second.

1.4 Women in post-apartheid South Africa

As noted above, during the struggle for democracy issues of the subordination of black women by black men generally went unchallenged in nationalist political organisations (Seidman 1993). Instead a greater emphasis was placed on racial emancipation. By the 1980s, however, this situation was challenged by feminists who were part of the national struggle and as the number of black women participating in the labour force and in political movement increased (Seidman 1993). By the period of the transition to democracy gender equality was recognised as a key national goal of the new democratic state (Seidman 1993).

1.4.1 Socio-political status of women

As part of achieving the goal of gender equality, when the new constitution came into effect in 1996, it secured the right to equality for women and made provision for

an autonomous horizontal body that would monitor new policies, represent women's concerns, and offer alternative definitions of both femininity and masculinity within the broad public arena (Seidman 2003:546).

This body was the Commission for Gender Equality which has since been actively involved in addressing gender issues in public and private spheres of society. According to Seidman (2003) the commission has positioned itself as an advocate for the marginalised in South Africa, especially women in the rural areas, placing little emphasis on the obstacles women face in reaching positions of power and leadership in capitalist corporations (Seidman 2003). In other words, the commission has tended to focus on the needs of poor rather than middle

class women (although its priorities may have shifted as new commissioners and chairpersons have been appointed over the years). The commission's greatest challenge has been to represent women in policy making processes while simultaneously mobilizing the general population of women towards supporting the feminist aspirations in which the commission is rooted (Seidman 2003:542).

Differences between commissioners have periodically led to some commissioners resigning making the commission ineffective in fulfilling its mandate and bringing about effective change in gender relations (Seidman 2003; Mataboge 2010a). By April 2010, SCOPA, the Parliament's public accounts watchdog, recommended that the commission be placed under curatorship for failure to fulfil its constitutional mandate (Seidman 2003; Mataboge 2010a; 2010b). It is still to be seen if the Commission can become a powerful driving force which will help to bring about gender equality in South Africa. However, to date, though visible, the body has had minimal impact.

While the Commission for Gender Equality is a state body guaranteed in the constitution to further gender equality, the elected African National Congress (ANC) executive government has made appointments and created structures in its own ranks to address this matter. When the ANC came to power in 1994 women made up 31 percent of its cabinet and by 2009 this figure had risen to 42 percent (Parliament of South Africa 2009:32). It is clear that women are increasingly represented in government but it is not clear whether they are able to effectively challenge patriarchal norms. Walters, in an interview with the *Mail & Guardian* referring in particular to women in education notes:

[t]he obsession with demographics obfuscates the real leadership issues and merely by looking at tick boxes for equity reporting, we are not eradicating sexism or various forms of chauvinism... (Kausch 2010:28).

This can also be said of leadership in government. Increased representation of women in the cabinet does not guarantee change in patriarchal norms nor does it necessarily translate into the effective representation of women's needs.

The government has also set up a Department for Women, Children and Persons with Disabilities under the office of the presidency which was "established to emphasise the need

for equity and access to development opportunities for vulnerable groups within South African society” (Department for Women, Children and Persons with Disabilities 2010:0). Established in 2009, it replaced the Office on the Status of Women, the Office on the Status of Disabled Persons and the Office on the Rights of the Child. The department is however largely been financially under-resourced (Mngadi 2010; News24 2010). Its successes so far have been mostly symbolic but because this is a new department, it may only be possible to judge its material impact more fairly in the future (News24 2010). However, it is doubtful whether this is a department indeed established for genuine social change or simply a department for the “other” in South African society which will perpetually be under-resourced (Le Roux 2010:38).

In addition to changes in government, there have also been attempts at ensuring gender equality in parliament. South Africa has committed to a 50 percent representation of women in political decision-making by 2015 (Parliament of South Africa 2009). After the national elections in April 2009, women made up 45 percent of the country’s members of parliament as compared to 27 percent in 1994 (Parliament of South Africa 2009). The material effects of the increase in the representation of women in parliamentary leadership is however debatable. On the one hand it has been argued that there is a visible difference in the process of policy formulation as more women enter representative bodies. According to Mtintso (2003:577), many gender-related policy outcomes are traceable to women parliamentarians. On the other hand, the presence of women in parliament or any other national or local leadership bodies does not necessarily guarantee that women’s interests will be advanced (Mtintso 2003). Different women hold different views on patriarchy and gender relations and it cannot be assumed that there is one set of universal women’s interests which can be represented (Mtintso 2003). Never-the-less, the presence of more women in parliament has helped to undermine traditional assumptions about the roles of women and men in society, and has increased gender sensitivity in the processes of law and policy formulation (Mtintso 2003).

An observation of the current political culture in the ruling party is an important part of the assessment of the status of women in South Africa. Suttner (2010) has noted that although South Africa has made some moves towards gender equality the current political climate in the ruling party under the leadership of Jacob Zuma is largely regressive. The ANC has over the past few years failed to demonstrate a true commitment to challenging patriarchal ideas

(Suttner 2010). When Zuma ascended to power as ANC president in 2007, then as state president in 2009, there was a sense of euphoria and hope from the supporters he had garnered. Suttner refers to this as “the Zuma phenomenon” (2010:12). However, Zuma’s populist leadership has provided a space in which a particular conservative form of manhood can flourish, and has been associated with the display and support of violent masculinities which has done little to stem the high rates of rape, murder and violation of women in South Africa (Suttner 2010). Although the ANC has condemned acts of gender violence it has simultaneously ignored threats of violence and war talk by some of its leaders, thereby condoning a masculinity grounded in verbal and physical aggression (Suttner 2010).

Meanwhile the dominant public discourse is one of “Women empowerment” which assumes that the more women appear in leadership the more equal the society (Gqola 2007:115). Gqola notes that this discourse is flawed in four important ways. First, only a limited number of women in South Africa can come to positions of power; second, the needs of women are often not assertively represented even when women are in leadership positions; third, workplaces remain structured on patriarchal principals; and finally, the dynamics of most private and other public spaces are perpetually disempowering to women. To elaborate on the last point, women are not free from violence or harassment in homes, restaurants, clubs, streets and taxi ranks (Gqola 2007). Some have been publicly stripped and beaten for wearing skirts deemed too short (Vincent 2009). Furthermore, the threat of misogynistic violence in public spaces seems worse for working class women who have to use public transport (Gqola 2007).

1.4.2 Women and the post-apartheid economy

As noted earlier, black women’s participation in the economy during apartheid was largely restricted to low paid jobs in the service sector and in the domestic sphere (whether in their own homes or in those of madams). Through Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and gender equity policies informed by the Gender Policy Framework, post-apartheid South Africa officially provides black women with more opportunities for professional work, including jobs as managers or company executives (Mathur-Helm 2005). The young emergent black middle class women are now targeted by advertisers as potential consumers of upmarket goods. Unilever Institute of Strategic Marketing coined the term “black diamond” in 2005 to refer to this emergent black middle class (2010:0). This “diamond class”

of women are described as “possibly the most important local market in SA in the foreseeable future” (UCT Unilever Institute for Strategic Marketing 2010:0). This is a sign that more black women are earning more money and have more disposable income in the new South Africa.

However, despite the growth in the numbers of middle class black women, figures show that black women’s professional advancement is limited. Similar to Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policies which have been known to enrich only a small group of black men linked to the ANC government, gender equity programmes have not ensured that a diverse group of women make it to company boardrooms (Mataboge 2010b; Southall 2004). The same women tend to be appointed as directors at different companies (Mataboge 2010b). In addition BEE policies have tended to pay little attention to black women. There is lack of a clear national strategy to ensure that black women benefit from BEE, although quotas for the number of women participating in certain industries have been set as targets (Department of Trade and Industry 2006).

According to statistics released in 2009, black women make up only 6.1 percent of all senior managers in both government and the private sectors (Department of Labour 2010). It has been noted that over 70 of the companies on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) do not have any women on their board of directors (Mataboge 2010b:7). This demonstrates that in a country where women make up over 50 percent of the population, only a tiny percentage are in a position to make high level decisions in government and private capitalist institutions. Black women make up only 6.5 percent of senior managers and 16.0 percent of professional workers (including middle managers). Figures show the majority of employed black women are in positions which require low or no levels of collective decision-making as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers (Department of Labour 2010:41). There however appears to be some commitment by government towards favouring the employment of black women in decision making positions as compared to the private sector. For example 23.1 percent of senior managers in government as compared to 3.4 percent in the private sector are black women (Department of Labour 2010:9). On the whole however, there are very few women in high level decision making posts regardless of race. In the private sector these roles tend to be filled by white males (Department of Labour 2010).

The figures noted above may be understood in terms of the “the glass ceiling” (Mathur-Helm 2006). The glass ceiling can be characterised by limited employment of women despite their qualifications and suitability for the job, the discouragement of women for applying for certain positions and their obstruction from entering positions of influence in an organisation dominated by men (Mathur-Helm 2006:312). It is evident that many educated and qualified black women face challenges to their professional advancement due to patriarchal ideas which prevail in the workplace (Mathur-Helm 2006). For instance, after-hour social and networking events may be structured to suit the old (white) boys club, rather than include women (Mathur-Helm 2006). In a study of the glass ceiling in four of South Africa’s largest retail banks, Mathur-Helm (2006) found there were sometimes systematic attempts by men to prevent women from advancing in their chosen careers.

In addition to the glass ceiling, the low figures of women’s participation in top and senior management can also be attributed to greater societal discrimination against women, which often results in many girls not completing school or acquiring a university education (Mathur-Helm 2005; Zulu 1998). Furthermore, traditional beliefs which place primary domestic responsibility on women while assuming that men are the primary breadwinners often make it difficult for working women in long term heterosexual relationships to study towards postgraduate qualifications (Mathur-Helm 2006). Such further study could potentially improve women’s chances of entering higher level decision-making positions in organisations (Mathur-Helm 2006). Unequal gender roles also make women hesitant to take on the extra responsibility that comes with executive managerial position (Mathur-Helm 2006). Black women particularly face a dual challenge in attempts to become top managers as racial prejudices still firmly exist (Mathur-Helm 2005).

Although my discussion on women and the economy focuses mainly on middle class women, it is important to keep in mind that the majority of working class women in South Africa do not have formal jobs due to limitations in education and the general lack of job opportunities (Aliber 2003).

1.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided a background to my research. I have outlined the broad social context in which women in South Africa live and discussed the institutional history of

Destiny, including an overview on the life and character of its founding editor. From my discussion, it is evident that black women in South Africa have faced a long history of gender oppression along racial lines. Although the transition to democracy came with new policies which were intended to advance gender equality, South Africa remains a deeply patriarchal society. This is evidenced by high levels of violence against women and the low numbers of women in top decision-making positions, especially in capitalist institutions. In spaces which have opened up for more women leaders, for example in parliament and government, traditional cultures of gender prejudice still remain and make it difficult for women positioned in them to effect real change. The contested nature of gender relations in the South African context means that pursuit of gender equality is not simple. It is instead a messy process of the contestation of ideas about justice for women. It will therefore be interesting to assess *Destiny*'s representations of femininity in the context of a largely patriarchal South Africa.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Available for purchase in bookstores, supermarkets or pharmacies by those who can afford them, women's magazines may be consumed privately in the home or in the public space of a doctor's waiting room. They aim to instruct, educate and inform their readers about being 'real' women and how to achieve this desirable status (Beetham 1996). Offering perceived solutions to 'women's problems' and advice on emotional and relational issues, they form an important part of today's popular culture.

This study is located in broader framework of cultural studies which is largely concerned with the critique of cultural forms such as women's magazines. It is a field of study concerned with the processes of production, circulation and consumption of meanings (Fiske 1987a; Johnson 1987). Women's magazines are one of many media which circulate and generate meanings about women. They are concerned with the feminine, addressing to women 'ideal' forms of femininity or womanliness (Beetham 1996). Such an address assumes the term 'women' defines a biologically determined group of people who are designed to exercise 'the feminine' (Beetham 1996). However, the aim of cultural studies is to challenge such taken for granted assumptions.

Poststructuralist theory provides a useful theoretical framework to critically analyse women's magazines as it problematises enduring discourses such as those of femininity (Beetham 1996). It can be used to interrogate the way people talk about femininity in different historical and cultural contexts. It asserts that different social and historical contexts may produce different kinds of femininities. From a poststructuralist perspective, femininity in contemporary patriarchal society is constructed in contrast to masculinity and consequently located in the context of gender relations (Connell 1995). Poststructuralism therefore provides a framework through which to challenge existing unequal gender relations and identify opportunities for change (Weedon 1997:40).

This chapter provides a discussion of the literature on femininity as located within gender relations. I discuss the poststructuralist conception of representation as discourse,

highlighting the construction of the feminine subject, the work of power and knowledge within this process, and female body as the canvas on which femininity is most often marked. This discussion provides the theoretical framework for this study. In addition, I offer an account of different feminisms and their ideas about women and femininity and will examine how popular postfeminism tends to straddle between challenging and endorsing unequal gender relations. This theoretical framework acts as an important precursor to my discussion of research done on women's magazines in Chapter 3.

2.2 The structure of gender

The purpose of this study is to identify and examine the discourses of femininity in *Destiny* magazine. The analysis thus requires a theoretical framework within which and by means of which the concept of femininity can be understood. As femininity has no meaning except in contrast to masculinity and is experienced within the broader framework of the relationship between men and women, it is necessary to have a sociological understanding of the concept of gender (Connell 1995). Connell's (1987) conception of gender provides such a theory and is central to the theoretical framework of this study.

Gender relations form a part of day-to-day social organisation, permeating all areas of social life and activity. Common sense understandings of gender have tended to argue that men and women are biologically different and these biological differences determine the social differences between the sexes (Connell 2002). This essentialist argument, though enticing, is too simplistic. First, there is no empirical evidence to support the idea that the behaviour, values and social roles of men and women are biologically determined (Connell 2002). In addition, not all women display 'feminine' characteristics nor do all men display 'masculine' characteristics (Connell 2002).

Challenging these common sense understandings, a distinction was made in the 1970s, between the concepts of "sex" and "gender" (Connell 2002). This was an attempt to break the collapse of the biological and the social human being into one. While sex was the biological fact of difference between male and female, gender was the social fact concerning masculine and feminine roles (Connell 2002). According to this perspective, societies and individuals are theoretically free to choose whatever gender patterns they desire. Despite this being a significant conceptual breakthrough, it failed to account for the unequal balance of power

between the masculine and the feminine (Connell 2002). Furthermore, this account did not address a concern with the use of power on bodies (Connell 2002).

Taking into consideration the limitations of the previous perspectives on gender, Connell (2002) proposes a view of gender which focuses on the exercise of power enacted on bodies by individuals situated in social institutions. Gender is thus seen as socially structured and not a fixed dichotomy between male and female. His conception of gender attempts to avoid the biological determinism of common sense thinking by focusing on social relations (Connell 2002). So Connell notes:

[g]ender is the structure of social relations that centres on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes (2002:10).

At the beginning of history, humans began to act on sexual differences to create gender distinctions through processes such as allocating certain kinds of work to certain sexual groups and defining sets of acceptable behaviour for different sexes (Connell 2002). It is the culmination of these actions upon sexual differences which produces the history of gender (Connell 2002). This history produces what Connell (1987; 2002) refers to as the *gender order* and *gender regime*. Gender regimes are the patterns of gender arrangements in institutions such as universities, police forces, hospitals or corporate companies (Connell 1987; 2002). They exist within a broader formation of the gender order, which is the wider pattern of gender arrangements in a society (Connell 2002). Although gender regimes are usually consistent with the gender order, this is not always the case and this inconsistency, Connell (2002) argues, leaves room for the gradual transformation of relations.

Gender regimes and the gender order do not determine how men and women interact, or how women interact with women and men with men, but rather set limits as to what forms of behaviour are permissible (Connell 2002). Gender is therefore not predetermined, but is a matter of “doing” (West and Zimmerman 1987). West and Zimmerman note that “doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine ‘natures’” (1987:126). Femininity thus exists through interaction as individuals perform it in their everyday lives (West and Zimmerman 1987). If gender is about interaction, then gender

relations are an important aspect of its constitution. In patriarchal society, these relations are characterised by the dominance of a particular kind of masculinity over femininity and other subordinated forms of masculinity (Connell 1987). In such patriarchal society, gender relations are founded on the relationship between what Connell refers to as “hegemonic masculinity” and “emphasised femininity” (1987:183).

In order to understand the concept of hegemonic masculinity, it is first necessary to explicate the meaning of hegemony as it is understood here. First, hegemony refers to the dominance of a group, achieved not through brute force but “principally by means of winning the active consent of those... groups who are subordinated within it” (Hall 1982:85). Thus hegemonic masculinity depends heavily on winning the consent of women. The second aspect of hegemony is that it does not depend on complete cultural dominance or an elimination of alternative ideas (Connell 1987). It is rather achieved through finding a balance that subordinates certain groups and alternative ways of thinking (Connell 1987).

So, hegemonic masculinity subordinates all forms of femininity and other forms of masculinity (Connell 1987). This is an important point. There exist other possible forms of masculinity which for example may not define men as primary breadwinners or support masculine violence. However these masculinities are subordinated under hegemonic masculinity. All kinds of femininity are subordinated to hegemonic masculinity but hegemonic masculinity favours a particular kind of femininity (Connell 1987). This is an “emphasised femininity” which depends on compliance to the dominance of men (Connell 1987:187). Thus a good woman is defined as sexually compliant, nurturing, passive and benevolent – essentially harmless. It is a femininity performed for men whether in terms of ‘the humble wife’, ‘pretty lady’ or ‘hot chick’. Within it, women must ‘look good’ so they can be gazed upon by men. It simultaneously depends on the labelling of other kinds of women as outcasts – spinsters, lesbians, witches and prostitutes (Connell 1987). It is this structure of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity which makes up the contemporary gender order in patriarchal societies such as that of South Africa.

This arrangement of unequal power between men and women, which can be termed patriarchy, informs daily relations in society. Connell (2002) identifies four kinds of gender relations. These are power relations, production relations, emotional relations and symbolic

relations. I will discuss each of these below. It is necessary to note that these four structures of relations are intertwined and interact in practice. The model is therefore useful as an analytic tool rather than a precise explanation of how gender works in daily life (Connell 2002).

2.2.1 Power Relations

Connell recognises power relations at two levels. As he notes: “There is both organized, institutional power and diffuse, discursive power” (2002:59). An example of the former can be found in institutions such as the military and the police, which Althusser (2001) terms repressive state apparatuses. These institutions often make use of repressive physical force. The latter, which is discursive power, is dealt with in detail later in this chapter. For now however, it can be defined as the way in which people use language and particular practices attached to it, to sustain unequal relations (Hall 1997; Connell 2002). For example, business institutions may disadvantage women through the way business is talked about and practiced. In such a way, unequal gender relations are sustained.

2.2.2 Production relations

A central component of production relations is the sexual division of labour (Connell 2002). This refers to the social structure in which certain kinds of work are awarded to women and others to men. An example of this, as discussed in Chapter 1, is that top managerial positions in capitalist companies in South Africa tend to be given to men, while women are usually positioned in lower and middle management (Mathur-Helm 2005). Another example is the way women have historically been constructed as consumers rather than producers of technology (Williams and Edge 1996). The structural division of labour is influenced by the different kinds of skilling, education and training accorded to men and women (Connell 1987; 2002). Such differences constrain practice – that is they restrict (although they do not necessarily determine) what kinds of work men and women can do (Connell 1987). The unequal division of labour is however open to scrutiny and may be acted upon by collectives of individuals who may wish to uphold or transform it (Connell 1987).

In examining the division of labour we need to also consider the design and organisation of particular kinds of work. For example Connell notes, “the making of jobs like receptionist, air hostess and secretary [are] a combination of particular technical skills with a particular

femininity” (1987:103). This pairing is a human choice rather than a necessity or a natural given. Indeed, men are capable of serving meals in-flight but constructions of air hostesses are based on the idea that women’s service is more pleasant and fitting than that of men, drawing from traditional notions of women as natural caregivers.

Relations of production in our world today are largely governed by the institution of capitalism. Connell (1987) argues that capitalism is a structure and form of organisation developed out of an exploitation of unequal gender relations between women and men. He proposes that there are two major principles which can be used to understand the gendered nature of capitalism. The first is the gendered logic of accumulation (Connell 1987; 2002). This is the manner in which material accumulation is achieved by economic benefits being shifted in one direction and losses in another (Connell 2002:105). This does not however mean that all women are losers or that all men are beneficiaries, but overall the gendered structure of accumulation works to *systematically* exclude women (Connell 1987). The second principle is the political economy of masculinity (Connell 1987:106). This is the way definitions of hegemonic masculinity are used as an economic and cultural force to maintain forms of practice that discriminate against women (Connell 1987:106). An example would be the definition of men as primary breadwinners and thus deserving of more income than women. In practice this would mean women are paid less for their work (Connell 1987).

2.2.3 *Emotional Relations*

Emotional relations – in particular, those associated with sexuality – are central to gender relations (Connell 1987; 2002). Sexuality is often the object of power as individuals are constrained and prohibited from having sexual relations with specific family members or individuals of the same sex (Connell 1987). At the same time individuals are encouraged to take on certain sexualities, most commonly heterosexual relations. In contemporary industrialised society, households, which provide the foundation for the organisation of capitalist economic relations, are constituted on the basis of romantic love between heterosexual couples (Connell 1987). Where such emotional relations exist within the broader context of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity they are founded on unequal power relations (Connell 1987).

2.2.4 *Symbolic Relations*

Symbolic relations are of particular importance to poststructuralist understandings of gender. I discuss poststructuralism in depth later in this chapter, but here I consider one brief example of the gendered implications of linguistic signs. Linguistic symbols are an important part of how people interact and speak to one another. One's use of a single word conjures up a complex interplay of meaning and allusion (Connell 2002). Thus when "we speak of 'a woman' or 'a man', we call into play a tremendous system of understandings, implications, overtones and allusions that have accumulated through a cultural history" (Connell 2002:65). This cultural history is however a site of contestation, as connotations of words, terms or phrases are regularly challenged and may be consequently transformed (Connell 2002).

2.2.5 *The fluidity of gender*

In discussing the four kinds of gender relations above, I have alluded to their potential for change. The transformation of gender arrangements is possible because gender categories are inherently unstable – there is no necessary relationship between gender identities and the bodies to which they refer (Connell 2002:71). So it is that the categories of defining women as 'housewife', 'maiden', 'career woman', 'girly girl' and 'tomboy' have appeared, been popular and perhaps disfavoured at different times in history. The fluid nature of gender explains why gender arrangements change but the concept of "crisis tendencies" helps to explain how change occurs (Connell 2002). Crisis tendencies are "internal contradictions or tendencies that undermine current [gender] patterns and force changes in the [gender] structure itself" (Connell 2002:71). They can be identified in the four structures of gender relations discussed above (Connell 2002). For instance, in the structure of power relations, there is an underlying contradiction between the subordination of women to men in patriarchal homes and workplaces, and the concepts of equality as stated in the South African constitution. This has produced a crisis for the current gender order as many women's organisations struggle against patriarchal systems. Understanding gender as fluid is important because it indicates that we can challenge and transform unequal gender relations.

So far I have discussed gender as a structure, but one open to change, potentially from groups whom the system does not benefit. Structures of gender categories find stability only for a time but are never fixed. Poststructuralism, with its focus on the concept of discourse, further

elaborates on the fluid nature of gender. It deals with the workings of the ideas and assumptions which inform the structure of gender. It is to this theory I will now turn.

2.3 Poststructuralism and gender

Feminist poststructuralism uses the concept of gender as constructed through discourse in order to comprehend the workings of power in gender relations and to identify possible channels of resistance against patriarchy (Weedon 1997:104). The basic premise of poststructuralism with regards to gender is that it is not natural or biologically given but rather, constructed through discourse (Weedon 1997; 1987). In order to gain a poststructuralist understanding of gender therefore, it is necessary to make sense of the concept of discourse. Discourse is fundamentally concerned with representation (Weedon 1997). I therefore provide a synopsis on representation as a precursor to an in-depth discussion on the construction of gender relations through discourse.

2.3.1 Representation

Hall (1997:24) identifies three broad approaches to representation of meaning through language. These are reflective, intentional and constructionist approaches (Hall 1997). A reflective approach argues that meaning exists prior to language in events, objects and ideas. As its name suggests, this approach considers language to reflect meanings already existent in the world (Hall 1997). So for example, when someone says or writes the word 'tree', s/he is simply making reference to an object which already has meaning. This is a common sense approach to how language works and has been criticised for its failure to separate the sign from the object in the material world (Hall 1997:24). The word 'tree', written or spoken is a sign, a representation, not a reflection of the actual object.

An intentional understanding of representation argues that words spoken or written mean what the speaker or author intends. This approach is also inadequate as "we cannot be the sole or unique source of meanings in language, since that would mean that we could express ourselves in entirely private languages" (Hall 1997:25). Meanings are *shared* and thus one cannot simply create one's own meanings if one is to communicate. As Hall (1997:25) notes, the basis of all communication is shared codes and linguistic convention.

A constructionist approach to representation does not consider meaning to be constituted in objects, events and ideas or imposed upon language by a speaker. Instead meaning is constructed through language as a system of representation (Hall 1997). People make meaning through a process of interpretation and their account or interpretation of an event is one interpretation amongst many other possible interpretations. This approach to representation is based on the conception of language as a string of signs, with each sign being made up of the signifier and the signified (Weedon 1997). The signifier is the sound or image while the signified refers to the meaning (Weedon 1997). Thus the sign 'woman' is composed of the sound or written image of this concept, while the signified is made up of the meanings accorded to the concept of woman. Important to note is that there is no necessary relationship between the signifier and the signified, which accommodates the possibility of transformation in meaning (Hall 1997). Meanings are historically and contextually specific which makes signs unstable (Weedon 1997). There may be attempts to fix meaning but this is only achieved temporarily (Weedon 1997:25). For instance, in patriarchal society, attempts may be made to fix the meaning of femininity as subordinate to masculinity but feminists may argue for equality between the two.

Since a constructionist perspective assumes that any representation of an event in the world is an interpretation amongst many other possible interpretations, it follows that media texts are not neutral reflective windows on the world (Branston and Stafford 1996). Instead, they provide an interpretation of what is in the material world and "give us ways of imagining particular identities" (Branston and Stafford 1996:125; Hall 1980). It is however important to remember that interpretations of the social world have material effects (Branston and Stafford 1996:125). So for instance, if constructions of women as neurotic, unstable and hysterical become widespread, they can affect how women are treated and experience life.

The constructionist approach to representation discussed so far confines representation to language (Hall 1997). As a semiotic approach, it is useful for conceptualising gender as constructed through processes of interpretation or meaning making. A poststructuralist discursive approach to representation is however more useful as it goes beyond language and engages with the play of power in processes of meaning making. It deals with the ways in which certain meanings gain more authority than others and thus come to be considered knowledge in particular contexts. It also examines how particular knowledges inform social

practices and vice versa and how these knowledges construct and inform particular social identities. Thus if we think of gender as constructed through discourse, we can understand that first, there are a variety of interpretations of gender and these are implicated in power relations. Second, interpretations of gender provide material for identity formation. Third, interpretations of gender inform and are informed by social practice. A discursive approach to gender is thus concerned with how people speak about or represent gender, how knowledge is constructed about it and acted out and upon by social actors whose identities are informed by such knowledge. I will now discuss in more detail the elements of discourse, power/knowledge, and the subject in relation to gender, as found in the discursive approach to representation.

2.3.2 *Discourse*

Although the concept of discourse may be used as a linguistic term to refer to passages of connected speech or writing (Hall 1997), the kind of discourse I am concerned with here is that proposed by Foucault (1972). This conception is concerned with discourse as a system of representation and meaning (Hall 1997:44). One basic principal of discourse in this sense is that no meaning exists outside of it (Foucault 1972). It is about connected statements which provide a way of meaningfully talking about a particular topic (Hall 1997:44). Discourses appear unitary and consistent throughout time but are in fact “discontinuous practices, which cross one another, are sometimes juxtaposed with one another, but can just as well exclude or be unaware of each other” (Foucault 1981:67). They do not exist in and of themselves. They draw from other discourses and for this reason should be understood as open systems (Hall 2007). The gender discourse of patriarchy may for example draw from religious and capitalist discourses. Discourses however rarely experience *fundamental* change (Larsen 1997). They often change only at a surface level, while their governing statements remain the same (Larsen 1997).

Discourses are made up of discursive events – that is groupings of texts, statements, actions and sources (Hall 1997:44). They do not all have the same status, but instead there exists a “gradation of discourse” (Foucault 1981:56). Some discourses are dominant due to their indefinite recurrence in texts and statements, while others are less prominent (Foucault 1981). A commonly recurring discourse is that of patriarchy, which permeates large areas of social

life and is repeated at the level of one on one conversation as well as at the levels of public institutions.

A discourse is made up of many statements which work together to make up a discursive formation (Gutting 1989:231). A discursive formation is “a field within which a variety of different, even conflicting, sets of elements can be deployed” (Gutting 1989:232). This means that contradictory meanings and ways of organising social institutions and practices may exist within a single discursive formation or field (Gutting 1989). Consider for instance how patriarchal discourse regards men’s promiscuity as a sign of virility while the same for women is considered ‘whoring’. These are contradictory ways of organising the social world, but both interpretations belong to the same discursive formation concerned with gender. It is for this reason that Foucault (1972:131) notes that a discursive formation is about dispersion and not construction of unity.

2.3.3 Knowledge, power and truth

Discourse is about the production of knowledge through groups of statements presented as ‘truth’ within a particular historical period (Hall 1997:44). These statements regulate what can be regarded as knowledge or meaningful within a field. Knowledge is inextricably linked to power, with power operating through institutional apparatuses and technologies (Hall 1997:47). For example, the apparatus of fashion uses technologies such as adornment and dieting to regulate the social conduct of women. Both the apparatus and its technologies are founded on certain discourses, scientific statements, laws and philosophic propositions about women – that is forms of knowledge about women – how they should appear and express themselves (Hall 1997). These forms of knowledge support, and in turn, are supported by the apparatus. Institutions such as the family, education and the judiciary are all concerned with the regulation of conduct in practice and thus power and knowledge operate within them (Weedon 1997; Foucault 1981:55).

The relationship between knowledge and power has implications for the conception of ‘truth’. From a Foucauldian perspective, what we regard as the truth about gender is located in a particular historical and social context (Hall 1997). Knowledge about gender, linked to power, can profess to be true and has the power to make itself true (Hall 1997:47). This means that certain knowledges about gender relations gain authority to the point where they

are regarded as true. The formation of bodies of knowledge has to do with the inclusion of some truth claims and exclusion of others (Foucault 1981:60). Every discourse is constituted of 'truths' and errors (Foucault 1981). As a result, a discourse can only produce a certain kind of knowledge and not an absolute truth (Foucault 1981). Discourses referring to gender (e.g. patriarchal discourses) thus only produce a certain kind of knowledge. However, the knowledge produced has material effects as it works to govern how women and men should conduct themselves and live their lives (Hall 1997). We can thus conclude that representations of gender do not reflect an overarching 'truth' but instead constitute discourses that support a "regime of truth" which has concrete effects (Hall 1997:49). To illustrate this I give an example of Lazar's (2009b) study into advertising media in Singapore. She finds that some advertisements targeted at women use discourses of entitled femininity, which support a regime of truth in which it is believed all women desire to conform to heterosexual norms of desirability (Lazar 2009b). Such a regime of truth has material effects as it in effect ostracises women who do not conform to this kind of femininity.

So far, it has been noted that knowledge/power are used to regulate social conduct, but of importance is that power in discourse cannot be monopolised – whether by the state or by individuals (Hall 1997). Instead, discourse "is the thing for which and by which there is struggle... [it] is the power which is to be seized"; yet this is never achieved (Foucault 1981:53). Power is not possessed but exercised (Brooks 1997). We are all implicated in relations of power, at times as oppressors and at other times as the oppressed. Power has no centre, for "power relations permeate all levels of social existence" (Hall 1997:50). Cock's (1989) analysis of the unequal power relations between maids and madams in apartheid South Africa provides an example of how women may be implicated in the oppression of other women. We cannot therefore argue that power in patriarchal society is possessed only by men. In addition to being everywhere, power is simultaneously repressive and productive. It can produce things, desire, pleasure, types of knowledge and discourse (Hall 1997:50). It can reproduce existent femininities, produce new ones and challenge those in circulation. Such an understanding of power in discourse breaks from the conception of power in ideology.

The concept of ideology is concerned with power relations and has been understood differently over time (Thompson 1990). It can either be conceived of as having a neutral or a

negative meaning. A neutral approach assumes that “ideologies [are] circulating in society in a relationship of relativity rather than being judged as good or bad” (Prinsloo 2009:209). A negative meaning of ideology, on the other hand, stresses the use of ideology to sustain unequal relations of power in society. Thompson’s (1990) well known negative conception defines ideology as the means by which meaning is used to serve and sustain unequal power relations. This second definition of ideology assumes that power has a centre and certain meanings can be used by particular groups at a given time to conceal relations of domination. These dominant groups are able to acquire and retain the support of the subordinated group through representing particular meanings or interpretations of the social world as truth (Thompson 1990).

Thompson’s (1990) understanding of ideology, though useful in addressing unequal social relations, is inadequate in the following ways. Firstly, it does not consider resistant movements against domination as ideological (Prinsloo 2009). This poses a problem if we consider for example, that African feminists have at times accused Western feminists of undermining them and upholding imperialist ideals. This demonstrates that even in what would be considered ‘non-ideological’ movement, that is the feminist movement, there exist unequal power relations. Secondly, the definition fails to adequately make sense of the complexity of social relations where it is sometimes difficult to distinguish which position is dominant (Prinsloo 2009). Discourse is thus a more useful concept through which to understand power as it accounts for the contested nature of meaning making and the complexity of power relations within that process. However, we can say that discourse functions ideologically in so far as it functions to produce and reproduce social inequalities (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002).

The object on which power, understood through discourse, is primarily applied is the docile body (Bordo 2004). Bodies are disciplined in different ways in certain historical and contextual periods. Bordo notes:

[t]hrough the organization and regulation of the time, space and movements of our daily lives, our bodies are trained, shaped and impressed with the stamp of prevailing historical forms of selfhood, desire, masculinity, femininity (2004:309).

When we consider the female gendered body, femininity is often marked on the body through dress, makeup, shape and posture. These markings applied to the body are produced within discourse, most often discourses of emphasised femininity (Hall 1997). So the way we speak of femininity, what and who is defined as feminine, what counts as ‘truly’ feminine results in the production of the feminine body through discourse (McNay 1993). Discourses which support hegemonic masculinity produce disciplines which are applied to women’s bodies in a way that supports the domination of men. For example, discourses of traditional Western femininity may suggest that a woman of good standing should be restrained in her manner of movement and speech, unlike the ‘loose’ woman who as Bartky notes “violates [cultural] norms: Her looseness is manifest not in her morals, but in her manner of speech, and quite literally in the free and easy way she moves” (1997:97). It is thus suggested that only men should conduct themselves boldly – they can move more freely and speak more confidently.

The discipline of women’s bodies through discourse often extends to the shape and structure of these bodies. Most notably, contemporary popular culture’s discourses of diet advocate for the taunt, small-breasted and narrow-hipped female body (Bartky 1997). This body has been theorised as the manifestation of the tension between masculinity and femininity applied to the female body (Bartky 1997). Diets are often symptomatic of traditional conceptions of femininity where women are confined to the domestic sphere as physical and emotional nurturers who provide for the needs of others by denying themselves – to stave off their desire for freedom, power and autonomy in the public sphere (Bordo 2004). The slender body also denotes weakness as opposed to the bulk favoured in masculinity (Bordo 2004). However as the professional arena is open to women in contemporary middle class society, women must now also take on traditionally masculine values of self-mastery and control to ensure success in the public sphere (Bordo 2004). Thus the woman applies a single-minded, self-mastery and control of her body through exercise and diet in order to sculpt the slender body (Bordo 2004). Macdonald notes of this phenomenon:

[f]ar from being cast within a paradigm of self-denial or rigorous and painful discipline, losing weight is part of a positive discourse about responding to a challenge, making the most of yourself and feeling good (1995:206).

Bordo argues that this ‘hybrid femininity’, composed of ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ characteristics – in a society which has traditionally understood femininity and masculinity as

mutually exclusive – is a parody, not a progressive conception of a “new woman” (2004:316). More importantly, it reinforces the gender order by disciplining women in ways non-threatening to hegemonic masculinity, and reinforces associations of the feminine with weakness.

2.3.4 Subjects, subject positions and subjectivity

Power in discourse does not only produce particular bodies but also subjects (Hall 1997). The subject (that is the participant) in discourse takes a form unlike the subject of the enlightenment (Hall 1992). Traditionally, in Western philosophy, the subject was considered unified, centred and consistent throughout time – as the originator of thoughts and practice with the capacity of reason and conscious in action (Hall 1992). The subject of discourse is in contrast de-centred, shifting in identity depending on context and time. S/he assumes different identities at different times and a seeming unified identity is constructed through a “narrative of the self” (Hall 1997:277). Instead of being the originator of thoughts and actions, the poststructuralist subject is spoken by discourse as s/he operates within the limits set within a particular discursive formation, regime of truth, culture and period (Hall 1997:55). The subject is therefore always inscribed in discourse and cannot stand outside of the knowledge/power matrix (Hall 1997).

The subject in discourse is produced in two different senses (Hall 1997). First, a discourse produces subjects with particular characteristics, for example ‘the supermum’, ‘the neurotic wife’ or ‘the independent woman’. These are historically located figures produced within particular discursive regimes (Hall 1997). Second, the discourse produces a position from which the subject can make sense of the discourse and thus become subjected to its meanings, power and regulation (Hall 1997:56). In other words, for us to become the subject or bearer of a discourse’s knowledge/power, we must locate ourselves in a position (within the discourse) from which it makes most sense to us (Hall 1997:56). The subject of discourse is therefore a willing participant within his/her own subjection to a discourse. Subject positions delineate who may speak with authority and in what context (Foucault 1981). Thus for instance, in radical feminist discourse, women may speak authoritatively about women in all contexts whereas men may not do so. There is thus a “rarefaction...of the speaking subjects” (Foucault 1981:61). However, as noted above, in order to be the subject of a radical feminist discourse a woman must subject herself to the subject position of ‘woman’ as defined by

radical feminism. The material effects of discourse are therefore always produced through the action of taking on meanings, subjectivities and values that a discourse offers (Weedon 1997:34).

The strength of poststructuralism for understanding the feminine subject lies in its anti-essentialism coupled with an acceptance of the materiality of the body (McNay 1993). It is able to explain how power is exercised over the body – a theme which is important with regards to women as “it is upon the biological difference between the male and female bodies that the edifice of gender inequality is built and legitimized” – without rooting this explanation in nature (McNay 1993:17). As a result, poststructuralism can understand femininity in terms of sociological logic (not biology) while acknowledging that this logic has material effects on women’s bodies (McNay 1993).

Destiny magazine produces subjects in the women featured in the magazine. Their photographed bodies and the narratives attached to them construct a particular kind or kinds of femininity. *Destiny* also offers its readers certain subject positions from which they can interpret the representations in the magazine. A concern with the construction of subjects and subject positionings in this magazine thus forms a central part of my analysis.

2.4 Feminism and Femininity

As a magazine which partly focuses on women in the masculine dominated field of business, *Destiny* positions itself as feminist, in so far as it is concerned with representing women as equally capable of and interested in business as men. For my analysis of the magazine, it is therefore necessary to consider various feminist ideas on gender and femininity. Feminism provides frameworks from which to understand femininity and makes available possible repertoires of femininity to which individuals may ascribe. It is a heterogeneous field of study and its diverse nature makes it difficult to define. However van Zoonen (1994) identifies two aspects of concern which are common to all critical feminist thought. First, all feminisms are concerned with “*gender* as a mechanism that structures material and symbolic worlds and our experiences of them” (van Zoonen 1994:3). Second, all feminist thought is concerned with power (van Zoonen 1994).

In order to logically map out the diverse field of feminist thought on women and femininity, I make use of Kristeva's (1981) account of the three broad stages (also known as waves) of feminism as interpreted by Kaplan (1987). The framework identifies the kinds of feminism which can be associated with particular stages of development in feminist thought. These stages are, first, a demand for equality and access in the patriarchal symbolic order, second, a rejection of the patriarchal symbolic order and third, an aim to transcend or at least recognise categories of sexual difference (Kaplan 1987).

2.4.1 Demand for equality in the patriarchal order

The first stage of feminism can be roughly located in the period between late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Bailey 1997). There were two kinds of feminism that emerged from this first stage (Kaplan 1987:219). The first was domestic feminism which celebrated a femininity constructed through patriarchy. From this perspective, femininity was viewed as essential to women and as morally superior to what were considered the male values of aggression and competition (Kaplan 1987:219-220). Domestic feminism therefore simply justified and legitimised women's position in the patriarchal gender order. The second kind of feminism associated with the first stage was liberal feminism, which argued that women should demand equality with men in careers, work and pay (Kaplan 1987). The focus was on redistribution of resources and equality between women and men in the public sphere as well as support for limited state intervention to ensure equality (Beasley 1999). Liberal feminism was criticised for its failure to challenge the patriarchal structure by instead pursuing modification of some of its elements (Kaplan 1987; Beasley 1999). It focused on reform and not revolutionary change of the gender order (Beasley 1999:52).

2.4.2 Rejection of the patriarchal symbolic order

Broadly located in the 1960s and 1970s, the second stage or wave of feminism rejected the patriarchal symbolic order, arguing that men and women were inherently different (Kaplan 1987:225; Bailey 1997). Radical feminism was most prominent in this stage. There was a celebration of an essential femininity as uniquely moral and an assertion that women should find autonomy from men (Kaplan 1987). A complete rejection of the male symbolic order formed the central principal at this stage, coupled by a quest to bond with other women (Kaplan 1987). Radical feminists argued that sexual oppression was the primary and oldest form of women's oppression, and that women were oppressed because they were women and

not as a result of membership to other groups – for example racial or cultural (Beasley 1999:54). Men were considered the common enemy against women as they benefited from the systematic and systemic exercise of power over women. The main critique levelled against radical feminism was that it assumed that women had an essential nature and therefore excluded women who did not fit a radical femininity (Beasley 1999). Furthermore, it ignored other structural differences between women, for example class and racial differences (Beasley 1999).

2.4.3 *Aim to transcend*

The third stage of feminism can be situated within the period between the 1980s and the present (Brooks 1997; Bailey 1997). Contemporary forms of feminism, such as those informed by poststructuralism, fall within this third stage (Baumgardner and Richards 2004). Third wave feminists assert that sexual categories are constructed and not essential (Kaplan 1987:227). The central concern is with the critique of the symbolic order. It is within this poststructuralist perspective that this study is located.

Feminist ideas proposed by African feminists who examine the links between gender oppression and imperialism, with a focus on the African context, also fall within this third stage (Lewis 2001). It is important to note in this study, that some African postcolonial feminists, such as Acholonu (1995) in Lewis (2001:6) argue that “motherism” – a celebration of African women’s devotion to motherhood and nurturance – can be an alternative to feminism. Such an assertion has however been critiqued for reinforcing patriarchal stereotypes about women and for ignoring that constructions of motherhood are historically informed by patriarchal discourses (Lewis 2001). Although the concept of motherism may arguably reinforce stereotypes about women, it draws attention to the need to examine the historical trajectory of motherhood in Africa as it may well be distinct from developments in western societies and lead to a different theorisation of the concept (Walker 1995). In addition, as Walker notes:

[i]t is not ‘motherhood’ as such which is the problem but, rather, the specific way in which it has been institutionalised and where it is located in the reproduction of society (1995:436).

This critique informs my later analysis of representations of motherhood in *Destiny*.

2.4.4 *Postfeminism*

Having provided a general discussion on the different strands of feminism, it is necessary to give a critical overview of postfeminism, a popular discourse on femininity which increasingly informs constructions of women in contemporary popular media (McRobbie 2004; Gill 2009; Lazar 2009a). The term postfeminism has been used in two broadly distinct ways. First, it may refer to developments in academia, which acknowledge pluralism and difference amongst women (Brooks 1997). This particular conception of postfeminism belongs to the third stage of feminism discussed above. In such usage, it encompasses poststructural, postmodern and postcolonial strands of feminism. My use of the term in this research however is informed by the second conception of postfeminism as appropriated into popular culture. Lazar provides a concise definition of this postfeminism, stating that:

[a] postfeminist discourse assumes that feminist struggles have ended, viz. that women today enjoy full equality and can ‘have it all’ if they put their minds to it; in fact, that it is becoming a women’s world, with a celebration of all things feminine (2009b:371-2).

Postfeminism emerged in the UK and the USA in the 1980s and has since become globally widespread (Lazar 2009a). Unlike third stage postfeminism, the popular conception of postfeminism does not aim to transcend essentialist understandings of gender. Gill (2009) identifies several characteristics which inform popular postfeminism. She states:

I see postfeminism as a sensibility characterized by a number of elements: a taking for granted of feminist ideas alongside a fierce repudiation of feminism; an emphasis upon choice, freedom and individual empowerment; a pre-occupation with the body and sexuality as the locus of femininity; a reassertion of natural sexual difference grounded in heteronormative ideas about gender complementarity; the importance placed upon self-surveillance and monitoring as modes of power; and a thoroughgoing commitment to ideas of self-transformation, that is, a makeover paradigm (Gill 2009:346).

Women are encouraged to see themselves as ‘girls’ who are unafraid to embrace ‘feminine’ symbols – fashion, makeup, high heels, etc. (Baugardner and Richards 2004). They are persuaded to pursue traditional forms of beauty (in which beauty is often equated with whiteness) producing a “spectacle of excessive femininity” (McRobbie 2009:85). This “girling” of women is attached to a consumer culture which implies that all the needs and desires of women can be satisfied through the purchase of consumer goods (Lazar

2009b:375). Membership within social communities and the ability to speak out within them are defined by consumer citizenship – that is one’s ability to acquire commodities (Harris 2004). Sexual pleasure and an entitlement to consume are constructed as freedoms (McRobbie 2009). The postfeminist woman is thus constructed as an individual who is financially and sexually independent, entitled to consume and free to embrace all things feminine (Lazar 2009b).

Critics have challenged this postfeminist femininity, arguing that it is a systematic process of co-option of feminist thought into an individualistic discourse, applied to political and institutional life, to reassert patriarchy. It is viewed not as emancipatory, but as a backlash – an anti-feminist attack on the project of feminism which challenges patriarchy as a social system (McRobbie 2004; Gill 2009; 2009; 2008). Postfeminism is charged with attempting to reverse the gains made by second wave feminists who rejected the patriarchal gender order and demanded a fresh structuring of gender relations. It is argued that in postfeminism, the ideas of feminism are made to seem embittered and repulsive, and not compatible with ‘the feminine’ (McRobbie 2009).

Critics further argue that as a substitute, women are offered self gratification, consumption, fantasy and pleasure resulting in a false sense of powerfulness and liberation (McRobbie 2009). Individualism coupled with a commitment to self-surveillance is used to persuade women to leave behind the idea of a collective feminist struggle and instead pursue their own goals and pleasures as individuals (Gill 2009; McRobbie 2009). Rather than being an expression of freedom and individual character, postfeminism is viewed by critics as a “[a] masquerade... a strategy or device for the re-securing of patriarchal law and masculine hegemony” through women’s and girls’ conformity to heterosexual norms of desirability and performance for the pleasure of men (McRobbie 2009:83). This functions to subdue the possible re-emergence of a popular feminist movement demanding transformation (McRobbie 2009).

Understood in a South African context, postfeminism may however play a far more complex role in the discursive terrain of gender than some critics allow. For example, as part of a discourse of hegemonic masculinity in South Africa, men, under customary law, may legally marry more than one woman but women may only be married to one man (Department of

Home Affairs 2010). The law thus legitimises polygamy in favour of men while denying women the same right. A postfeminist discourse, with its emphasis on a woman's right to sexual freedom subverts the traditional emphases on women's chastity and commitment to one man. In this way postfeminist discourse challenges an aspect of hegemonic masculinity. I am however in no way arguing that postfeminism *guarantees* women's emancipation, as indeed many of its characteristics appear to re-inscribe women into the patriarchal gender order. However I would like to suggest that it contains elements which can be subversive to hegemonic masculinity. It is therefore inadequate to simply theorise of it as a backlash against feminism. It instead plays a complex role that simultaneously challenges and reasserts patriarchal norms (Lazar 2009b). It may not transform the governing statements of patriarchal discourse, but chips away at its surface.

The differences evident in the three stages of feminism together with the challenges presented by postfeminism highlight the contested nature of femininity. This gives credence to the idea that femininity is a site of struggle for competing discourses (Macdonald 1995). The different kinds of feminisms, as well as postfeminism, provide possible repertoires of femininity to which individuals may ascribe. As a researcher located in a poststructuralist position, the intention of my research is to critique the unequal power relations advanced in the repertoires of femininity made available in *Destiny* magazine. These repertoires need to be understood as interacting in a complex way with the social context of South Africa.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the theoretical framework that informs this study. I have discussed gender as a consisting of power, production, emotional and symbolic relations. It has been argued that in our current gender order, hegemonic masculinity subordinates femininity and favours an emphasised femininity. I have argued that gender is produced through discourse and thus femininity is a discursive construct. An attempt has been made to summarise the different perspectives of various feminisms in explaining, defining and challenging forms of femininity. Poststructuralist feminism has been argued to provide the most useful framework through which to analyse contemporary constructions of femininity. Postfeminism has been discussed as a prominent discourse informing contemporary popular culture, and it has been argued that it needs to be understood as more complex than a simple

backlash against feminism. In the next chapter, in order to contextualise this study, I discuss the body of research that considers the representation of femininity in women's magazines.

Chapter 3: Women's Magazines

3.1 Introduction

The women's magazine emerged in the West during the late eighteenth (Beetham 1996). Referring to British women's magazines in particular, Beetham (1996) notes that these magazines offered bourgeois forms of domestic femininity often associated, explicitly or implicitly, with Englishness, whiteness and Christianity. The feminine identity these publications offered "bound readers firmly into the culture of capital" (Beetham 1996:7). Readers were constructed as shoppers, most notably of fashion, and other products offered in the many pages of advertising (Beetham 1996). Although contemporary magazines are not identical to these early publications, they too are concerned with conveying ideas about womanliness or femininity (Beetham 1996). Ironically, though addressed to 'women', these magazines incessantly suggest that womanliness is an identity one must work at achieving (Beetham 1996). Studies of women's magazines have therefore been concerned with the manner in which magazine producers and audiences understand femininity and how these femininities are represented in texts. Production, reception and textual studies try to address these concerns.

In this chapter I attempt to provide a historical overview of such studies. The discussion on South African magazines in particular provides important insights into how magazines, which are imported cultural forms, have been transformed and operate within a local context.

3.2 Understanding women's magazines

Historically, critical studies of women's magazines have been informed by particular developments and shifts in social and media theory. Below is a critical historicized discussion on women's magazine research and the theories which have informed it at different stages.

3.2.1 *Magazines as negative or positive*

Early studies of women's magazines tended to focus on the distortion of reality and the ideological effects of these magazines on their readers (van Zoonen 1994:30; Gough-Yates 2003). The thesis of distortion can be found in the work of Friedan (1965), Tuchman et al (1978), Ferguson (1978) and Phillips (1978). These theorists were located within second

wave feminism which rejected the patriarchal gender order. The central argument was that magazines were transmitters of patriarchal ideas and failed to show the true character of women, alienating them from themselves and other women, while legitimising gender inequalities (Gough-Yates 2003:8). It was argued that women's magazines did not represent the real social position and nature of women as a diverse group of people. This early work on women's magazines was rooted in a hypodermic conception of the media, in which media forms 'injected' repressive ideas and values into the minds of audiences (Morley 1992). Secondly, it was assumed that the media could either distort or reflect reality (van Zoonen 1994). This understanding however failed to account for the complex process of reading or decoding and for the "dynamic nature of gender, its historical and cultural specificity and its contradictory meanings" (van Zoonen 1994:31). None-the-less, this research usefully highlighted the limited range of representations of women in women's magazines.

3.2.2 Magazines and tangible effects

In the 1970s there was a shift away from understanding women's magazines as providing either 'negative' or 'positive' representations (Gough-Yates 2003). Drawing from Althusser's theory of ideology, representations of women were conceived of as more than just ideas. They were considered to have material effects (Gough-Yates 2003:8). Ideology, it was argued, was inscribed in everyday rituals and practices and worked to interpellate and hail individuals to take up particular subject positions (Curran et al. 1987:73). It was argued that readers of women's magazines were presented with ideological frameworks through which they could understand themselves. These ideological frameworks of femininity had the effect of naturalising the subordination of women to men (Gough-Yates 2003:9). This research still viewed women's magazines as distorting reality, but the central concern was no longer with 'negative' and 'positive' conceptions of femininity. Instead women's magazines were placed in the wider context of cultural politics with a greater focus on how feminine identities were fixed and confined (Gough-Yates 2003:9). The main criticism against the Althusserian-informed studies of women's magazines was that they conceived of these texts as closed and that readers were trapped within a dominant set of ideologies (Gough-Yates 2003). This denied the possibility of individuals giving oppositional readings to these texts and thus only provided a pessimistic account of magazines (van Zoonen 1994; Gough-Yates 2003:9).

3.2.3 *Magazines as a space for negotiation*

By the early 1980s some other second wave feminist scholars began to conceive of women's magazines as spaces for the negotiation of women's oppression (Gough-Yates 2003:10).

These studies drew from Gramscian ideas of hegemony (Gough-Yates 2003). Hegemony, as noted in the previous chapter, is the process by which a social group or class gains domination in society through a continual process of accommodation of oppositional ideas and interests (Hall 1982). This was an important shift away from conceiving of women's magazines as patriarchal tools that reinforced women's oppression (Gough-Yates 2003).

However, these studies, similar to those before, held to the idea that women's magazines had pre-existent meanings which could either be accepted or resisted (Gough-Yates 2003). This became a point of challenge from poststructuralist theorists who, drawing on Hall's (1980) encoding/ decoding model, argued that meaning was not contained in texts, but that rather, both producers and readers of magazines went through a process of interpretation and meaning making (Gough-Yates 2003).

3.2.4 *Magazines as discursive*

Hall's (1980) model of meaning making, in which readers could either give a preferred, negotiated or oppositional reading of a text, was significant for poststructuralist theory, which began to make a significant impact on feminist approaches to popular culture in the mid 1980s and is now widely used in contemporary studies of women's magazines (Gough-Yates 2003). Employing the concept of discourse, poststructuralist or third wave cultural studies feminists assert that readers go through a process of interpretation in order to make meaning of what is in magazines (Gough-Yates 2003). Such meanings are historically and culturally specific and linked to certain social practices (Gough-Yates 2003). Ethnographic audience studies, such as that of Hermes (1995) support the idea that readers of women's magazines can make various interpretations of femininity, and that it cannot be assumed that all readers will interpret these texts the same way. Other poststructuralist investigations into women's magazines focus on the discourses which inform these texts. In particular, several studies have challenged what they argue are postfeminist discursive constructions of femininity in contemporary women's magazines (Lazar 2009b; Gill 2009).

While most poststructuralist studies and indeed most studies of women's magazines have focused on textual analysis, a study by Gough-Yates (2003) investigates the process of

production of women's magazines. Gough-Yates (2003) views magazine production as a point of meaning making and contestation amongst producers which needs to be examined in order to gain a better understanding of women's magazines. By tracking the changes in the structure of publishing houses in the magazine industry in Britain, analysing the survival and collapse of some magazine titles and interrogating the influence of advertisers on publications, this research highlights the complex, contested and volatile nature of the magazine production process.

In particular, Gough-Yates (2003) notes that in the late twentieth century, there were political, economic, social and cultural changes occurring in Britain which influenced magazine producers to make attempts at understanding cultures of femininity better. Women's magazine publishers thus carried out widespread qualitative research which they used to propose to advertisers that they had a good understanding of their target markets (Gough-Yates 2003). The information formulated from this research was used to develop 'new' methods of addressing women and to justify the existence of a "new woman" (Gough-Yates 2003:153). This new woman is essentially a young, white, middle class individual who is liberated, self-sufficient and focused on her own pleasure (Gough-Yates 2003). It is at this new postfeminist woman the glossy magazines or 'glossies' that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s are targeted. Drawing from poststructuralist theory, Gough-Yates (2003) emphasises that these glossy titles do not depict reality but rather provide particular constructions of femininity for commercial purposes. She states:

[t]he magazine industry's depictions of femininity are attempts to unify the perceived complexities of young women's lives around coherent, commercially viable configurations of 'woman' that will appeal to advertisers and readers alike (Gough-Yates 2003:154).

Gough-Yates's (2003) study therefore highlights the importance of locating magazine production in the wider economic, political, and socio-cultural context in which it occurs. Magazine production is itself influenced by changes in society and contributes to the development of ideas that coalesce around notions of femininity and class within the society at large.

3.3 South African magazines

So far my discussion has focused on understandings of Western magazines. Although local magazines may be understood in similar ways, there is a need for understandings which are grounded in a local African context in general and South African in particular. The need for such an approach lies in the fact that the magazine did not emerge in Africa but is instead an imported cultural form (Narunsky-Laden 2010). It is therefore necessary to comprehend the ways in which this imported form works within a local South African context.

In examining African media products which are based on imported cultural forms, some scholars have argued that these products are agents of cultural imperialism (Louw 2010). Although cultural imperialism is an ill-defined concept, it broadly assumes that Western values and ideas become established and undermine local cultures in Third World or peripheral communities as Western media forms become popular in these areas (Louw 2010; Bourgault 1995; Tomlinson 2001). From this perspective, local productions based on Anglo-American formats function only to make Western ideas and values acceptable to local audiences (Louw 2010). Although they may be hybrid forms, combining local and Western (mostly American) elements, it is believed such productions privilege Western culture. Local middle class ‘compradors’ who benefit from Western favour, are believed to actively make attempts at Westernising or at least semi-Westernising “the third world’s traditional people” through these hybrid media and other products imported directly from America (Louw 2010:33). From this Gramscian perspective therefore, South African magazines are agents of Westernisation.

On the other hand some poststructuralists have argued that at least since the nineteenth century, local media based on imported formats have been shaped and styled in ways that render them useful and meaningful within an African context (Narunsky-Laden 2010). It is argued that these media forms may be used to “revitalize... traditions and generate new forms” (Barber 2006:3). From this perspective therefore, South African magazines are not simply agents of Westernisation, but are instead “cultural tools”, moulded to suit a local context and in which local everyday experiences, both traditional and modern, are mediated and can be used by readers to form new identities and ways of life (Laden 2003:192; Narunsky-Laden 2010).

My own view, informed by a poststructuralist discursive understanding of the media, is in some way a middle ground between viewing magazines as agents of cultural imperialism or simply as cultural tools. I see South African magazines as spaces in which different discourses are articulated within the broader context of networks of asymmetrical power relations and the gradation of discourse (i.e. the level of dominance, influence or authority of different discourses) (Foucault 1972; Fairclough 1995). These discourses may originate from African, Western or other global contexts. They may be 'traditional' or 'modern' and some may be dominant and others less influential. These discourses are articulated in magazines in ways that either sustain or challenge asymmetrical gender, global and other social power relations (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002; Fairclough 1995). Such a conception thus acknowledges that South African magazines have been developed over time within a local context without ignoring the wider global and local power relations which influence their production and consumption.

Most of the studies I have encountered on South African magazines appear to be broadly concerned with the mediation of identity formation, gender and sexuality, race and consumerism (Laden 2003; Narunsky-Laden 2010; Sanger 2009; 2008; Legge 2006; Ndzabela 2002; Bertelsen 1998; Driver 1996; De Robillard 2006). It is therefore useful to frame my critical discussion on South African magazines in accordance with these themes. These studies also suggest that representations in South African magazines are in a dialectical relationship with the broader everyday negotiation of 'African culture' and modernity. My discussion focuses mainly on lifestyle magazines targeted at a black readership, mainly because this research is concerned with such a magazine. I however refer to some research into magazines which are widely read by both black and white readers in order to highlight the recurrence of themes. In addition, the discussion below does not focus exclusively on research into women's magazines primarily because the South African black magazine market has historically been dominated by publications which were not targeted at women alone (Laden 2003; Narunsky-Laden 2010). *Thandi*, the first magazine targeted at black women appeared only in 1985, when there had already been several black magazines on the market since 1949 (Narunsky-Laden 2010). It therefore seems reasonable in my discussion to examine research into magazines targeted at black readers in general, as this provides an important historical and contextual background on how black women have been represented.

3.3.1 *Identity formation*

South African magazines targeted at black readers have been argued to work as tools for identity formation by offering new identities to which readers may aspire (Laden 2003; Narunsky-Laden 2010). The first successful mass-produced magazine targeted at a black readership was *Zonk*, first established in 1949 (Laden 2003; Laden 2001). This magazine emerged in a period characterised by increased urbanisation as many black men and some women flocked to major cities in search of employment (Driver 1996). Traditional rural family structures were disrupted and transformed, which opened up a space for the conception of new social networks and family arrangements in both rural and urban areas (Driver 1996). *Zonk* took the form of a photo magazine which was modelled on the African American publication, *Ebony* (Laden 2003). It was the first back magazine in South Africa to feature full colour advertisements on inside pages, four colour comic strips, full colour covers and a layout of bold lettering, combined with many pictures (Laden 2001:197). Through the use of these modern modes of visual representation combined with relatively uninterrupted blocks of text, *Zonk* articulated traditional thought patterns with ‘new’ urban ‘ways of knowing’ (Laden 2001). It was a space in which the traditional met the modern. Illiterate, semi-literate and literate rural, migrant and urban black South Africans were presented with an array of new subject positions they could use to inform new identities in the face of pervasive social change (Narunsky-Laden 2010).

It must however be emphasised that the hybrid traditional/modern subject positions offered in magazines such as *Zonk* in the mid twentieth century, may be founded on an imagined traditional past. De Robillard (2006) for instance argues that black brides and grooms featured in bridal magazines are often marked with contemporary modern and invented traditional signifiers. Traditional pasts may be invented in order to evoke a sense of ‘Africaness’ and a connection with the past. At the same time modernity itself cannot be conceived as fixed for it too shifts and changes (Louw 2010). The hybrid subject positions offered to readers are thus imagined and not a reflection of a previously existent tradition meeting a fixed modernity (De Robillard 2006). They do however have material effects in that they can inform social practices (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002).

The subject positions and ways of life offered in black South African magazines are often “‘aspired to’, not necessarily ‘given’ states of affairs” (Laden 2003:191). Readers going

through the pages of *Drum*, *Pace* or *Zonk*, could imagine and hope for a different state of affairs in a period of social, political and economic subjugation under apartheid (Laden 2003). In the post-apartheid years, publications instruct emergent middle class readers on business practices, managing personal finances, health, housekeeping and dealing with family relations amongst other things (Laden 2001:193). In doing so, these magazines serve a didactic as well as aspirational function. They may consequently challenge stereotypical ideas about black identity and provide alternate ways of representing black urban social life (Laden 2003). The editors, journalists and advertisers of these magazines, who endorse these values and ideas, are often celebrities who regularly supply “the public with glimpses of their own lifestyles, experiences, and personalities” (Laden 2003:203). The editor of *Destiny*, Khanyi Dhlomo, comes to mind here. She has a long history as a South African public personality and has to date featured twice on the cover of her magazine. Such self promotion as a role model “stimulate[s] the reading public’s desire for new knowledge, self-perceptions, and glamorous lifestyle practices” (Laden 2003:203).

On the other hand, in valorising a middle class way of life, founded on conspicuous consumption, which is unattainable to most South Africans, magazine representations may gloss over or ignore significant social injustices (Bagwell and Bernheim 1996). For as some black political leaders expressed about *Drum* in the 1950s, it was “all glamour and cheesecake, at the expense of providing a proper forum for the most pressing issues of the day” (Matshikiza 2001:x). In addition it cannot be assumed that magazine texts are open in the same way to all social groups. Most black South African magazines are in English (Laden 2003). This means that in order to have an opportunity to fully engage with these texts, a reader needs to have mastered a level of fluency in the English language. As English is not necessarily a first language for most South Africans and is often a mark of being middle class, these magazines may only provide limited interpretive possibilities to some working class readers (Laden 2003).

A view of South African magazines as resources for identity formation usefully highlights that magazines are incorporated into daily life and offer readers new ways of imagining and existing. These publications have been particularly instrumental in negotiating the transition from the traditional to modernity, and apartheid to democracy for black South Africans. On

the other hand they provide limited 'resources' for identity formation to different readers and may legitimise the unequal distribution of resources.

3.3.2 *Gender relations and sexuality*

Black South African magazines are arguably spaces in which representations of traditional gender relations may be modified or transformed (Driver 1996). In the 1950s, as migrant labour caused traditional rural family and gender structures to disintegrate, editions of *Drum* represented urban femininity in new modern terms (Driver 1996). Black women were at times represented as glamorous and sexy, breaking with notions of femininity as conservative and reserved (Naidoo 2008). On the other hand, they were constructed as politically active and competent professionals, in seemingly liberal feminist ways that challenged ideas of passive domestic femininity (Naidoo 2008). Black women were also cast in Western domesticated roles in nuclear families. Such representations were however similar to traditional conceptions of gender relations, in that the urban woman was under the authority of the husband as head of the nuclear family, in the same way that traditional rural woman was under the authority of the male patriarch whose power and authority was linked to the chief (Driver 1996). Hence, in a period of social change, black femininity was at times reformulated as subordinate to masculinity and reasserted patriarchy (Driver 1996).

Similar representations can be found in contemporary South African magazines read widely by both black and white readers. They may represent women as independent and in control and yet simultaneously as sexual objects desiring to please men (Legge 2006; Ndzamela 2002). For example, a feature may discuss the career aspirations of a female subject and simultaneously attach a photograph of her posing seductively for the male gaze (Sanger 2008). In this way women's bodies are displayed in ways that emphasise their sexuality and availability to men. Such representations are best described as being 'hypersexualised' in 'heteronormative' ways and contribute to legitimising patriarchal gender relations, at the same time as challenging conservative forms of femininity by representing their subjects as sexually liberated (Sanger 2008; Naidoo 2008). These textual contradictions "reflect the contradictions inherent in the attempt to assert feminine values within and against a patriarchal society" (Fiske 1987b:191). As a form of resistance, patriarchal ideas of women's sexuality may be co-opted and re-appropriated in complex ways that challenge the patriarchy.

South African women's magazines can also be seen as opening up a public forum for black women, of a kind which had not existed in pre-colonial times. Narunsky-Laden (2010) for example, likens the magazine form to the kgoro/khotla. In pre-colonial times, this was the

principal and legal forum for public assembly and debate, settling family disputes, negotiation and participation in shared social agendas, including informal learning (Narunsky-Laden 2010:177).

This space was not open to women but Narunsky-Laden (2010) argues that magazines provide a similar space for women in contemporary contexts. South African women's magazines such as *True Love* encourage readers to actively participate in public debate and problem solving in ways that would have been available to men long before (Narunsky-Laden 2010). Magazines therefore arguably open up spaces for women's public participation and contribution (Narunsky-Laden 2010). Such participation should however not be overstated and should be understood in broader context of power relations between producers and readers. For example a magazine editor has authority to reject or accept readers' contributions. In addition magazines tend to be targeted at a middle class readership, which means that, while not closed to women, the new kgoro/khotla remains an elite space.

3.3.3 Race

Race discourses permeate representations in South African magazines. In particular, blackness in relation to femininity has often been cast as undesirable, based upon colonial racist discourses. For instance, hair care advertisements may suggest that black women need to 'tame' their 'unruly and uncontrollable' hair by using chemical straightening products (Sanger 2009:145). Such advertisements are reminiscent of those in *Drum* in the 1950s which marketed skin lightening creams. As Driver notes "Ponds Vanishing Cream promised that blackness itself, like dirt, would vanish" (Driver 1996:234). Such advertisements suggest to black women that in order to achieve heterosexual desirability, they must look whiter (Sanger 2009:139). The modern black woman is thus a woman who looks almost white. Furthermore, some magazines, particularly those targeted at white women, tend to mark black femininity as exotically unusual (Sanger 2009). It is presumed to be ethnic and cultural while white femininity goes unmarked as the norm (Sanger 2009).

On the other hand magazines can be a space for the expression of racial discourses which challenge colonial and apartheid ideas. That black magazines represent the ‘traditional’ as a positive aspect of urban African life is an indication of such resistance.

3.3.4 Consumerism and history

South African magazines, similar to their Western counterparts, are commercial entities which are sold to readers, and sell readers to advertisers (Beetham 1996). They therefore contain messages which encourage consumerism or a culture of consumption (Laden 2001:182). Such messages can be understood as resources or cultural tools which black women are able to appropriate and use for identity formation and reorganising their lives. These messages however tend to privilege consumption over social justice (Bertelsen 1998). It has been observed that advertisements in South African magazines appropriate ideas and symbols from the struggle for democracy (which called for social justice) to encourage consumerism, while muffling their political edge and forgetting their historical logic and context (Bertelsen 1998:222). Such representations arguably work to undo the tenets of the struggle for freedom and democracy by actively constructing individualised, consumption-driven subjects (Bertelsen 1998).

With relation to femininity, these representations could be said to construct narcissistic ‘entitled femininities’ focused on self-gratification through the consumption of capitalist consumer goods (Lazar 2009b). Freedom of political choice is substituted with freedom to choose between products, thus valorising discourses of private consumption over those of justice and equity (Bertelsen 1998). The past is selectively forgotten, a phenomenon which Bertelsen refers to as “selective amnesia” (1998:235). Political, racial, religious and class differences are renounced for a “bourgeois solidarity” of consumption (Laden 2003:202). Although this may be argued to be a move towards mutual understanding and unity, such constructions may instead trivialise and undermine alternative ways of life (Louw 2010). In positioning all people as consumers, they suggest that no one opposes or has an alternative to neo-liberal capitalist consumption. By promoting consumerism, magazines can thus play a significant role in legitimising consumption over social justice.

3.4 Conclusion

My discussion in this chapter has provided a historical overview of the changing views on women's magazines, progressing from understandings of them as closed repressive texts, to current poststructuralist understandings of them as more open discursive spaces. It has been argued that South African magazines act as discursive spaces which can be used as middle class resources for identity formation. They play a significant role in mediating between ever changing traditional and modern cultures. While they may transform gender relations by providing a space for women to express their views, they also reinforce unequal gender relations through discourses of emphasised femininity. Hypersexualisation of the female body may challenge patriarchal perceptions of black women as conservative, representing them as finding their virtue not in hiding but rather in openly expressing their sexuality. However, such expression, though challenging one aspect of patriarchy, re-inscribes women into another as they are positioned in light of the masculine gaze. South African magazines are also spaces in which race discourses are often articulated together with discourses of subordinated femininity, and consumerism is valorised as a positive way of life. Although readers do not simply absorb or reject the meanings suggested in these magazines, it is important to remember that the representations offered contribute to ways of seeing the world which help to either sustain or challenge unjust gender and other social relations. In light of this, my investigation into the gender discourses and subject positions privileged in *Destiny* will attempt to determine the ways in which the magazine contributes to a more fair society or maybe reinforces gender inequality.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

4.1 Introduction

Having provided a poststructuralist theoretical framework for the construction of gender in discourse and outlined the various perspectives on representations in magazines in the previous chapters, I will now discuss the research method and methodological framework used in this study. This discussion includes an outline of the research approach, design and method used in critiquing the representations of women in *Destiny*.

The chapter begins with a discussion on qualitative and quantitative research methodologies and how they provide a framework through which we can understand social phenomena (Bryman 1988). Following this, the sample and sampling method is outlined. An overview of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a qualitative research approach, including a brief discussion on understanding visual images, lays the foundation for a subsequent discussion on Fairclough's (1995) CDA method which is used in this research. The process of analysing the dimensions of text, discursive practice and social practice are then outlined. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the limitations of the study and my application of reflexivity.

4.2 Quantitative and qualitative methodologies

Methodologies provide philosophical underpinnings for any research project and outline how we can know and understand social reality (Bryman 1988). Quantitative and qualitative methodologies are the two main methodologies for social research in modern society (Bryman 1988). Although they are both currently used in social research, the former was most popular throughout most of the nineteenth century while the latter has become more popular since the 1970s (Bryman 1988; Deacon et al. 1999). Quantitative methodology is rooted in a positivist understanding of the social world. From this perspective, social phenomena can be investigated in the same manner as the natural world (Deacon et al. 1999). There is an emphasis on counting social elements in an attempt to understand the causes of particular social phenomena (Deacon et al. 1999). Positivism postulates the existence of an objective reality which can be impartially revealed or understood through forms of systematic observation (Deacon et al. 1999). Central to this understanding is the need for precise application of methods, such as content analysis and a favouring of surveys as research tools,

to produce what are considered valid results. Research has to be replicable and all conclusions have to be based on empirical evidence (Deacon et al. 1999).

On the other hand qualitative research methodology has grown popular amongst social researchers as the strength of quantitative research in analysing society has been questioned (Bryman 1988). Drawing from phenomenology which argues that people come to know through constantly interpreting events in their social world(s), qualitative methodology challenges the idea that there is an objective reality which can be known (Bryman 1988). Instead reality is understood as subjective, with people experiencing different realities in different contexts at different times. The world only becomes meaningful through interpretation (Bryman 1988). Taking this into account, social research pays attention to the process of meaning making. It is for this reason that the techniques most associated with qualitative methodology focus on interpretation, including focus group research and forms of interpretive textual analysis (Bryman 1988).

This research is located within a qualitative research methodology as it is concerned with the interpretation of representations. The philosophical underpinning of a qualitative methodology provide for an unfixed understanding of femininity. Informed by such an approach, I attempt to interpret the representations of femininity through discourse in *Destiny* and examine how they contribute to the formation of systems of knowledge and meaning within the broader South African context (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002; Bryman 1988).

4.3 Sampling

Before exploring the method and process taken in carrying out this research, it is necessary to discuss the sample and sampling method used. A sample enables a researcher to study a phenomenon through analysing a small section of the population under study (Deacon et al. 1999). It is an important part of the research design as it is often impossible to analyse all elements of the population (Babbie and Mouton 2001). In this study, it is impossible for me to effectively analyse all of articles and covers of *Destiny* issues published since the magazine's inception in 2007. Thus there is a need to select a sample which can be practically studied in-depth as an interpretive method requires (Babbie and Mouton 2001). In most forms of qualitative research, a sample does not aim to be representative of the general

population but rather illustrative of what can be found in a given context (Deacon et al. 1999:43).

To select the sample, I use a purposive sampling technique that enables me to consciously and deliberately select the elements to study closely (Deacon et al. 1999). There are different kinds of purposive sampling and I make use of what is referred to as typical-case sampling (Deacon et al. Deacon et al. 1999). When employing typical case sampling, the researcher attempts to select the most frequent or typical case of the phenomenon being studied (Deacon et al. 1999). Out of a population of all monthly issues of *Destiny* since 2007, I have selected a sample of six magazines spanning across alternate months from September 2009 to July 2010. The covers and cover stories of these issues form the units of analysis. The amount of material is manageable – sufficiently small to analyse in-depth as an interpretive method requires – while large enough to be illustrative of recurring themes and ideas (Deacon et al. 1999; Rose 2007). Focusing on the issues of these alternate months over a twelve month period provides a broad overview of covers and cover stories published in a year. The covers and cover stories of each of these issues are a useful unit of analysis as they are a constant or typical feature in each month's issue (Babbie and Mouton 2001). Most importantly, the covers can be seen as a distillation of the magazine's central concerns, which, by representing a human face, hail the reader to find in it "the raw material of identity" (Taylor 2006:9). The cover articles, prefigured by the cover pages, are likely to contain the ideas that the producers of the magazine perceive as being of most importance. Featuring prominent businesswomen, these units are likely to provide rich data on discourses of success and ideal womanhood as perceived by the magazine's producers.

4.4 Approach: critical discourse analysis

The approach and method selected to carry out analysis on the sample of texts is critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA is an approach and method for the analysis of how institutions and individuals use language and forms of visual representation (Rose 2007; Richardson 2007). The 'critical' element in CDA is its concern with critiquing the unequal power relations legitimated through the use of language and visual representations. It thus takes "an overt moral and political position with regard to the social problem analysed" (Richardson 2007:2). My own research is concerned with critically analysing the use of

language and visual representations in *Destiny* in order to determine to what extent such uses support or challenge unequal gender relations.

There are five key features of CDA which are relevant to this study, as identified by Jørgensen and Phillips (2002). First, there is an assumption that social and cultural processes and structures are to a degree linguistic-discursive (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). This means part of everyday social life is shaped by the production and consumption of texts (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). Our daily social practices are discursive practices in as far as they partly involve the production and consumption (reception and interpretation) of texts, whether these are verbal (for example in conversation), written, typed or visual (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). This textual study of *Destiny* focuses on the production dimension of such discursive practice. Discursive practices inform identities and social relations (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002; Richardson 2007). The way in which women are referred to in *Destiny* constructs particular feminine identities or subject positions that may formulate new conceptions of gender relations or reproduce pre-existing ones. If taken up by readers, these subject positions contribute to the wider socio-cultural practice in society (Fairclough 1995). CDA is carried out in this research to illuminate the linguistic-discursive aspect of femininity as manifest in a women's magazine and the processes of social change or continuity it may bring about (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002).

The second characteristic of CDA is that it assumes that discourse as a social practice both constitutes and is constituted by the social world (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). Discourse is on the one hand a form of action which through language may attempt to inform, expose, support or attack certain ideas and so change the social world (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002; Richardson 2007). On the other hand, discourse is situated in a social and historical environment of concrete practices, institutions and social structures which shape it (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:62). With regards to *Destiny*, this dialectical relationship between discourse and other concrete social phenomena works in the following way. A *Destiny* cover is discursively constituted in part through the way it represents an interpretation of the social world. The cover is however also shaped by certain conventional practices in the magazine industry. For example, the commercial imperative of magazines and the function of covers as advertisements for the publication. Such an understanding leads to the third aspect of CDA. Language must be analysed empirically within its social context (Jørgensen and Phillips

2002). Thus, to interpret discourses in *Destiny*, it is necessary to understand the conditions of production, institutional or otherwise, in which the texts are produced (Richardson 2007).

The fourth aspect of CDA as a research approach is the assumption that discourse functions ideologically (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). In Chapter 2, I note that discourses can be considered ideological in as much as they contribute to furthering the interests of some social groups (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). Discursive practices may therefore contribute to sustaining, destabilising and shifting asymmetrical power relations (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). I analyse the *Destiny* sample in order to determine whether the covers and articles work to sustain, challenge or shift unequal gender relations.

The final characteristic of CDA is that it is fundamentally a political project which is intended to bring about social change (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). By bringing to light and critiquing asymmetrical power relations in discursive practice, CDA attempts to bring about radical social change in favour of more equitable relations of existence (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). I intend therefore, through this research, to create knowledge that will contribute to the pursuit of more equitable gender relations in South African society.

Above, I highlight the characteristics of CDA in general. It is however important to briefly make note of two important points with regards to the construction of visual images and how they should be analysed through CDA. First, images include and leave out certain elements (Rose 2007). It is therefore necessary in analysis to look at what the images in *Destiny* include and exclude so as to form an interpretation of the possible preferred meaning of the images shown. Second, images position viewers (Rose 2007). For example a low camera angle which shows the subject in an image as if she were looking down on us may give the impression that the subject is in some way powerful and dominant (Rose 2007). An image is therefore not only able to construct the subject in the photograph but also a preferred viewing position from which the viewer can make sense of the image (Rose 2007). It is therefore necessary to examine the images in my sample in relation to how they position the viewer, in order to gain an understanding of how readers are positioned and constructed by the texts concerned.

4.5 Fairclough's method of CDA

This study makes use of Fairclough's (1995) CDA method as it is argued to be the most advanced and accessible method for carrying out CDA (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002; Richardson 2007). It is a method of social analysis which focuses on the dialectical relationship between texts and their social environment (Fairclough 1995). Fairclough (1995) offers a three dimensional model for CDA of what he terms a communicative event. In terms of this research, the magazine articles and covers are the communicative events which are analysed. They are instances of language and visual sign use which are informed by particular discourses and are located within and influenced by the broader social environment. Fairclough's (1995) model consists of three interdependent elements which need to be analysed. These are text, discursive practice and social practice (Fairclough 1995). Textual analysis involves critical description of what is in the text, then the discursive practice analysis involves interpretation of what is in the text and finally analysis of the social practice provides an explanation of findings (Janks 1998). In this study, this model is used to analyse the sample of texts from *Destiny*. Below, the process of analysis in each dimension is outlined and explained in-depth.

4.6 Textual analysis

The first step in the method is to carry out linguistic and visual analysis of the text. Linguistic analysis involves an examination of the following textual elements: vocabulary, semantics, grammar, sound and writing systems, as well as the cohesion of sentences, conversational structure, and the overall structure of the text (Fairclough 1995:57). Analysis of these textual elements can be divided into two broad categories. The first, informed by semiotics, is concerned with "the minutiae of linguistic, visual and other kinds of textual detail" while the second focuses on the broader workings of a text (Prinsloo 2009:204). For the first, that is semiotic analysis, I draw from the concepts and tools suggested by Richardson (2007). Although Richardson (2007) uses these for the analysis of newspapers, these tools and concepts are useful for analysing other printed texts. For the second, broader form of linguistic analysis, I employ analytic approaches to narrative and argument as proposed by Prinsloo (2009). Finally, for visual analysis, tools suggested by Rose (2007) for visual compositional analysis are adopted. By using these various tools and concepts, it is possible to gain a broad view of how the sample texts are constructed.

4.6.1 *Semiotic analysis*

At the minutiae, semiotic level, the following aspects, as proposed by Richardson (2007) , are analysed.

Lexical analysis: the choice and meaning of words

Words do not only denote particular meanings but have particular connotations. It is therefore important to analyse word choices for both their possible, obvious and associated meanings (Richardson 2007).

Naming and reference

Names in a text may reveal who the named persons wishes to be identified with or perhaps who the author wants the named to be associated with (Richardson 2007). Referential strategies are social categories which may be chosen to refer to a person and these choices have specific consequences for how the person is viewed (Richardson 2007). For instance a woman may be referred to as a mother, while excluding her other identities as an athlete, African and activist. Such reference narrows the way she may be perceived.

Predication

The values and characteristics of social actors can be more directly represented through predication strategies (Richardson 2007). Such strategies may include the use of adjectives, prepositional phrases, pronouns, metaphors and similes to highlight particular attributes of these actors (Richardson 2007).

Sentence construction: syntax and transitivity

Transitive analysis is an examination of the way actions or processes are represented. The key questions are “*who* (or *what*) does *what* to *whom* (or *what*)” (Richardson 2007:54). There are many possible ways of representing one event – from the names chosen to represent those involved in it, to the description of how the processes occurred (Richardson 2007). There are three components of a process that can be changed in order to represent an event in one way or another.

1. The participants: predication and naming and referential strategies can be used to denote or connote certain meanings about participants.

2. The process: the process itself can be changed by particular uses of verbs. There are four kinds of processes that can be used in a sentence (Richardson 2007). These are verbal processes such as speaking, singing and shouting; mental processes such as thinking, dreaming and deciding; relational processes of being which are often signified by the use of words such as be (or is); material processes which may be transitive – involving two or more participants, for example in the phrase “she reads books”, or intransitive processes which involve only one participant, as in the phrase “she ran” (Richardson 2007).
3. The circumstances: there are two ways in which the circumstances of a process may be changed. Either through additional contextualisation by the use of prepositional or adverbial phrases or through the structuring or framing of relations (Richardson 2007). For example, in describing the same event pertaining to a demonstration that ends with deaths of some participants, one observer may say ‘the military attacked demonstrators’ while another individual may describe it as ‘demonstrators provoked the military’. Depending on the person’s interpretation of the event, s/he will describe the circumstances in a particular way which may vilify the one group and make another appear as victims.

An important part of transitive analysis is identifying and making sense of instances of passivisation and nominalisation. Passivisation occurs when the object of action is placed before the subject or actor (Thompson 1990; Richardson 2007). For example, if it is said ‘the bill was vetoed by MPs’, the bill, which is the object, comes before the subjects, who are the MPs. An active construction could have stated ‘MPs vetoed the bill’. Nominalisation is the process of turning participants of action into nouns (Thompson 1990). For example it may be said ‘the takeover of smaller companies’ instead of ‘corporate executive have decided to takeover smaller companies’. The example also demonstrates agent deletion which refers to the omission of the actors, in this case, the corporate executives. Instances of passivisation and nominalisation tend to represent processes as things, construct time as eternal through use of continuous tense and delete actors (Thompson 1990). They tell us something about what the speaker or author wishes to emphasise, privilege and highlight or deemphasise and hide (Thompson 1990; Richardson 2007).

Presupposition

Presupposition refers to the way certain meanings which may not be made explicit in the text, are assumed or taken-for-granted by the author (Richardson 2007). For example in the statement ‘the sisterhood is an important part of the struggle’, it is taken-for-granted that there is such a thing as ‘the sisterhood’.

Rhetorical tropes

Rhetorical tropes can generally be defined as the unusual use of words in order to denote or connote an extra level of meaning which can make arguments more robust (Richardson 2007). For example, commonly used tropes are hyperbole (excessive exaggeration) or metaphor (describing a thing or person in terms of something else).

4.6.2 Narrative analysis

The second and broader level of linguistic analysis as proposed by Prinsloo (2009) involves narrative and argument analysis. Narrative analysis is an integral part of this study because magazines tell stories. It is therefore necessary in the process of CDA to analyse how these stories are told in order to identify and critique the meanings they privilege. In this research, narrative analysis of the sample texts involves an examination of their syntagmatic and paradigmatic structures. Syntagmatic analysis involves the identification and analysis of the sequence of events in the narrative (Prinsloo 2009). Prinsloo (2009) suggests the use of the narrative models of Todorov (1981) and Propp (1968) for syntagmatic analysis.

Todorov’s (1981) narrative model consists of five stages. First, a state of equilibrium exists, which is followed by the second stage involving a disruption of this equilibrium. The third stage is recognition of the disruption, followed by an attempt to repair it, which makes up the fourth stage. The final stage is the establishment of a second equilibrium, which differs from the first (Prinsloo 2009). The narrative outlines the process whereby the disruption is resolved, culminating in the creation of a new equilibrium, which is similar but not identical to the first (Prinsloo 2009; Fiske 1987b). It is necessary in my analysis to pay particular attention to what constitute the forces of disruption and to critique the nature of the final equilibrium in the *Destiny* narratives for these draw attention to the discursive position taken by authors (Prinsloo 2009). They point to what is considered a healthy state of affairs and what may disturb it.

Propp's (1968) model of narrative analysis provides a more detailed interpretation of a narrative's syntagmatic structure. Propp (1968) argues that characters in any story serve particular functions or purposes in moving the story along (Prinsloo 2009). He identifies seven character functions, namely the hero, donor, helper, princess, dispatcher, villain and false hero (see Appendix G for a detailed description of each character's sphere of action). All characters may not be present in a narrative but every story has a hero. There are two kinds of heroes – the seeker hero and the victimised hero. A seeker hero goes on a quest and is driven by his or her desire to search for something (Propp 1968). The seeker hero can either be dispatched or voluntarily go on a quest. The victimised hero on the other hand tries to overcome some imposed difficulty or adversity (Propp 1968). This type of hero can be identified by his/her forced departure from home and the lack of a specific search.

The character functions operate within Propp's (1968) thirty-one sequential narrative functions divided into the following six sequential stages: preparation, complication, transference, struggle, return and recognition. These are similar to Todorov's (1981) five stages, but contain more detail (see Appendix G for a detailed table of narrative functions). A Proppian model of narrative analysis enables me to identify what details are left out of the narratives in the *Destiny* sample texts and with what effect (Prinsloo 2009). Who is constructed as the hero and who is the villain and what or who is sought after by the hero can point to the discursive position taken by the authors (Prinsloo 2009).

Once the syntagmatic structure of a narrative has been analysed, it can be useful to interpret a deeper meaning of the narrative (Prinsloo 2009). This can be achieved using Lévi-Strauss (1955) method of myth analysis. For Strauss (1955), myth is “an anxiety-reducing mechanism that deals with unsolvable contradictions in a culture and provides imaginative ways of living with them” (Fiske 1987b:131-2). To illuminate these contradictions, it is necessary to analyse the characters, settings and actions in a narrative in terms of their relations of similarity and difference (Prinsloo 2009). An assessment of the abstract binary oppositions such as good and bad and the manner in which they are metaphorically concretised, perhaps into middle class and working class respectively, provides a way of understanding the underlying meanings the text suggests (Fiske 1987:132). In the example given, good is transformed to mean middle class, while bad is transformed to mean working class. The discursive consequence of binary oppositions can be, as in the example given, that

one group is represented as inferior to the other. The purpose of analysing the binary oppositions in the *Destiny* texts is thus to evaluate the nature of power relations that are legitimised through the valuing and devaluing of certain peoples or groups (Prinsloo 2009).

4.6.3 *Argument analysis*

An examination of the structuring of argument is also necessary because in telling a story, an author tries to convince readers about a particular point of view (Prinsloo 2009). Argument analysis helps the researcher to understand how this is done. My analysis of the argument in the sample texts is informed by a rhetorical approach which views argument as a process of persuasion and an attempt at influencing action (Richardson 2007). The rhetorical triangle proposed by Richardson (2007) consists of the arguer, audience and argument. It is a representation of the three key elements which interact during argumentation (Richardson 2007). Richardson makes the following point concerning the process of argumentation:

a logical or valid argument is usually persuasive, but only if the audience can understand it; a skilled arguer will usually win a disagreement, but only if they can properly marshal evidence and use it to their advantage; and an audience is usually receptive to a skilled arguer, but only if they consider them to be trustworthy (2007:151).

An arguer may use three forms of rhetorical practice. These are forensic, epideictic and deliberative (Richardson 2007). An analysis of the rhetorical practices used in a text may enable the researcher to understand how the argument works and what forms of persuasion are used (Prinsloo 2009). A forensic argument focuses on past actions and usually tackles topics of justice and injustice (Richardson 2007). The means used to persuade the audience to take a particular stance towards a person are accusation or defence of the person (Richardson 2007). An epideictic argument focuses on the present character or reputation of person(s), concentrating on topics of honour and dishonour. (Richardson 2007). The means of argument used here are praise and censure in trying to convince the audience that someone or a group is worthy of admiration or disapproval (Richardson 2007). Finally, a deliberative argument concentrates on future actions and its topics of focus are on the advantageous and disadvantageous (Richardson 2007). Through means of inducement or dissuasion, the arguer attempts to convince the audience that a particular course of action will be beneficial or harmful (Richardson 2007).

After deciding which category of rhetorical argumentation an arguer (author) uses, it is often useful to decide which mode of persuasion is used. This is essentially the strategy the arguer uses to persuade the audience (Richardson 2007). There are three modes of persuasion which an arguer may use. The first is ethos, which is dependent on the character and quality of the arguer (Richardson 2007). The audience is likely to be convinced by the arguer they believe has firsthand knowledge of something, or is trustworthy because of good character (Prinsloo 2009). The second mode of persuasion is through an appeal to pathos or emotion (Richardson 2007). A pathetic argument attempts to conjure up some sort of emotion (e.g. fear, pity or anger) from the audience in order to assist in the work of persuasion (Prinsloo 2009). The third mode or strategy in argument is an appeal to the logos or logic and structure of the argument (Richardson 2007). Here the arguer uses evidence and reasoning to persuade the audience (Richardson 2007). The logos of an argument may either be inductive or deductive. A deductive argument builds a set of assertions or premises beginning from the general, moving in to the particular in order to form a conclusion (Richardson 2007). In the case of inductive arguments, the arguer draws from particular cases to form general conclusions (Richardson 2007).

4.6.4 Visual compositional interpretation

To interpret the visual material in the sample texts I draw from method of compositional interpretation proposed by Rose (2007). This method of visual analysis is useful because it enables the researcher to look carefully at the content and form of images and to develop a sense of the possible impact the image could have on a viewer (Rose 2007). The method is particularly useful in this study as it can easily be integrated into Fairclough's (1995) CDA method.

Compositional analysis in this research involves an examination of the following components.

1. Content: it is necessary to look at what the image actually shows (Rose 2007).
2. Colour: certain colours also have particular cultural connotations (Rose 2007).
3. Spatial organisation: it is necessary to observe how objects in the image are placed in relation to each other and what viewing position is given to the reader (Rose 2007). For instance, the viewer may be placed at eye-level, at a bird's eye view or as if s/he is looking up at the objects or persons in the image. Such compositing can suggest a

particular discursive subject positioning of the viewer (Rose 2007). At this stage of analysis it is useful to also consider the visual organisation of looks and gazes or “focalizers” in the image (Rose 2007:47). It is necessary to ask what the subjects in the image are looking at and how this could affect the gaze of the viewer.

4. Expressive Content – this refers to the general ‘feel’ of the image. This stage of analysis is important in describing the overall impression the researcher has from the image, for after all when one looks at an image, one sees the effects of *all* its component parts (Rose 2007).

4.7 Discursive practice analysis

After completing analysis of the *Destiny* texts, the second step in the CDA method is to analyse the discursive practice (Fairclough 1995). This is a process of interpreting the language, narrative, argument and visual compositional constructions of the text in terms of the discourses that possibly inform them. So analysis at this stage focuses on the variety of discourses producers draw on to construct the texts (Fairclough 1995). Fairclough (1995) argues that at this stage of analysis, it is also necessary to consider the discourses readers draw from in interpreting or reading texts. However, because this study is a textual rather than reception study, I do not consider how readers make meaning of the texts. Instead, I focus on the discourses *Destiny* producers draw from to construct and privilege certain subjectivities in the texts.

4.8 Social practice analysis

The third dimension of examination in CDA is that of social practice, which involves an examination of the situational context, the wider context of institutional practices, and the broader society and culture in which the sample texts are located (Fairclough 1995). The discussion in Chapter 1, on historical and contemporary social practice and gender relations in South Africa, provides such contextualisation. I argue that South Africa is generally a patriarchal society in which several institutions discriminate against women, despite attempts at institutional transformation, especially since 1994. I also argue in Chapter 3 that South African magazines tend to provide contradictory representations of women, which construct them both as liberated and subordinate subjects within patriarchy. South African society is thus characterised by a patriarchal gender order. The core of my analysis at this stage is thus to provide an explanation of the discursive practice (identified in the previous stage), in

relation to this socio-cultural context, in order to determine the ways and to what extent *Destiny's* representations of women contribute to sustaining or challenging the patriarchal gender order in South Africa.

4.9 Limitations and reflexivity

This final section discusses the limitations of this research and my attempts at reflexivity. An important limitation of this study is that it does not include reception analysis. As noted before, producers do not only contribute to social practice through articulating discourses in texts, but readers do the same by using existent discourses and subject positions to interpret these texts. Since this research is at its core, a textual analysis, it focuses on subject positions offered and not necessarily subjectivities taken up by readers of *Destiny*. So although arguments can be made about the constructions of the text and the discursive subject positions they offer, the study is unable to identify how readers in fact use these representations. This is therefore a possible area for future research.

Reflexivity, that is, acknowledging the subjective nature of research, is an important part of any social research project (Rose 2007). As a researcher carrying out CDA, I am participating in the process of knowledge production. This knowledge is based on particular assumptions and processes (Rose 2007). My research is framed within a poststructuralist understanding of the social world and so does not amount to a comprehensive truth about *Destiny* and how it functions in South Africa's social world. Instead, it offers a distinctly poststructural interpretation of the subject matter. Furthermore, I am aware that the choices I have made, for example in my sampling process, shape the nature of my results. I am therefore able to give only a particular interpretation, not an objective truth, about the representations in my sample.

I also choose to acknowledge here, that my own background as a middle-class black woman living in South Africa has some influence on my interpretation of the texts. Given the subjective nature of the research process it is clear that my findings, which I will discuss in the next chapter, are interpretations and not a reflection of reality. However I hope they provide some understanding of the kinds of subject positions offered to women in *Destiny*, and how they contribute to the general gender discourse in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter 5: Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a critical discourse analysis of the six covers and cover stories in the research sample discussed in Chapter 4. As the covers generally contain similar elements, the cover analysis is provided in one section. The six individual cover stories are then analysed in-depth individually. The purpose of the analysis is to identify the discourses which inform the texts, by examining the use of language and visual signs within them. Following this, the intention is to understand what implications the subject positions offered in these discourses have for gender power relations. In this chapter, the most salient themes emerging from analysis of the units are highlighted and discussed.

5.2 Covers analysis

Magazine covers work as advertisements, highlighting what readers can expect inside (Malkin et al. 1999). They also tell us something about the magazine's identity, similar to what its producers would term 'the brand'. It is therefore useful to carry out an analysis of the covers in my sample to form a general idea of the magazine's identity. All the covers in the sample have the *Destiny* nameplate boldly placed at the top with the tagline "Beautiful, powerful you" directly below it (see Appendices A to F). The website address, www.destinyconnect.com, can also be seen on the cover of each issue. An exhortation such as "Rise & shine: wake up to love, success & gratitude" appears on the lower half of the page (Appendix E). On the centre of the cover is a photograph of the face(s) of the individual(s) featured in the cover article. Appearing on the left side of the page are portraits accompanied by brief descriptions on what the photographed individuals will tell readers about their keys to success or the work they do. The rest of the space on the page is filled with previews of what else the reader can expect inside.

Noteworthy, is that the July 2010 *Destiny* issue (Appendix F) has a "new look" design whose features include lighter typefaces for the previews, as opposed to the bolder typefaces used on previous cover pages. Where a bold typeface is used in the new design, it tends to be used at a smaller size. Short thin lines are used to divide previews, while the previews on the left side are not divided by blocks as before. The main photograph is however retained and the

Destiny nameplate remains unchanged. This new look is best described as ‘lighter’, as opposed to the old, more ‘dense’ design. My interpretation of this design change is that there is an attempt to make the magazine look ‘more feminine’ in terms of an emphasised femininity (Connell 1987). Within the current gender order, the bold typefaces which are more imposing, may imply the masculine characteristics of boldness and forcefulness, while lighter and thinner typeface may imply the feminine characteristics of elegance and delicacy. The change in design therefore seems to support traditional unequal masculine-feminine binaries.

5.2.1 *The narrative*

Despite the design distinctions I have noted in the July 2010 issue, the covers have the same standard elements as noted above. All these elements come together to tell us a story – a meta-narrative about the reader which runs through and defines the *Destiny* identity. *Destiny* frames the reader as the seeker hero of this meta-narrative (Propp 1968). She is the “you” referred to in the tagline. The hero’s quest is one of self-actualisation or achieving success. Success for the *Destiny* woman as defined by the magazine’s editorial director, Ingrid Wood, is “a point in your life where you feel you have achieved what you set out to achieve and feel good in the knowledge that you have helped others along the way” (personal communication). Success or fulfilment of the quest can thus be summed up as achieving the goals one sets for herself. The magazine, with its articles, functions as the magical agent provided by the producers who act as the donor. Each month, it offers an exhortation, which sums up the focus of that issue, and in effect what the hero should be focused on for that month, so that she can become successful. This can be seen as the inspirational statement of the month, found on the bottom half of the page. Such a statement may read: “Live it up: own your choices & leave your mark” (Appendix F) or “Taking on 2010: strategies to rev up your mind, spirit, body, career & love life” (Appendix C). In the examples given above, “Live it up” and “Taking on 2010” form the main part of the exhortation and what follows explains *how* the reader can ‘live it up’ or take on 2010. Some of the previews on the page then offer strategies, and more advice, on how the reader can achieve what is stated in the exhortation. Thus in July 2010 for example, the reader can “Live it up” by getting a balance between work and play (Appendix F), or in January 2010 she can begin “taking on 2010” by making and keeping her resolutions, or by using the strategies the magazine offers on reappraising before resigning (Appendix C).

The reader is thus positioned as an active participant, who engages with the contents of the magazine. She is a feminine subject who has the power to seek and achieve success. A transitive analysis of the cover supports such an interpretation. The reader is encouraged: “Discover the untapped power of who you are” (Appendix B), “Take this job and love it!” (Appendix C), “get your ideal man” (Appendix C), “Wake up to love success & gratitude” (Appendix E) and “... leave your mark” (Appendix F). Not only is she encouraged to take on material processes but also mental processes. “Dare to dream” (Appendix A), “Define Your Boundaries” (Appendix D) and “Make Good Decisions” (Appendix A), she is told. Instead of being a passive subject of a patriarchal discourse, she is constructed as an active subject of a feminist discourse, more specifically a postfeminist and liberal feminist discourse as is demonstrated in the analysis to follow.

5.2.2 *Meaning of Destiny*

The name “*Destiny*” is an important aspect of the magazine which provides some useful insights into how its producers wish to represent the world and the women in it. Destiny, as defined by the Concise Oxford English Dictionary, is “the events that will necessarily happen to a particular person in the future”, or “the hidden power believed to control this; fate” (2004:389). According to Cambridge Dictionaries Online, it can be defined as “the force that some people think controls what happens in the future, and which cannot be influenced by people” (2010:0). The word destiny thus suggests an inevitability of events. It can be conditional upon the action of an agent such as when it is said “the decisions we make today will shape the destiny of this nation” or it may be independent of human action, for example when it is said “the minute she stepped on the stage, she was destined to succeed”. Destiny can thus depend on choice or chance. The name *Destiny* as it appears on the covers seems to draw from the meaning of destiny as determined by choice. This I argue is evidenced by the magazine’s positioning as a magical agent – a manual or guide to self-actualisation, whose advice the reader can take on and use to achieve her goals. Also, by positioning the reader as a seeker hero, the magazine suggests that a woman can choose to go on a mission in pursuit of her destiny. Furthermore, the inspirational statements which may state “Own your choices” (Appendix F), “Discover the untapped power of who you are” (Appendix B), or “Wake up to love, success and gratitude” (Appendix E), suggest that what the reader wants, that is, success, is inevitably out there for the taking. She only needs to make a choice to seek it out and grab it. From a postfeminist discursive position, the covers seem to suggest that the

feminist struggle is over and that what is standing in the way of a woman's success is her attitude. Such a construction conceals the limitations that may be imposed on women due to the unequal structuring of gender relations and by implication, blames any failure on the individual woman.

5.2.3 *Meaning of "Beautiful, powerful you"*

The magazine's motto "Beautiful powerful you" elucidates for the reader the 'destiny' that is inevitably hers, if she will only pursue it. So although the magazine's producers perceive success as something the reader defines for herself, the magazine, through its tagline, effectively defines success for the reader: it is being both beautiful and powerful. In the motto, the notion of beauty, understood in terms of emphasised femininity as a distinctly feminine trait, is articulated with the concept of powerfulness, a characteristic usually associated with hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1987). The reader is assured that she can become powerful without abandoning her femininity. She is at once attractive to men yet in control and able to act upon the world. Emphasised femininity is endorsed while co-opting feminist ideas of women challenging unequal power relations. The reader is in this way constructed as the subject of a postfeminist discourse.

This postfeminist subjectivity is also applied to the women featured on the covers. These women, as noted in Chapter 1, are selected to appear as cover subjects because of their professional achievements and not their physical appearance or build. However, although they are identified as businesswomen and entrepreneurs, the main cover photographs of these women highlight them as emphasised feminine subjects rather than professionals. In the September 2009 issue, for instance, Tyra Banks and Iman wear low neckline shirts which partially reveal and accentuate their breasts. They also wear makeup, jewellery and long hair, which point to an emphasised femininity (Appendix A). Similarly, Wendy Luhabe on the November 2009 cover wears a low v-neckline multicoloured summer dress with a pearl necklace (Appendix B). In July 2010, Yvonne Chaka Chaka is featured in a shoulder revealing strapless red top with red lipstick and chandelier earrings (Appendix F). In the January 2010 issue, Thami Ngubeni appears in what may colloquially be known as a 'little black dress', in a slightly sexually suggestive pose, pouting at the camera, suggesting that she is sexy, confident and knows it (Appendix C). Also, in May 2010 Anele Mdoda smiles at the reader in a tight-fitting blue outfit which accentuates her curves and also wears makeup,

earrings and a necklace as signs of an emphasised femininity (Appendix E). In March 2010, the magazine's editor, Khanyi Dhlomo is photographed next to her groom in a white wedding dress and veil symbolising her emphasised femininity in contrast to her grooms masculinity depicted in his suit and tie (Appendix D).

The make-up, jewellery, dresses and tops these women wear are signifiers of their emphasised femininity. Brought to the fore is the idea that these women are beautiful in conventional ways, rather than that they are running and starting businesses. Interestingly, at the same time, the magazine breaks with convention in magazine production which usually prefers to feature a thin female model or celebrity on the cover (Malkin et al. 1999). In contrast, not all the women on the *Destiny* covers comply with such norms that deem the small-breasted and narrow-hipped female body as the epitome of feminine beauty (Bartky 1997). It is thus implied, possibly drawing from second wave feminist discourses, that a woman can celebrate her body as beautiful, regardless of shape or size.

The interaction between the representations of these women and the reader may be decoded in terms of Lacan's psychoanalytic theory as interpreted by Bignell (2002). The reader may misrecognise herself in these images as they represent the better self; they are the heroes the reader is positioned as desiring to emulate. The positioning of the reader at the same eye level as these subjects, who look directly at her, mimics the "mirror phase" in which the child views the more perfect self. In other words these images provide a 'perfect' representation of the *Destiny* feminine subject whom the reader is persuaded to become. She is encouraged to be a postfeminist subject – beautiful, sexy and powerful. This, it is implied, is what makes her a complete woman. At the same time it is implied that she does not need to be a thin super-model in order to be considered beautiful.

A postfeminist discourse is further evident in the way the magazine's producers presuppose that the reader desires to know tips on how to enhance her own sexual pleasure and control her male partner. On the various covers the reader is offered the following: "Sex notes: mind-blowing techniques" (Appendix A), "No-gasm: what to do when your sex life is an anti-climax" (Appendix D), "Nudge nudge: prompting your man into deeper commitment" (Appendix E), "Calling all singletons: get your ideal man" (Appendix C) and "Is your man's ex still haunting him?" (Appendix F). These examples highlight how it is presupposed that a

woman will not only want a male partner, but wants to control both him and their sexual relationship. Interestingly, however, on all six covers, there appears to be no advice on how a woman can deal with gender specific problems in the workplace. Where workplace advice is given, it is non-gender specific. For instance, the reader is told: “The case for criticism: why negative feedback can be your best friend” (Appendix E), “The pursuit of power: why befriending your boss is dangerous” (Appendix F), “Take this job and love it! Reappraising before resigning” (Appendix C) and “Give a little, take a little: how to negotiate to get what you want” (Appendix B). It is interesting that while referring to sexual and romantic relationships, the producers presuppose that the reader is in a heterosexual relationship in which she desires to be in control, but do not presuppose that her struggles and challenges at work may be based on unequal gender relations. Only one preview stating: “The sound of success: women breaking barriers in broadcasting” (Appendix B), suggests that women face gender specific obstacles in their professions. Admittedly my sample is not representative of all issues of *Destiny*, and other covers may specifically offer advice on gender-related problems in the workplace, but this is an interesting point in relation to these particular covers. What is evident in this sample is that, in accordance with a postfeminist discourse, it is presupposed that women need advice on how to deal with men in their personal lives, but not in their public, work life as gender equality in the public sphere has already been achieved. Such an assumption certainly fails to account for the many gender specific challenges women face as business executives as noted in Chapter 1.

Although the postfeminist discourse evident on the *Destiny* covers analysed tends to reinscribe women into the patriarchal gender order by focusing on their beauty and sexiness and assuming the end of gender inequality, it is evident that representations on the cover, informed by this discourse, also challenge patriarchy. By also alluding to women’s powerfulness and potential in business, and presuming their interest in public matters, the covers construct the women, specifically black women, as legitimate participants of public life who are not only confined to the home. The magazine’s producers presuppose that the *Destiny* reader wants to know about economics, when offering the reader information on “The changing face of microlending” (Appendix B), or about South Africa’s electricity problems when they ask, “Will Eskom’s long-range power plan work?” (Appendix E) Similarly the producers presuppose that the reader wishes to know about “Recessions vs depressions” (Appendix B), more about politics by reading about politician, Patricia de

Lille's ideas "On uniting the opposition in 2010" (Appendix C) or about "failed delivery: counting the cost of the crisis in our municipalities" (Appendix C). In this way the covers challenge ideas of domestic femininity as the only legitimate form of femininity. They construct black women as active and interested national citizens. This is particularly significant when it is considered that black women have historically been regarded as non-citizens. Therefore, in accordance with discourses of a new (post-apartheid) South Africa, the magazine boldly professes that black women are rightful citizens. Through a liberal feminist discourse, it offers women the opportunity to engage with national and other public issues (which would otherwise be considered 'masculine interests'), in the feminine discursive space of a women's magazine.

5.2.4 Conclusion

I have focused on the most prominent features and selected to discuss what I view as the most important points with regards to the *Destiny* covers. Broadly speaking these are to do with the subject positioning of the reader on the one hand and of the subjects featured on the cover on the other. From my analysis, it would appear that a postfeminist discourse dominates and constructs both the reader and featured subjects as desiring to be a part of the public sphere as businesspeople and professionals, while retaining their emphasised femininity. On the one hand, black women are constructed, rightfully, as full citizens of the nation through this postfeminist discourse, which is articulated with discourses of the new South Africa. They are not passive or confined to the domestic sphere, but have an interest in public life. On the other hand, by retaining this emphasised femininity, they are re-inscribed as subordinate subjects within a patriarchal discourse. The ideal feminine subject is constructed as having to be more than a business woman or entrepreneur: she must also be attractive in accordance with conventional ways as defined within the patriarchal gender order, although the valorisation of the thin cover model is challenged.

Finally, by assuming that gender equality has been achieved and that women are free to act and think as they please, and that these thoughts and actions determine their success, the covers fail to account for the unchanged unequal structuring between masculinity and femininity. In this way, the covers do not challenge the gender order and imply that a woman's success or failure in business, entrepreneurship or personal life is dependent on her attitude.

5.3 September 2009

Having highlighted the key discourses informing the covers, I now turn to the six cover features. The first of these is the September 2009 article (Appendix A). This feature is centred on former American supermodel, Tyra Banks, and contains brief discussions in a sidebar on models Iman, Kimora Lee Simmons and Gisele Bündchen. The cover article begins with a full page fashion shot photograph of Banks wearing a pair of jeans, a frill blazer and what appears to be a tank top. Superimposed onto her image is an “executive summary” of this subject, signifying that she is a serious professional. The adjacent page begins with a headline “From model to mogul” with a blurb followed by the story. The third page continues with the main story while a sidebar on the left contains the images of the other three models, together with some details on their ‘achievements’. Finally the last page of the article contains a continuation of the Banks’ story. Running along the top of all the pages is a header, “Upfront: cover feature” which suggests that the featured subjects have nothing to hide and works as a pun on this being a cover story. The article was first published in the *New York Times*. All the images included were obtained from Galloimages/Gettimages.com and Filmagic, two online media banks which supply digital images, film footage and music to subscribers. This material was therefore not developed and constructed exclusively by the *Destiny* production team. The implications of this will be discussed in the conclusion to this section.

5.3.1 Narrative

In the narrative Banks is cast as a seeker hero (Propp 1968) whose quest is to become self-reliant and then later, becomes a rescuer of young women from lives of ‘obscurity, self-doubt and weakness’. A syntagmatic analysis reveals that the narrative’s initial equilibrium is characterised by Banks living with her parents in a mixed race suburb in Inglewood, California (Todorov 1981). This equilibrium is disrupted by her parents’ divorce then she, her mother and her brother are forced to move into a “cramped one-bedroom flat”, while her father, who acts as villain, remains in their old home. She is quoted as saying “I think my mother stayed married for so long because [my father] was the breadwinner... I never want to be in that position”. Her initial quest is therefore to become financially independent or self-reliant. On her first day at Immaculate Heart School, a student tells her that she should become a model. In Proppian terms, it is at this point she is dispatched for her mission. After telling her mother London, about the student’s comment, London, as a helper, takes some

photographs of her daughter and helps her to set into motion a career in modelling. She advises Tyra to read extensively about the modelling industry before she (Tyra) leaves for Paris.

In terms of the fifteenth Proppian function, Banks is transferred to the general location of her journey when she goes to Paris. Soon after, her mother quits her job and joins her (Propp 1968). After a few years of being a supermodel, Banks' agency says she needs to lose weight. With advice from her mother, she instead becomes an underwear model. Later she begins acting and television presenting. She progresses to co-producing her own shows, *America's Next Top Model* and *The Tyra Banks Show*. Her new equilibrium is characterised by support from mostly female fans of "black Asian, Indian, Hispanic and white" ethnicities. At this point she becomes both hero and donor for her young women followers. She donates "modelling" and self-esteem through the magical agent of her television shows, by which she is able to lift these women out of lives of obscurity and underachievement.

5.3.2 *Choice and responsibility*

The narrative told in the article draws from a discourse of liberal feminism, to argue that women are responsible for their own success or failure. Banks is constructed as overcoming difficult circumstances which include living in a cramped one-bedroom flat. Her success is credited to her "incisive business brain", "her resourcefulness" "unremitting hard work" and "of course, that killer smile". In the text, Banks' material, verbal and mental processes are emphasised (Richardson 2007). She is therefore represented as an active agent, who refuses to be a victim of her circumstances, but instead chooses to overcome odds to become a successful model, then wealthy media mogul. The article concretises the abstract concept of choice in the person of Banks, who is metaphorically described as a goddess, mogul and queen. On the other hand, destiny's opposite – chance – is concretised by implication into mere mortal, ordinary person and commoner. It is thus suggested to the reader that if she is unwise and does not work hard towards achieving her destiny or goals, but leaves her life to chance, she will end up a mere mortal, living a simple and obscure life.

There are three broad points that can be made about the representation described above. First, it emphasises that a woman can and should be financially autonomous in line with a liberal feminist discourse. The second point is that blame for lack of financial autonomy is laid on

the woman who is supposedly not resourceful, intelligent and hardworking, for these are the qualities that are argued to have ensured Banks' financial freedom. Thirdly, the narrative implies that a woman's financial autonomy guarantees her the freedom to choose her destiny. The narrative pays no attention to the structural inequalities which limit the autonomy of women. The achievement of financial independence is made to seem dependent on the incisiveness and self-esteem of the individual. The gender order, as a social structure which systematically subordinates women, is reduced to a matter of financial disparity (Connell 1987, 2002). This narrative therefore individualises the social problems women face in patriarchal society and offers an inadequate solution dependent on attitude change.

5.3.3 Accumulation is success

The article also legitimises the capitalist accumulation of wealth and frames this as a significant marker of a woman's success. The models Iman, Kimora Lee Simmons, Gisele Bündchen together with Tyra Banks are regarded successful "faces of fortune" because they have accumulated millions of dollars. Through the use of particular naming techniques and positive predication, it is suggested to the reader that the accumulation of wealth by these women is admirable. For example, Banks is said to be "worth" approximately \$75 million and is referred to as a "mega-earning TV goddess", while Simmons is described as "mother-cum-mega earner". To emphasise her financial standing, Banks is metaphorically likened to Oprah Winfrey and Martha Stewart, who are both celebrity billionaires. If success is defined by these faces of fortune, then by implication, faces of simple middle class represent failure. The personal accumulation of wealth is mirrored and reinforced by a celebration of the accumulation by corporations. For example, it is said Iman's skincare products and fashion accessories and jewellery had an

impressive cross-cultural global reach [which] resulted in Procter & Gamble embarking on a licensing agreement with her in 2004, [giving] the company design and distribution rights for both Iman and I-Man products.

By describing Iman's exploits as "impressive" and the signing with Procter & Gamble as an "agreement" rather than a partial takeover, the article legitimises the expansion of one of the world's largest corporations. In addition Simmons and her ex-husband are said to have "sold their Phat Fashions brand to US apparel giant Kellwood for \$140 million". By framing the exercise as a sale rather than a takeover by Kellwood, the expansion of corporations by

swallowing smaller establishments is legitimised. In addition, reference to Kellwood as a “giant” makes the corporation seem unstoppable in its pursuits. The article thus draws from and endorses capitalist discourses of liberated expansion in pursuit of unlimited amassment of profit, both by the individual and corporations.

However in order to negotiate the tension between social inequality and materialism, the discourse of social responsibility is adopted. Banks, who is twice referred to as a brand, is constructed as a giver. Although she is not represented as giving away money, she is portrayed as investing in the lives of young girls through building their self-esteem. This is particularly evidenced in her statement that “when I’m casting a dark-skinned black girl on *Top Model*, I’m sending a message to a little girl watching at home that she’s beautiful”. Banks is portrayed as likeable, appealing to “a mix of ethnicities, from black to Asian, Indian, Hispanic and white”. Through the use of such epideictic rhetoric, Banks is praised for her social responsibility in a way that makes her accumulation of material wealth acceptable and legitimate. She is represented as upfront (as the header on the top of the article’s pages suggests) and generous, in contrast to the “glamour-gluttoned, superficial” women in the modelling world. This construction of Banks as a generous subject disguises materialism and legitimises the unequal distribution of resources.

The endorsement of materialism as discussed above is a central component of a postfeminist discourse which constructs femininity as bound up in a woman’s ability to consume (Gill 2009). Within this discourse Banks’ ability to consume is representative of her freedom as a woman. As long as she has large sums of money, she is liberated. However, as I demonstrate below, this liberation is achieved within the confines of a patriarchal gender order.

5.3.4 Performance for the pleasure of men

It is evident in the article, that the unlimited amassment of material wealth for a woman may, if she pleases, be legitimately achieved through performance for the pleasure of men. Banks’ lucrative career as a model is powerfully representative of an emphasised femininity marked on the female body and performed by women for men. The patriarchal overtones of this are softened in the article by allusions to her potential for power and independence. For instance, Banks is noted as saying she has “big aspirations” and thinks she will “have an empire” one day. In addition the Tyra Banks “brand” is described as “serious about the frivolous;

empathetic and empowering". The latter statement particularly draws on the language of empowerment. Banks is represented as forging a space for young women and girls to express what patriarchal society may deem unimportant or "frivolous".

However there is a co-option of the feminine subject back into patriarchal discourse through an emphasis on performance for the pleasure of men (McRobbie 2009). For instance, as part of her *America's Next Top Model* show, Banks requires young women to "seduce the camera while "sky-diving" in a wind tunnel". In addition Banks' appearance in "GQ [magazine] and Sports Illustrated's swimsuit issue" is hyperbolically constructed as a progressive historical move for the advancement of black women. This is in spite of the fact that the publications in which she posed are produced for male titillation and do not espouse any agenda towards the liberation of women from patriarchal constraints. In fact, they can be accused of the opposite.

In Proppian terms, Banks' magical agent is her 'sexiness', which is evident in her "275 smiles", including the "flirting with my boyfriend" smile". She is also described as looking "great in a bikini, and in a bra and panties". The trench coat she wears at the interview is said to "accentuate...her height and her curves". The photograph of her seemingly moving towards the reader as if she were on the catwalk, smiling, with what she would perhaps call her "flirting with my boyfriend smile", supports this description of her as an essentially sexual subject. The photograph of Bündchen also uses similar codes as it shows this model posed with an alluring gaze, in a dress or blouse which highlights her breasts. Iman's full length slender figure as pictured in a figure hugging dress represents the supermodel as the current ideal form of heterosexual beauty in contemporary culture. In this way, the "beautiful powerful" subject is constructed from a discourse of postfeminism in what Radner refers to as the "new heterosexual contract" in which the woman's body and sexual expertise constitute capital which she exchanges for "male property" (1993:62). The women featured thus legitimise emphasised femininity as espoused by the patriarchal gender order.

Yet even within her role as a model, Banks is able to resist patriarchal definitions of feminine beauty. When Banks' modelling agency asks London to put her daughter on a diet, in an act of defiance, London instead states the following to her daughter: "They say you're too curvy. Let's go order pizza". At the Pizzeria, the two discuss a career change. By defining her daughter as "curvy" rather than overweight, London resists contemporary patriarchal gender

norms which may construct a thin body as the feminine ideal. Instead, she suggests that her daughter's weight gain makes her body appear shapely and attractive. So although located within a domain which insists on patriarchal definitions of ideal feminine beauty, Banks, with the help of her mother, is constructed as still able to resist some of these definitions.

5.3.5 More than a mother

It is notable in this article, that motherhood is not constructed as London's (Banks' mother's) sole identity. Although London is characterised as a Proppian type helper, who cares for her daughter's needs as a traditional mother, she is also represented as an astute business person who has an ability to make positive decisions. Following her divorce she supports her family by taking on two and sometimes three jobs at a time. As Banks' manager, she propels her daughter's journey towards becoming a model and media personality by providing "analytical" business advice and making "strategic" moves. London's knowledge and abilities are not confined to the private or domestic sphere. She is identifiable as a photographer, manager/business strategist, mentor to her daughter and mother. She is seemingly the subject of a second wave feminist discourse whose freedom and potential are released when she leaves her male partner. She however still subscribes to an emphasised femininity by managing her daughter in an industry which thrives on exploiting the emphasised feminine body. Thus, the second wave feminist discourse is washed down in favour of a postfeminist discourse in which, though liberated from her husband, London is still reassuringly in favour of the 'girly' things which support hegemonic masculinity. For the reader taking on a preferred reading, it is made clear – London may be doing better because she left her husband, but she is not 'a man hater'.

5.3.6 Complete in marriage

The need for male companionship in marriage is represented as an important part of feminine identity. Banks is described as having a lonely private life because she lacks a male partner. It is stated: "her career might be on a roll but her personal life, Banks admitted... can be painfully isolated". Banks is then noted as saying:

I'd go home and put my key in my door and... nothing: no friends, no husband, no children. I feel so full when I'm at work, but so empty when I come home".

The author describes Banks' private life as "painfully isolated", a description which is likely to appeal to pathos of the reader and potentially induce a response of pity. By suggesting that she "admitted" to being lonely, the author presupposes that loneliness is something Banks would usually conceal. In addition it is stated that she is "notoriously secretive about her love life". The word "notoriously" has negative connotations and thus it seems that Banks' secretiveness is unfavourable as she is trying to hide something. This construction of Banks' private life first implies that she cannot be completely fulfilled through her work and interactions in the public sphere. The second implication is that she must admit to this, and as Banks' quote suggests, it is a nuclear family and friends outside of the home that complete one's true happiness. It is thus suggested that as Radner notes of postfeminism, "feminine ambition can only be realized through marriage to the right man" (1993:60).

5.3.7 Conclusion

In the September 2009 cover article, financial gain is represented as an important part of femininity. Through a liberal feminist discourse, women are constructed as responsible for their financial autonomy and such autonomy is equated to freedom from the patriarchal gender order. Such a construction conceals the deeper structure of gender inequality which cannot be solved simply by women acquiring financial resources. Furthermore, amassment of wealth through performance for the pleasure of men is legitimised through a postfeminist discourse, in a manner that re-inscribes women into patriarchal gender relations. Drawing from this postfeminist discourse, although it is suggested that a woman can become successful without a male partner, this is not regarded preferable, for, as it is implied, a woman is only truly complete in marriage. On the whole therefore, the article tends to support unequal gender relations in social practice. Of course it is important to note that the cover article was published first in the *New York Times*. Copyright laws may have prevented any extensive editing of the text and so it is possible that the story does not represent the values of *Destiny* producers as well as an article written by an in-house journalist would do. However, by choosing to publish the article, *Destiny's* producers must feel the ideas espoused in it resonate with the magazine's identity in some way. Ultimately, by virtue of being published in this South African magazine the article contributes to discourses of emphasised femininity in the South African social space, and indeed in other countries where the magazine is sold.

5.4 November 2009

In a story titled “A passion for empowerment”, Wendy Luhabe is the focus of the November 2009 cover feature (Appendix B). The four page feature is about Luhabe’s desire to see women economically empowered and her own journey towards the same. Similar to the Banks’ article, the header, “Upfront: cover feature” runs along the top. The first page contains a full page portrait of the subject, accompanied by an “executive summary” of her achievements and beliefs. The story begins on the second page and carries through to the fourth. On page three is a timeline highlighting particular events in Luhabe’s life and the final page contains a photograph of Luhabe and her husband, politician, Mbazima Shilowa.

5.4.1 *Narrative*

It is possible to distinguish between two narratives in the article. The first is the main narrative which focuses on Luhabe’s public life as a businesswoman and how she pursues her “passion”, while the other focuses on her personal development. An examination of the syntagmatic structure of the main narrative reveals that Luhabe is cast as the seeker hero whose quest is to rescue the underprivileged and the ‘misguided’ from their lack of knowledge, understanding and discipline. At her point of initial equilibrium, Luhabe is a hardworking marketing professional for Vanda Cosmetics and BMW South Africa and North America. She possesses two degrees, a BA and a BComm. This equilibrium is disrupted when she is overlooked for a promotion. She then comes to a point of recognition at which she desires to follow her “passion for growing people’s potential”. Taking the oversight for promotion as “an omen” for her to follow this passion, she attempts to restore the equilibrium by setting up her first business named Bridging the Gap, which prepares young black graduates for the working world. In accordance with the twelfth Proppian narrative function, she is tested when this venture ends. Through “dedication and discipline... Luhabe successfully carve[s] out a niche for herself in SA’s business landscape”, most notably, by co-founding Wiphold, a women’s investment group, with three other women. Discipline may be understood as the magical agent received from her parents who act as donors that “armed their children with an appreciation for hard work and discipline”. Most importantly, Luhabe’s mother, Adelaide, is the “strong” woman from whom she learnt to put her mind to something and achieve it. For example, Adelaide put her mind to writing matric and learning to drive and achieved both those goals.

Luhabe continues her quest in 2002 by publishing *Defining Moments*, a book on the experiences of black company executives. But it is through Wiphold that she is said to have made “a permanent mark on South African society”, a state which can be interpreted in terms of the Proppian nineteenth function, where her desire or lack is set right. Throughout her business pursuits, Luhabe is assisted by her family, personal assistant, “circle of girlfriends” and her husband who function in the narrative as the hero’s helpers. A new equilibrium appears to be reached (although not complete, for her quest continues) as Luhabe receives various international and local accolades. These include being recognised as a Global Leader for Tomorrow by the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Switzerland and as the Outstanding Young Person of the year by Japan’s Osaka Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1997. She also receives an honorary doctorate in Commerce from the University of Stellenbosch in 2005. Receiving such recognition and honour are the points at which Luhabe, the hero, is recognised in Proppian terms.

In the second narrative, focused on her personal life, Luhabe’s quest is to develop herself physically, intellectually and spiritually. Although not explicitly stated in the text, her initial equilibrium is characterised by a stagnant physical, intellectual and spiritual life. The point of disruption is also not made explicit, but we can assume that this equilibrium was somehow disrupted as Luhabe reaches a point of recognition and decides to visit two destinations she has never been to, every year. In attempting to establish a new equilibrium, she travels to Buenos Aires to learn to tango, the south of France to learn to speak French, India to learn the Ayurvedic approach to health management and the Scottish highlands to take extra harp lessons. She also trains to give “a Oneness blessing” through the University of Oneness in India and trains as an energy transfer practitioner promoting body, mind and soul healing. In the future she plans to travel to Spain to take the El Camino de Santiago Pilgrimage Walk. The new equilibrium is not reached per-se, as she is on a continuous journey towards self-development but she achieves a little of this new equilibrium each time she travels.

An analysis of these two narratives, as well as the construction of argument and other linguistic features within the text, yields a variety of themes which point to the discursive positions privileged by the text.

5.4.2 Choice and responsibility

The first point that can be made about the main narrative is that, using a postfeminist discourse, it constructs women as free to choose their destiny. Luhabe is cast as a postfeminist subject whose ability to make ‘good’ decisions is an important part of ensuring her success. As a seeker hero, she chooses to leave her job as a marketing professional in pursuit of a career as an entrepreneur. The narrative makes no note of Luhabe’s struggles with a villain or villains who try to prevent her from becoming a ‘successful’ entrepreneur. Instead, she uses the magical agents of dedication and discipline in order to arrive at her new equilibrium, thus suggesting that she exists in a world with fair business practices and that the primary if not only limitation to her success is her attitude. She is thus a woman who has the power to choose her own destiny.

A transitive analysis highlights this construction of choice. For instance, Luhabe argues that Wiphold, her women’s investment group, “demonstrated to women that it was possible to take responsibility for their own economic empowerment”. In another instance she says: “when women take care of themselves financially, there’ll be less violence against them”. A transitive analysis reveals that the use of the verb “take” in both sentences implies choice on the part of the subject. Women are thus challenged to choose to be accountable for their own emancipation. Furthermore, an argument analysis of the second sentence demonstrates that Luhabe assumes a causal link between women taking care of themselves financially and their experience of violence and abuse. Blame and responsibility for the prevalence of violence and abuse against women is thus placed on women rather than on the male perpetrators. In so doing, the patriarchal gender order remains unchallenged and women are blamed for their negative experiences within it.

5.4.3 Women’s empowerment

Following on from the idea of women’s freedom of choice, the article espouses a women’s empowerment discourse which argues that providing women with access to education, material resources and positions in government and corporate office, sufficiently challenges patriarchy (Gqola 2007). Luhabe argues that “we’re not making access to information and resources easy enough” for women, even though “women hold the wisdom to build and lead institutions that serve everyone equitably”. She thus argues that with information and (financial) resources, and given the opportunity to lead, women can create what she calls “a new world order”.

For Luhabe – she herself a BA and BComm graduate – education is the key to women’s empowerment. She is quoted as saying, “clearly, lack of that [education] is what’s disadvantaged women worldwide”, and asserts that “self-belief and knowledge” are the keys to women’s economic success. She further argues that her women’s investment group, Wiphold, “taught” women about economic empowerment, financial independence and investment. Education and the knowledge gained through it are thus constructed as the solutions to women’s empowerment. This inductive argument presumes that women are disadvantaged because of a lack of education and that there is a causal link between women’s education and their entrepreneurial or business success. However, understood within the context of the patriarchal gender order as proposed by Connell (1987; 2002), I argue that women may be educated and have access to informational and financial resources and still fail to become successful entrepreneurs. The gender order which conceives of women as subordinate to men, can effectively limit women’s participation and ‘success’ in business. For example, as is evident in the discussion on women in the South African economy in Chapter 1, the gender regime of business practice may exclude women by emphasising the importance of after-hour networking activities which are targeted at men rather than women. Education alone therefore does not ensure business success for women.

5.4.4 Essential femininity and masculinity

In arguing for women’s empowerment, the text also assumes that women are essentially caring by nature. Women’s institutional leadership is constructed as fundamentally better than that of men, which is, by implication, essentially bad. Luhabe argues that the current business models have mostly contributed to “poverty, devastation, injustice and polarisation”. Women, she continues, as “champions of wisdom, possibility and creativity”, are capable of changing these models so that businesses and other social institutions serve all people more equitably. In the article, Luhabe is constructed as proof of this caring nature of women. Formulating a pathotic argument, the author constructs her as an entrepreneur who is not only concerned for, but passionate about, the empowerment of women. The author also appeals to Luhabe’s ethos by mentioning her role in setting up a women’s investment company, establishing a women’s equity fund, helping young black graduates and her role as the chancellor of a university – roles which highlight her caring nature. Luhabe is also quoted as saying she is against “hand-outs of social grants... and the current system of BEE”. So although she is caring, she believes that grants should be earned and not handed out.

Presumably she is against the current system of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) because she feels its beneficiaries do not earn the support they receive. Not mentioned in the narrative however, are Luhabe's roles as the chairperson of the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) which supports BEE policies, or her participation on the board of the multi-million rand mobile communications corporation, Vodacom (University of Johannesburg 2010). By focusing on the projects in which she makes a social contribution and omitting those in which she would appear not to, the author is able to argue for the existence of an essentially caring femininity.

Analysed using Lévi-Strauss's (1955) model of myth analysis, the article transposes the negative abstract concepts of bad leadership, inequity, poverty, devastation, injustice and polarisation as the attributes of men. On the other hand, by implication, good leadership, equity, wealth, creation, justice and unity are the attributes of women. Such a discursive position mythologizes women as essentially caring, and men as essentially domineering. In so doing, hegemonic masculinity, which as noted in Chapter 1, is often associated with violence and abuse, is excused as natural. In other words, the construction of an aggressive and domineering masculinity as essential, suggests that men cannot change or control their actions as these come naturally to them. By excusing such traits as natural, the challenge of demanding a change in hegemonic masculine behaviour is side-stepped.

5.4.5 Cosmopolitan woman

Also evident through analysis of the article, is that globalist, nationalist and liberal feminist discourses are articulated to construct Luhabe as a cosmopolitan woman who has "an exciting and glamorous character associated with travel and a mixture of cultures" (Oxford Dictionary 2004). The second narrative which focuses on Luhabe's personal development particularly constructs her in this way. Luhabe attempts to resolve her lack of physical, intellectual and spiritual development by 'jet-setting' around the world to learn a new language or learn to play an instrument. She engages with Eastern spirituality as evidenced in her qualification as an energy transfer practitioner and her authority in giving the "Oneness Blessing". In a photograph standing next to her husband, she wears an Eastern influenced jacket/dress, while her pearl bracelet and straightened hair signify Western influences. In addition, as shown in the main narrative, she has been honoured for her business achievements in Switzerland, the USA and Japan. As a black feminine subject, she is not confined to her home or to her

country, but still retains strong links to her nation and is firmly patriotic. It is stated, “ultimately, her dream is simple: ‘I’m committed to having our country succeed...’”. The studio photograph taken of her specifically for this article connotes just that. Wearing an Afro hairstyle and a dress striped with all the colours of the South African flag – red, white, green, yellow, black and blue – she is constructed as a patriotic black South African subject. Her smile and self-assured direct gaze convey pride and confidence in her country.

By representing Luhabe as an active, patriotic cosmopolite, the article challenges discourses of domesticity. It provides black South African women, who as a racial group have historically experienced a triple oppression as blacks, women and workers (Cock 1989), new ways of imagining their lives and new ways of life to which they can aspire. In Luhabe and her husband, who together are “self-declared epicureans who love life and live fully” readers are offered a distinctly globalist middle class subjectivity from which they can draw inspiration.

5.4.6 Ambiguous emotional relations

The article constructs Luhabe as both autonomous and under the headship of her husband, Mbazima Shilowa. Represented as an entrepreneur and cosmopolite, she appears to independently make and exercise her own choices. However, Luhabe’s assertion that “my husband gives me all the space I need to grow” suggests that she is a woman under the authority of her husband. This statement constructs her husband as the actor who has the right to permit or disallow her actions. At the same time, Shilowa is constructed as her helper, who helps her to balance her many commitments. Luhabe is thus ambiguously positioned as the feminine subject of a discourse of liberal femininity and traditional patriarchy. She is equal to her husband yet at times appearing to be under his direction.

5.4.7 Conclusion

The November 2009 article articulates discourses of postfeminism, women’s empowerment, liberal feminism, globalism and nationalism to construct a liberated feminine subject who is empowered through education, financial resources and travel. There is an assumption that gender inequality can be overcome through education and, as in the Tyra Banks article, through the gain of financial resources. I argue that although financial liberation can improve women’s lives, it does not free them from experiencing patriarchy. In the article, construction

of an essential femininity and essential masculinity does little to challenge stereotypes about men and women. However, as a middle class, South African cosmopolite, who is acclaimed internationally, Wendy Luhabe challenges traditional discourses of domestic femininity which confine women to acting in the home. Her relationship with her husband is ambiguous, for he is constructed as sometimes her helper and at times her leader. The article thus challenges patriarchal principles of domesticity, but with an emphasis on creating equal opportunity for women, it fails to account for structural gender inequality.

5.5 January 2010

In an article titled “Totally Thami”, the January 2010 *Destiny* cover feature (Appendix C) focuses on the story of Thami Ngubeni, a South African media personality and spiritual motivation speaker. The story covers three pages and usual header, full page portrait and executive summary are evident in the article. The second page contains a full length photograph of the subject while on the third page is a sidebar with “Ngubeni’s business lessons”.

5.5.1 Narrative

This story takes the form of a seeker hero narrative in which Ngubeni helps people emerge from spiritual and mental self-ignorance, as well as poverty, using her different entrepreneurial and charity ventures (Propp 1968). She is the hero whose initial equilibrium is characterised by knowledge of herself. When she is asked about her multi-faceted character (which the article refers to as a “personal brand”), Ngubeni responds: “I didn’t have an epiphany. This is how I’ve known myself to be... my core’s remained the same”. However, in this equilibrium she lacks a platform on which to share with other people, her guidelines towards self-awareness, and to better the lives of others. A disruption and recognition are not expressed in the narrative but it is implied that her mission to create a platform on which to share her ideas begins with her departure from South Africa, to study “film and TV producing and screenwriting at the University of California” in the USA. She sets up her company Thamzin Media in 1999, which is involved in publishing, television production, and advertising. Ngubeni becomes involved in producing and acting in various television programmes and for a period, edits the South African version of *O*, the Oprah Winfrey magazine. As part of several other projects, she also launches an Entrepreneurial, Entertainment and Media Mentorship Programme, which through seminars, workshops and

linking mentors with mentees, aims to guide and equip graduates to organise and operate businesses. She also establishes the Thami Ngubeni Foundation to assist the poor. As she attempts to create a new equilibrium, it is implied that Ngubeni struggles against villains who attempt to steal her ideas and figuratively speaking, stab her in the back or rip her off. She overcomes such difficulty by learning from the experience and moving on. In this way, her lack of means with which to widely share her ideas is progressively fulfilled and continues to be so. Her new equilibrium is characterised by being recognised by fans who give her attention on air and in supermarket queues. It is also characterised by being in contact with individuals from “both sides of the Atlantic”. In Proppian narrative function terms, this is how Ngubeni the hero, is recognised.

5.5.2 *“Take it like a woman”*

This narrative relies on a new age spirituality discourse in which it is believed that a subject must look within her spiritual self (know herself) in order to reach her full potential (self-realisation). From such a view, a woman’s achievement and success are dependent upon her level of introspection and not the structures and factors external to herself. Consequently, as one of her business lessons, Ngubeni states, “someone will steal your idea, pull the rug out from under your feet or stab you in the back. That’s life. Learn the lesson – and move on”. Thus instead of trying to control and change a situation, a woman must choose to reassess herself and find another way to move towards her goal(s). She must, as is stated in the article, “take it like a woman”. The phrase is taken from the commonly used phrase ‘take it like a man’, which suggests that a real man does not complain or cry in the face of any hardship, difficulty or adversity. So to say “take it like a woman” is to transfer the traditionally hegemonic masculine characteristic of enduring pain without complaint, into an admirable feminine trait. Suggested, is that a ‘real woman’ finds strength within herself to overcome any obstacles. From this perspective therefore, a woman’s progress in the area of business is shaped by her attitude and not the gender order or gender regime which inform business practice. She is instead encouraged to cope with, rather than challenge, external situations which stifle her progress.

5.5.3 *Women have equal opportunity*

In the narrative, structural gender inequality in business practice is not represented, thus implying that it is non-existent. Evidence of this can be found in the representation of

Ngubeni's struggles. Ngubeni, the hero, is tested, attacked and interrogated, in terms of the twelfth Proppian function and engages in struggle with villains in accordance with the sixteenth narrative function. The challenges and struggles she faces are not explicitly represented as such in the text. Instead they are offered in a sidebar as "Ngubeni's business lessons" but we can assume that these are lessons she herself has learnt from experience. They include overcoming difficulties in paying her staff, learning to manage and not overextend herself, taking calculated risks, keeping a paper trail, finding projects do not always cost what is initially envisaged and that sometimes there are people along the way who steal business ideas. The tests and struggles Ngubeni faces are interpreted in generalised and non-gender specific ways. The point that women in business often face opposition, tests and challenges because they are women is not confronted. The gendered structuring of business practice is omitted in a way that resonates with a postfeminist discourse which assumes that gender equality has been achieved.

5.5.4 A masculinised public femininity

Informed by a liberal feminist discourse, Ngubeni is praised for her success in the public sphere and not in the home. The author as arguer praises Ngubeni through use of epideictic rhetoric by drawing approving attention to the various roles that Ngubeni juggles. These include running her media company, Thamzin Media, helping graduates through an Entrepreneurial Entertainment and Media Mentorship Programme, playing a part in the production of an international quarterly journal focused on issues of humanity, and involvement in charity work through her Thami Ngubeni Foundation. Employing a forensic argument, it is noted that Ngubeni has "worked in radio, TV, magazines, acted, produced, edited, been published and workshopped her way around SA discussing issues of vocation, spirituality and life". As part of a deliberative argument the reader is also told of Ngubeni's plans for the future including her upcoming "Life With Thami" column in *Destiny*. These arguments are used to persuade the reader that Ngubeni has a long track record of success in the public sphere. Described as a 'dynamo', it is implied that she hardly rests but constantly works at her various interests. As a "superwoman", juggling many responsibilities she can be understood also, as the postfeminist subject who is always in control (Macdonald 1995:90). She is not the domestic woman valorised in the 1950s *Drum* magazine, but is celebrated for her work outside of the home (Driver 1996).

Celebration of her public work is further evidenced in the way the binary opposites of self-knowledge and self-ignorance are concretised (Lévi-Strauss 1955). Self-knowledge is concretised in Ngubeni's activities, which include global travel, involvement in numerous projects, and meeting acclaimed persons. On the other hand, by implication, self-ignorance is concretised as local travel, engagement with few projects and meeting unknown persons. It is thus the international animated public life as opposed to one more local and pastoral that is celebrated. Esteemed is the cosmopolitan woman as represented by Ngubeni who studied in the USA, has co-produced *The Lion King* television series in New York, has travelled widely and consequently gained a "global view" of her industry, wishes to "expand her work's global reach", is in touch with "the global trend towards self-realisation" and "boasts a little black book with names and numbers from both sides of the Atlantic". Success is thus measured in terms of a woman's level of global rather than local interaction. In a way reminiscent of a hyper-masculine imperialist discourse Ngubeni is said to have "made a habit out of colonising any form of media she tries her hand at". She thus becomes the masculinised global imperial subject, conquering, exploring and connecting internationally. The emphasised femininity of the discourse of domesticity, which places most value on women's roles as subservient domestic caregivers, is challenged by liberal feminist and postfeminist discourses, which place most value on women who not only work outside the home, but also do so outside the country.

The masculinisation of the feminine subject is most evident in the representation of Ngubeni's charity work. A transitivity analysis shows that while Ngubeni's agency is emphasised, that of people in the communities to whom the charity is directed is deemphasised. For instance, it is stated that Ngubeni is concerned with "the abhorrent violence against women by men" and "the abuse by young mothers of the welfare system". The first sentence is passivised and nominalised, thus turning the process of men's abuse of women into a thing and suppressing the agency of the men involved. Similarly, the second sentence is nominalised and effectively deemphasises the agency of the young mothers. In addition Ngubeni says that her foundation intends to assist people in Katlehong on Johannesburg's East Rand who are "in hospital and having their feet nibbled by rats and little kids in shacks having their faces disfigured". The circumstances described in this sentence suggest that no one has acted on these problems. By implication, Ngubeni becomes the paternalistic subject who addresses the needs of the working class poor who are neither able

to act for themselves nor are responsible for their actions. Her femininity is thus defined in relation to her care for the needs of others in a traditionally paternalistic way. She is, as I demonstrate further, below, the hybrid feminine subject, composed of both feminine and masculine characteristics (Bordo 2004).

5.5.5 Still feminine

Ngubeni's masculine traits are coupled with the 'softer' signifiers of modern emphasised femininity, most evidently in the photographs representing her. In one photograph, she wears a sleeveless, low v-neckline dress which emphasises her bust, arms, shoulders and chest. Her bob hairstyle and what appear to be diamond earrings are a mark of feminine sophistication. In another image we see Ngubeni in a sassy pose, with manicured nails, what appears to be a pearl bracelet and designer low v-neckline, semi figure-hugging dress, connoting classic emphasised femininity. In such attire she seems non-threatening and contradictory to the masculinised subject suggested in much of the text. A sense of her boldness however comes through in the way she looks directly at the reader, but her look coupled with her smile appear more welcoming than threatening. Ngubeni's femininity is thus one of contradiction and complexity. She can be described as the postfeminist 'new woman' – unafraid of "all things feminine" – yet at the same time embracing masculine characteristics (Lazar 2009b:372). As a mythic hero, she possesses an excess of meaning, negotiating the tension between masculinity and femininity (Fiske 1987b:133).

5.5.6 Passive motherhood

Notable in this article is the absence of passive care-giving characteristics in Ngubeni which are instead evident in her mother. Ngubeni's mother, as the Proppian helper, takes on a more subdued traditional femininity to that of her daughter. She is metaphorically described as the "backbone" that gives Ngubeni "wings" to come to her various achievements. Ngubeni also states, "[my mother] never tried to force any type of profession on me". Like a backbone that holds up the physical body and whose movement is generally controlled by the individual's will, Ngubeni's mother nurtures and allows her daughter to be the woman she desires to be. She does not direct and initiate her daughter's activities but simply supports. In this way motherhood is constructed as passive yet pivotal in a way that resonates with discourses of emphasised femininity which focus on the nurturing and passive role of women. On the other hand Ngubeni in her private life is represented as an intellectual who is a "firm believer in the

value of observation”, enjoys reading and thinking in addition to middle class pursuits which include playing tennis, doing Bikram yoga and jogging. She spends time with her family or simply relaxes and does nothing. The passive caring and nurturing roles are left for an older generation, as represented by her mother who has been a backbone to Ngubeni throughout her life.

5.5.7 Conclusion

The January 2010 cover story, informed by a liberal and postfeminist discourse, assumes that women have equal opportunity. Women are not encouraged to challenge possible structural inequalities that limit their ability to do business but instead, should find ways of overcoming difficulty and “take it like a woman”. Motherhood is constructed as supportive but passive, in line with a discourse of domesticity which supports an emphasised femininity. Ngubeni is in many ways a paternalistic subject who rescues the poor and self-ignorant and in this way is a masculinised feminine subject. She is concurrently cast as traditionally feminine in the photographs, in a way non-threatening to hegemonic masculinity. The article thus constructs a complex feminine subject who simultaneously challenges and reinforces some hegemonic gender roles.

5.6 March 2010

The ten page cover article of the March 2010 *Destiny* (Appendix D), focuses on the wedding of Khanyi Dhlomo, founding editor of the magazine, and Chinezi Chijioke, a management consultant for the international business consulting company, McKinsey and Company. Containing 68 photographs taken at the wedding, this article is the longest of the six analysed in this research. The pages have the upfront header but the usual executive summary is omitted, possibly because this story is focused on an event rather than the business and personal life achievements of a subject. The article begins with a full page photograph of the bride and groom looking into the distance. The following pages include other photographs with captions, an extract from a piece on love read on the wedding day by the groom’s friend and a sidebar titled “Little white book”, with names and contact details of the wedding planner, venue designer, photographers, caterer, make-up artist and hair-dresser used by the couple. The final page shows the bride and groom walking along a dust road, into the light of a bright sky ahead.

5.6.1 *Narrative*

Titled “A Match Made in heaven”, the March 2010 narrative is unlike the others analysed in this research. Representing the wedding moment in Dhlomo and Chijioke’s relationship, this story focuses on the Proppian thirty first narrative function, the point of recognition in which the hero is married and crowned. Some, but little information is given on the journey which leads to this event. What is made explicit is that the first time Chijioke meets Dhlomo while she is studying towards an MBA at the Harvard Business School in the USA, he is, as he says in his wedding speech, “struck” by her beauty, smile, style and sense of grace. It is thus reasonable to infer that having been captivated, Chijioke pursues Dhlomo. We are told the two spend four years “getting to know each other”, in “stylish destinations across the globe” after which Chijioke asks for Dhlomo’s mother’s blessing before proposing to his fiancé. In terms of Proppian character functions, Chijioke is the seeker hero who rescues and marries Dhlomo, the princess, while Dhlomo’s mother acts as the donor. In the event that dominates the narrative, the two are finally married at Allée Bleue wine estate in Franschhoek on 20 December 2009 in the presence of many “well-known faces” – royalty, government officials and media personalities. At the wedding Dhlomo is, “given away” by her brother Lwazi. It is a big, lavish ceremony in which the wedding party wears designer clothing and guests receive expensive gifts – Cuban cigars for the men and parasols for the women. The couple’s relationship which was “destined to end in matrimony” is sealed at this event.

5.6.2 *Social Celebrity*

Analysis of this narrative underscores what Laden (2003) refers to as the aspirational function of magazines – the manner in which they suggest to readers new ways of life to desire. Laden argues that:

[m]any black media personalities are esteemed social celebrities who promote their magazines and the images they convey by reinforcing their own status as established members of an elite stratum (2003:20).

These media personalities may overtly suggest and endorse new ways of life to their readership through representing their own lifestyles and experiences (Laden 2003). Featuring the wedding of Dhlomo, the founding editor of *Destiny* and South African celebrity, the March 2010 cover feature narrative is exemplary of such a representation. That Dhlomo’s personal relationship and wedding are placed as a cover feature indicates that her life

experiences are regarded as admirable and something to which readers should aspire. The readers are told: “enjoy your front row seats!” at the wedding. The metaphor positions the reading subject as a privileged member of the middle class cohort that attended the event. Amongst them are Nthathi Moshesh (actor), Nkhensani Nkosi (fashion designer and media personality), King Kgosi Leruo Molotlegi (head of the Royal Bafokeng nation), Tim Modise (broadcast journalist), Brandon October (musician) and Thami Ngubeni (media personality featured in the January 2010 issue) and other famous persons. Placed amongst celebrities and royalty, the reader is constructed as a subject of a middle class discourse who desires a high-profile wedding ceremony like that of Dhlomo.

5.6.3 *Fantasy*

The article offers the reader an interesting fantasy for heterosexual identity formation within the patriarchal gender order. According to De Robillard, theorising on bridal magazines,

[t]he wedding is a ritual highpoint within the social imaginary and forms a *mise-en-scène* within which heterosexuality is most visibly and extravagantly materialised (2006:5).

Unlike Laden, De Robillard views the stories and other content in these magazines as functioning as fantasies rather than attainable aspirations (De Robillard 2006). Both producers and readers understand this, yet both try to literalise these fantasies. The March 2010 *Destiny* cover feature arguably works in such a way. It is a celebration of the ritual highpoint of the heterosexual romance between Dhlomo and Chijioke. It creates fantastic representation of their middle class marital union. Pages of photographs show snapshots of numerous black social celebrities attending the “hot summer’s day” ceremony which is referred to as “an obvious choice for one of the most memorable weddings of the year”. The bride wears an Elie Saab designer wedding dress, while bridesmaids wear Gideon designer dresses. At a wedding attended by 300 people, guests are given parasols and Cuban cigars as wedding favours. It seems a show of conspicuous consumption where the wedding couple seem to advertise their wealth and their belonging to a high social stratum (Bagwell and Bernheim 1996). Ending the article is a full page photograph of the wedding couple ‘walking off into the sunset’ in true romantic fairytale fashion.

Linguistic choices in the article positively affirm Dhlomo's relationship and wedding in a fantasy-like manner (Richardson 2007). She and Chijioke are described as a "Match made in heaven". Various elements of the wedding are described using positive prepositions such as "festive", "down-to-earth", "tender", "personalised", "the best" and "convivial". The bride and groom are said to match one another "flawlessly" in both "charm and panache". Such use of language functions similar to that used in advertisements – selling a fantasy lifestyle. The fantasy is however literalised and made to seem attainable as readers are offered a "little white book" with the names and contacts of the wedding planner, photographers, make-up artists etc., who worked on the Dhlomo-Chijioke wedding, so that they too can have a fantasy wedding as good as that of the couple. The article as a whole represents and endorses an "entitled femininity", in which the feminine subject (cast here as a princess) is encouraged to consume excessively for the purposes of a single event (Lazar 2009b:372). It is a representation which resonates with a postfeminist materialist discourse which assumes that woman's freedom of choice is defined by her ability to afford and choose from different brands and luxury consumer goods (Lazar 2009b). What is represented and legitimised is thus middle class excessiveness.

5.6.4 *Cosmopolitan couple*

In addition to a materialist discourse, this "real-life fairytale romance" is informed by globalist and Pan-Africanist discourses, to construct the crossing of cultures and mix of international elements a distinctive part of black middle class culture. The bride is identified as a South African Zulu woman who marries an Igbo groom of Nigerian and American decent. Their courtship was characterised by travel to "stylish destinations around the globe" and their numerous honeymoons take place in both South Africa and abroad. The height of their romantic relationship – the wedding ceremony – takes place at a venue with a "truly exotic look". Dhlomo wears a "Grecian-inspired" wedding dress designed by Elie Saab, a Lebanese fashion designer. A "traditional Apache" marriage blessing is given at the ceremony and the couple is said to dance to "the Brenda Fassie anthem *Vulindlela*", to which the Igbo groom shows some "serious Zulu dancing skills". This leads to Dhlomo referring to him as a "Zulu-Igbo-American" man. Interestingly, despite the mix of different international and cross-cultural elements, the author refers to the wedding as a "traditional ceremony". In addition, the wedding is argued to be a catalyst for linking nations as expressed in the

following direct quote from Chijioke's father's wedding speech. He says in a somewhat hyperbolic way:

[o]ne of my continuing hopes is that the tradition of global network energisation, which we started in my family in the early seventies [with his own marriage to his American-born wife], will spring a link between Nigeria and the USA, Nigeria and Europe, Nigeria and Asia, and now Nigeria and South Africa. We need to pull up the continent in every possible way and, in all humility, do it as a duty thrust upon us in the circumstances.

The inductive argument in the quote above takes a causal form, suggesting that the marriage between a Dhlomo and Chijioke can lead to nations connecting (Richardson 2007). The argument is thus epideictic in nature as it elevates and honours the Dhlomo-Chijioke marriage as a global unifier. Implied is that heterosexual marriage grounded in a concept of romantic love can bring new possibilities for the African content. A Pan-African discourse is thus espoused.

In articulating a Pan-African discourse with a globalist discourse, the fantasy constructs what De Robillard defines as the post-apartheid Afropolitan couple (2006). Where black people's access to the local and global metropolis had previously been restricted during apartheid, the post-apartheid black couple can assert itself as a legitimate part of the metropolis, with the right to be black, beautiful and global (De Robillard 2006:2). In Dhlomo and Chijioke, the readers are offered such a couple who can mix their traditional 'Africaness' with the global. The groom can do a Zulu dance and is partly an Igbo man. This Africaness is articulated with other global elements, indicated in the way the bride wears a Grecian inspired dress and guests indulge in Indian, Malay and North African foods. The local thus meets the global expressing a liberated global Africanness. However, while apartheid principles of exclusion are challenged, patriarchal gender norms are reinforced. As part of the fantasy, Chijioke asks for Khanyi's mother's blessing, and Dhlomo is said to be "given away by her eldest brother, Lwazi". This reinforces patriarchal norms in which women are possessed and can be given over or taken. A patriarchal gender discourse is affirmed, while apartheid racist discourses of exclusion are challenged.

5.6.5 *Gender binaries*

Further evidence of a patriarchal discourse can be found in an analysis of the paradigmatic mythic narrative structure in the article in which feminine and masculine bodies are produced as opposites (Lévi-Strauss 1955). Quoted from the best man's speech, Chijioke is described as "a Nigerian-American hunk", while Dhlomo is "a model of grace and poise, sophisticated, yet grounded". The groom also refers to how he is enchanted by his bride's sense of grace and was struck by her beauty, smile and style. Implied is that while the groom is physically hard and strong, the gentility of the bride is found in her gentle and dainty character and carrying of her body. These binaries are reinforced in the photographs showing women and men in customarily feminine and masculine dress respectively. The array of colourful photographs shows women in dresses, head-wraps or long hair, and carrying parasols given to them on arrival at the ceremony, signalling their emphasised femininity. On the other hand, the men are seen in suits. In one particular photograph Dhlomo is shown being walked down the aisle by her brother with the groom waiting at the end. The men are said to receive Cuban cigars as wedding favours. Cigars are often associated with men retiring to the smoking room after dinner to discuss issues of public life, a space from which women were excluded. The cigars given at the wedding thus signify hegemonic masculinity. Through the construction of feminine and masculine subject binaries, the gender order of emphasised femininity and hegemonic masculinity is legitimised and reinforced.

5.6.6 *From love to marriage*

Inspired by a discourse of romantic love, the fantasy narrative constructs the progression from love to marriage as natural for the quintessential heterosexual couple. As the article's author argues, "their real-life fairytale was destined to end in matrimony". In another place it is said, "love this strong – and this fulfilling – couldn't have happened to two more deserving or nicer people". They are also said to be "a match made in heaven". In such a way, love is celebrated as supernatural force which will inevitably lead a man and woman to the institution of marriage. Interestingly, the kind of marriage alluded to in the article takes the form of a partnership, rather than a male headed household. Dhlomo says:

[w]e're happy together and excited about the life we're building. Apart from loving each other, what's working for us is that we have the same values. We really want to bring joy to each other's lives and support one another in fulfilling our purpose on earth.

Also referring to their relationship the groom, Chijioke says:

[o]ur time together has been wonderful, and continues to grow more so. Seeing the world together has always been exciting for us, but what we really cherish most are the routine joys we share – sunny Sunday afternoons together, spending time with Hugo and Khaya [Dhlomo's sons] or having a relaxed evening braai.

In both the extracts, the agents of action are 'we' and never 'I', implying action as partners and the union is constructed as one of support and equal companionship. In other places in the article, readers are told of "the marriage" of Dhlomo and Chijioke thereby omitting agency of one party marrying the other. In so doing, it is implied that both parties are equal, entering into the union. This representation of marriage is thus one of sharing and equality, as found within a liberal feminist discourse. It is in contrast to traditionally hierarchically structured gender regime of marriage which establishes men as dominant over women.

5.6.7 You can have it all

The article persuasively argues that a woman can successfully be a "superwoman" and enjoy it (Macdonald 1995:90). She can travel around the world, run a business, raise children and have a fairytale romance. Dhlomo is constructed as the manifestation of such a subject. She is a working professional, managing director of Ndalo Media, who studied towards an MBA in the USA. She has travelled the world with her lover and makes time for sunny Sunday afternoons with him. She is also a mother who spends leisure time with her two sons Hugo and Khaya and has time for relaxed evening braais. Of planning the wedding she says, "It doesn't feel tough when it's a labour of love, and both the wedding and Ndalo Media are that". By drawing on the present admirable character and reputation of Dhlomo, as founder and director of Ndalo Media, the author of the article as arguer uses epideictic rhetoric to convince the reader that it is possible and desirable for a woman to be successful in business and to have a busy and fulfilling private life. In such a way the domesticated feminine subject is challenged and a new liberated woman, with a lifestyle characterised by participation in diverse spaces is endorsed (Richardson 2007).

5.6.8 Conclusion

The March 2010 cover story is a fine example of how black media personalities can represent themselves in a fantasy-like manner in their magazines, in a way that suggests to readers that

they too can aspire to the same celebrity lifestyle. The narrative however constructs excessive consumption as success and freedom for the feminine subject. In so doing, it offers “a rather limited problematic vision of femininity and gender equality” for many women cannot afford such excessiveness because of structural economic inequality (Lazar 2009b:371). In addition, by marking subjects in the narrative along conventional lines of emphasised femininity and hegemonic masculinity, the patriarchal gender order is asserted.

Never-the-less, Dhlomo and Chijioke symbolise the black, beautiful, Afropolitan couple which is offered as a legitimately admirable part of the new South African nationalist discourse. Their relationship is represented as a partnership in a way that challenges patriarchal norms. However, by constructing Dhlomo as the princess of a fairytale who captivates her prince, the narrative reinforces patriarchal norms of feminine passivity. At the same time she is represented as a liberated superwoman unconfined to the domestic sphere. The article thus offers a complex femininity that simultaneously challenges and rearticulates the patriarchal gender order.

5.7 May 2010

Anele Mdoda, a South African media personality, is the subject of the May 2010 cover article (Appendix E). Titled “Loud & proud”, the article tracks Mdoda’s quest to become a celebrity media presenter. The article is written by Sheena Adams, *Destiny* business and lifestyle features editor, and photographs are commissioned by the magazine. It contains the usual elements of the header and executive summary. A full page close up photograph of Mdoda depicts her in a blue top, braided hair and dark eye makeup, visually representing a confident assertive subject. On the third page, Mdoda is represented in a bright red dress, a black waist belt and chandelier earrings and with her hands on her hips, suggests that she is confident and unabashed.

5.7.1 Narrative

Mdoda takes on the character function of a seeker hero who goes in search of a career as a media broadcaster. Through a syntagmatic narrative analysis, it is possible to identify Mdoda’s state of equilibrium as a time when she is young and lives with her parents and sisters in Pretoria (Prinsloo 2009). The reader is told that Mdoda would “stare longingly as her childhood neighbour, Noeleen Maholwana-Sangqu, then working for Radio Transkei”, as

she walked to work. In terms of the eighth Proppian function, it is at this point Mdoda lacks or desires something, and the lack is made known. It can also be regarded as the point of the disruption of her equilibrium. She then attempts to resolve this lack by working with fellow radio jock, Grant Nash, at Tuks FM at the University of Pretoria, while she studied international relations. Nash thus assumes the character function of helper. Her sisters and “strong parents” are also helpers who support her throughout her quest. Mdoda’s mother is constructed as a helper who acts like a “fifth sister” and gives advice to her daughter and guides her children’s relations with each other. Mdoda also finds help through mentors, Alex Jay and Eddie Zondi, who are more experienced radio broadcast presenters.

Through the persistent efforts of Jay, who acts as a donor, Mdoda is employed at Johannesburg Highveld Stereo Station in 2006. Two years later she and Nash take up an offer to present a show at a “national platform at 5FM”. This move is the point at which Mdoda the hero is transferred to the general location of her quest in accordance with the fifteenth Proppian function. At 5FM she goes through a struggle with a number of villains – callers who make racist slurs against her and openly criticise changes to “their ‘white’ radio station”. She engages in direct combat with these villains as she answers back and deals “scathingly” with them on-air. She is said to “take no prisoners”, a metaphor suggesting she is merciless towards her enemies. Mdoda also presents the television shows, *Strictly Come Dancing* and *SA’s Got Talent* and, in so doing, defeats “nay-sayers who criticised her looks”. The Proppian narrative functions of the villains’ defeat and the lack being set right are in this way accomplished. Although she is on an ongoing quest, and desires to someday have her own talk-show and supply broadcasting content throughout Africa, Mdoda is in the process of reaching her new equilibrium. This equilibrium is characterised by recognition by a varied demographic of fans, including those who connect with her online – “6 500 Twitter followers and 4 800 Facebook friends”. In this way, the hero is recognised, in accordance with the twenty-seventh Proppian function.

5.7.2 Superwoman

Informed by a postfeminist discourse, the narrative constructs Mdoda as an “executive superwoman” who enjoys managing many roles simultaneously (Macdonald 1995:90). A transitive analysis highlights such a construction, with an emphasis on her material processes. Mdoda is said to be “juggling” roles as a radio DJ, TV presenter and actress. She is “holding

down” a midday show slot on 5FM and “building” her brand. She “thrives” on the immediacy of online social networking and “cultivates” what appears to be an “exhausting media presence”. She says of herself, “In addition to my day jobs, I do voice-overs and MC work. I’m constantly out there”. Predication mostly in the form of adjectives used to describe Mdoda as “über-successful”, “bright”, “out-spoken”, “entertaining”, “loud”, “proud”, “sassy”, “clever” and “unafraid”, and her actions as “exhausting”, “flamboyant” and “impressive” affirm her as an active, assertive feminine subject. This is also implied in the photographs of her. She stands in contrast to the passive feminine subject confined to the home. Interestingly, however, Mdoda perceives her femininity as needing to be robust and loud because of the environment in which she works. She is quoted as saying:

I’m tough and loud because I’m in a male-dominated industry. But I also like the fact that I’m a woman who sticks to my feminine traits.

She thus presupposes that being tough and loud are not feminine traits. In line with a patriarchal discourse, masculinity is concretised into tough and loud, while its binary opposite, femininity, is concretised into delicate and quiet. Photographed in a bright red figure hugging dress accentuating her curves, with braided hair extensions, chandelier earrings and with her hands on her waist in what can be best described as a sassy pose, Mdoda is affirmed as the postfeminist subject. She is what is described in the story’s blurb as one of South Africa’s “bright young things”. As a superwoman who “sticks to her feminine traits”, she remains non-threatening to hegemonic masculinity.

5.7.3 Self-starting hard worker

The kind of femininity esteemed in the Mdoda article focuses on intent and hard work as central elements for success. She is represented, through forensic rhetoric, as having a long track record of hard work, as when it is said that her position at 5FM was gained through “the culmination of many years of hard slog” (Richardson 2007). Mdoda is thus defended as a worthy recipient of her appointment at the radio station. In addition, described as a spinning and Bikram yoga “junkie”, she is represented as a self-motivated individual. The colloquial term “junkie”, usually used to describe a drug abuser, suggests that Mdoda is obsessed with applying herself fully to physical activity. Mdoda’s mind is also always on the job, as demonstrated by the way she uses conversation at book club meetings with friends as a space

to acquire content for her shows. She is represented as a self-starter who will make things happen if no one else will help. For instance, she criticises the older generation of “African liberation and cultural icons” of being bad mentors and failing to pass on their knowledge to the youth. She is quoted as saying, “nobody’s passing the baton to women. But that’s fine. We’ll just get it ourselves”. Her comments are however ironic, as she has been mentored by an older generation of radio personalities – Alex Jay and Eddie Zondi. She thus fails to acknowledge her privileged position and that she has in fact *not* ‘done it herself’. Represented as always working, self-driven and dedicated, Mdoda is the prototypical postfeminist ‘can do’ girl who can do and achieve anything she desires, even at times when she feels she has no helpers (Harris 2004). She aggressively challenges constructions of a passive femininity. This ‘can do’ girl however faces villains along the way who try to stop her from achieving her goals. Interestingly however, these villains are not sexists, attacking her because of her gender, but racists and critics of her looks, attacking her for her skin colour and general appearance.

5.7.4 *Racial not gender battles*

Discussing gender in South Africa, Gqola (2007) argues that it is not uncommon for middle class black South Africans to face a racist backlash because of affirmative action or BEE policies. Based on their race, they may be unfairly viewed as unworthy recipients of particular appointments. Mdoda’s narrative in *Destiny* highlights such a struggle. She has to engage in direct combat with the racist villains who wish to hold onto “their ‘white’ radio station”. She is said to respond “scathingly” to them and is unafraid to talk back. Her defeat of these villains is evidenced by the popularity of her radio show which has a “varied demographic”. She says of the station, “we’re LSM 6-10 and it doesn’t matter what colour you are”. Although Mdoda works in what she terms “a male-dominated industry” in which she needs to be “tough and loud” in order to be successful, the villains in the narrative attack her because of her race not her gender. By representing only racist villains, the narrative downplays what Gqola (2007) views as the gendered nature of black middle class struggles. So in the article, a discourse of non-racialism seems to be privileged over feminist discourse against gender discrimination.

5.7.5 Essential femininity

Also emerging from analysis of the article is the construction of sharing and generosity as essentially feminine traits while greed is essentially masculine. Mdoda argues:

[w]e women like sharing power. As soon as a woman gets power, all she wants to do is share it. As soon as a man gets power, all he wants to do is retain it – we're different like that.

Broken down, the deductive argument Mdoda constructs is based on the premise that women are inherently different from men (Richardson 2007). It is on this basic premise she argues women naturally want to share power and men do not. It thus follows, in terms of her argument, that her own desire to share her wisdom with young people, who want to be taught about the media industry, is based on her essential femininity. Mdoda's basic premise about essential femininity draws on a common sense understanding of gender and derives from a form of first stage feminism which celebrates patriarchal constructions of gender. It justifies masculine greed while celebrating an imagined essential femininity. The argument however does not account for the socially constructed nature of masculinity and femininity. It does not acknowledge that women too are embroiled in relations of power amongst themselves, based on class and racial differences. Thus in presupposing that women are naturally morally superior to men, the argument glosses over unequal power relations amongst women.

5.7.6 Conclusion

The May 2010 issue constructs Mdoda as a lively, confident, and essentially feminine postfeminist subject. She is constructed as a superwoman who is hardworking and dedicated but has to struggle against critics in order to be successful in her quest. However, her struggles against racism are emphasised over her gender struggles. In arguing that women are essentially morally superior to men, the article fails to acknowledge the differences in power relations amongst women. While challenging domestic femininity as defined within patriarchy, by adopting a postfeminist discourse celebrating emphasised femininity, the article contributes to representation that re-inscribes women into the patriarchal gender order.

5.8 July 2010

Destiny's July 2010 cover story (Appendix F), the final article analysed in this research, features well-known South African musician, Yvonne Chaka Chaka. Titled "The people's

princess”, it is a kind of rags to riches story focusing on Chaka Chaka’s development from an underprivileged childhood to becoming a musician and entrepreneur. Most notable in this article is the “new look” design which takes over from the previous form evident in the other articles analysed. The story’s blurb on the first page is in a lighter sans-serif typeface making the page appear less crowded. The drop-cap in the story’s first paragraph is in a script typeface which connotes feminine elegance and chic. The leading (space between lines) in the article’s main body text and pull-quote is increased while more white space is left at the top of all the pages, generally offering a lighter more open feel. The white block titled “executive summary” which appears in most of the previous cover features is omitted and replaced with a quote from Chaka Chaka’s interview with the magazine. I discuss the implications of this changed design later, but first I provide an overview of the narrative.

5.8.1 Narrative

In the narrative, Chaka Chaka is constructed as the seeker hero who has an “insatiable drive” for material success and has always been “an entrepreneur at heart”. In the initial equilibrium, she is a child growing up in Soweto with her mother, father and siblings. In that time, her father often comes home whistling down the street, suggesting that it was a happy home. At an early age she demonstrates her entrepreneurial skills by selling the oranges her father, Puti Machaka, gave to her. Her father dies when she and her sisters are young. Interpreted using the Proppian narrative model, the death of Puti Machaka, serves as the first Proppian narrative function in which a member of the family leaves home. Her mother is consequently left to fend for the family on her R40 a month domestic worker salary. The equilibrium is disrupted when the apartheid government seizes the family home, for as Chaka Chaka says, in that period black single women were not allowed to own houses. This is in accordance with the eighth Proppian narrative function, in which the villain harms a member of the family. In this way the apartheid government takes on the character function of a villain. The family is consequently forced to live in a backyard room owned by Pat, Chaka Chaka’s mother’s employer. Pat fights to get the family home back and so functions as a helper in the narrative. The eighth narrative function is repeated when on their way from school Chaka Chaka and her sisters face the constant threat of a second set of villains – white boys who set their dogs on them and attack them with slingshots. In this state, in accordance with the fifth narrative function, Chaka Chaka, the hero lacks something. More specifically she lacks material success which is denied black people by the apartheid government.

When Chaka Chaka becomes the first black child to appear, singing, on South African television she realises that “her future path” towards success lies in being a performer and so sets out to make contact with influential musicians. This is her point of recognition. Chaka Chaka then takes action based upon her recognition leading her towards her new equilibrium. After a failed attempt at gaining a record deal through Ray Phiri, a famous South African jazz musician, Chaka Chaka is finally “discovered” by Phil Hollis at Dephon records who arranges for her to record her first song. In this way Hollis takes on the character function of future donor who provides Chaka Chaka with the magical agent of a record deal. Her first single sells 35 000 copies in 1985 and earns her R10 000 in royalties. With this money she begins to build her mother a house. “The money kept rolling in” she says, earning R 1 500 for a concert and R2 500 for an outdoor performance.

Despite her earnings, Chaka Chaka is said to have felt insecure about her future. The eighth Proppian function of lacking or desiring something is thus repeated. Chaka Chaka thus acts again, now to consolidate her success. In 1989, now with the assistance of her husband, Dr Mandlalela “Tiny” Mhinga, she sets up two salons in Johannesburg, followed by a limousine company and a luxury car dealership. She also invests in an information technology (IT) company where she faces villains with whom she engages in direct combat. These are racist villains who do not respect her as a partner in the company. She says: “it became clear that they thought they were dealing with a black ‘girl’ to whom they didn’t have to answer”. So she leaves the company and buys into Simeka BSG, another IT company in which she is now a shareholder and director. Chaka Chaka also signs “profitable” endorsement deals with First National Bank (FNB) and Unilever.

To take herself to a “higher level” of fulfilment, Chaka Chaka engages in “humanitarian work” with Unicef and sets up the Princess of Africa Foundation. As part of her ongoing quest towards material success, she has plans for clothing and jewellery lines. Her equilibrium is thus not fully reached as her quest towards financial or material success is ongoing.

5.8.2 Racial dimension of the gender struggle

Possibly informed by non-racialism and feminist discourses, the syntagmatic structure of the July 210 narrative emphasises the racial dimension of gender struggle that black women face

in accessing material resources. The main disruption in the narrative is the seizure of the family home following Puti Machaka's death because the apartheid government did not allow black women to own homes. Another form of disruption is represented when "white boys" attack the hero and her sisters on their way from school. By characterising these events as disruptions, the narrative points to the double oppression black women faced as black and as women during apartheid. Mention of the mere R40 salary which Chaka Chaka's mother earned points to the third tier of oppression black women faced – oppression as workers (Cock 1989). The racial dimension of women's struggle in post-apartheid times is pointed to in Chaka Chaka's struggle with business partners, who function as villains. They treat her as "a black 'girl'" and not a woman. Characterised as disruptive and a form of villainy, racially motivated gender based discrimination is condemned in the article. In this way it would appear the gender order and its racial component are challenged.

5.8.3 Black economic empowerment means more

As blackness is a distinctive part of the feminine identity represented in the text, the prominence of a black empowerment discourse in the narrative is not surprising. Drawing from this discourse, Chaka Chaka as a black woman in post-apartheid South Africa, is defined as a legitimate entrepreneur and business owner. Chaka Chaka's life quest to gain material resources is positively characterised as a pursuit for success. It is to earn money, then to make more, to ensure her security. The kind of black economic empowerment legitimised is first, of diversified investment and second, an ever increasing capitalist amassment of wealth. The former is evidenced by Chaka Chaka's business interests with her husband, in hair salons, a car dealership, IT company and prospects in clothing and jewellery trade. Evidence of the latter can be seen in the way Chaka Chaka still lacks and desires success even when "the money kept rolling in" from her earnings as a musician. She is also said to have an "insatiable drive for success" and she laments that had she been wiser with her money during her early musical success, she and her husband could have "owned half the old farms in Bryanston, Johannesburg". Implied is this: 'a black woman can never own enough!' The argument is supported through pathetic means, for the reader may be moved to feel compassion for the unjust existence Chaka Chaka once lived under apartheid, and view such accumulation as a justified right.

So black femininity is redefined in the post-apartheid feminine subject, who before would not have been allowed to own a house but can now own many businesses. She is liberated from racist gender discourses which view her as being under the guardianship of her husband and a legal minor, or define her as the property of her husband. Instead she is a legitimate shareholder, director, business owner and entrepreneur and is a business *partner* with her husband. She is a full citizen, a legitimate subject of a capitalist post-apartheid South Africa. Chaka Chaka lives the freedom she says she and her husband knew was coming to South Africa in the late apartheid years. Prevailing is thus a nationalist discourse that in the new South Africa, black women are free.

5.8.4 Liberated sexuality

Chaka Chaka, the liberated black feminine subject simultaneously challenges racially motivated gender oppression while supporting emphasised femininity. She is the subject of a postfeminist discourse, individually empowered and in control of her sexuality (Gill 2009). The most striking example of this is when she is quoted as saying:

[s]ometimes, after one of my performances he'll [her husband] ask: 'Why did you sit on that man's lap?' I'm always, like, 'Which one?' I always flirt with men when I'm performing! I have to remind him [her husband] that he has me forever.

Two important points emerge from the quote above. First, Chaka Chaka constructs herself as a sexually liberated woman. She does not care that her husband thinks her flirting is inappropriate but continues to use her sexuality as she pleases. Like Tyra Banks in the September 2009 article, she uses her sexuality as a legitimate means to make money. She is the willing subject of a new sexual contract in which her sexual expertise or ability to use her sexuality is a legitimate means of gaining material resources (Radner 1993). The second point to make is that in spite of her sexual liberty, Chaka Chaka views herself as belonging to her husband. A transitive analysis of the phrase "he has me forever" indicates that she is the object possessed by the subject, her husband. So although she flirts, her virtue is held intact through her commitment to the monogamous union. In this way she is a willing subject of a patriarchal discourse. In addition, her husband's questioning of her moral behaviour, and his forbidding of her going on tour, is represented as a signal of love rather than indication of a desire to control. He questions her because, the article says, he is a "doting husband". He is thus positively constructed as a well-meaning guardian of his wife's virtue rather than a

domineering husband. In so doing, hegemonic masculinity and its inclination to dominate is masked as affection and concern.

5.8.5 *Feminine by design*

As noted earlier, the July 2010 issue of *Destiny* has a ‘new look’ design (first introduced in the June 2010 issue) which works together with other signifiers in the text to connote an accented femininity. In Chapter 1, I note that the magazine’s editorial director, Ingrid Wood, explained via email on 10 August 2010, that the magazine’s design has been changed over the years in order to offer the readers ‘serious’ content in a more interesting and lively manner. She states:

Destiny is a business and lifestyle magazine, so we wanted to allow the business content – although more serious – to still be presented in a way that appealed to magazine readers. In response to reader focus groups, we lightened the layout slightly by including more white ‘breathing’ space, jazzed up headlines, added more lifestyle pictures to the articles and introduced a more engaging colour palette (personal communication).

My analysis of the “new look” suggests that what could be considered the more feminine aspects of the old images and design are retained while aspects which could give the design a more ‘masculine’ feel are removed. A noticeable change in the July 2010 issue is in the use of space. More white space is used giving the pages a lighter feel. The use of a sans serif typeface in the blurb and script drop cap has the same softening effect as is achieved on the July cover. The lighter, softer design could be interpreted as fitting associations with what the patriarchal gender order would see as the ‘the fairer sex’. As in the other five articles analysed in this research, Chaka Chaka the feminine subject is photographed in attire that accentuates her female body. A full-page, half-body studio photograph shows her in a strapless pink and grey top which reveals her shoulders and cleavage, thus accentuating the curves of her body. She wears makeup, chandelier earrings and her hair tied up in large bun above her head. Looking directly at the reader with a smile and eyebrows raised, the image conveys the subject’s confidence in her emphasised feminine sexuality, she is black and beautiful. Superimposed at the bottom of the image is a quote: “for me, it’s never just about the fame, I’m an entrepreneur at heart”. Read together with the image it is suggested to the reader that though obviously black, beautiful and sexy, she is not just a pretty face. Chaka

Chaka is thus constructed as the feminine subject of a postfeminist discourse – a sexy entrepreneur.

Noteworthy is that the quote superimposed on the image replaces the executive summary present in previous features. My interpretation is that the more bold representation of the featured subject as an executive, which has historically been associated with the masculine subject within a patriarchal discourse, is removed to make the feminine subject seem less masculine and thus less threatening to readers' perceptions of an acceptable femininity within patriarchy. Interestingly however, there is one photograph where Chaka Chaka poses with a laptop before her and a mobile phone to her ear, visually representing her at work. It is the only photograph of all in the sample, which *visually* represents the featured subject as a working businesswoman. In this way, the article offers an alternative signifier of the subject's professional qualities.

Ultimately however, read all together, the elements of the new look design seem intended to create a stronger impression of an emphasised femininity. Through changing the appearance of the cover and interior design, the women's business and lifestyle magazine is made more "womanly" in a way that complies with the patriarchal gender order.

5.8.6 Conclusion

The Chaka Chaka article, although at first appearing to challenge gender inequality in general, effectively only challenges racially motivated gender inequality. Treatment of Chaka Chaka as a "black girl" is criticised as a form of disruption and villainy. Yet the postfeminist discourse privileged in the visual design and photographs and Chaka Chaka's representation of herself as sexually liberated and happily married to a hegemonic masculine man, re-inscribes her into a patriarchal discourse. She is liberated from the apartheid state's racial policies which prevented her from becoming economically powerful, but still subscribes to an emphasised femininity. It is thus suggested that freedom for the black feminine subject has been achieved through the defeat of apartheid, but she does not need, nor in fact desire liberation from the gender order. It was because she was black, not a woman, that she had been ill-treated and now in the new South Africa she is can be free. Such a construction fails to highlight the possibility that black women's experience of gender inequality is not only and always racial in nature. Black women may be treated as less than men simply because

they are women, and may be treated as such by black men. So by privileging a discourse of non-racialism over a feminist discourse, the article overlooks non-racially driven gender inequality.

Conclusion

Magazines are discursive spaces that offer readers possible subject positions from which they may interpret and experience social life. They are produced and read in the context of wider social practice. Both producers and readers make meaning of magazines using the cultural capital available to them in the form of discourses already circulating in society. This study focuses on the discourses from which producers draw in constructing representations of women in *Destiny* magazine. The purpose of this study was to identify and analyse the discourses *Destiny* privileges and in so doing, make sense of the gendered subject positions the magazine advocates. A poststructuralist discursive understanding of women's magazines has enabled me to analyse the subject positions offered to readers of *Destiny* through carrying out critical discourse analysis.

Through my analysis, it is evident that in its covers and cover features, *Destiny* privileges, amongst others, first a postfeminist discourse. Generally, both the reader and the women featured in these texts are represented as self-motivated individuals who will inevitably achieve their goals if they choose to pursue them. Their representation, mostly as seeker heroes, points to this (although Dhlomo (Appendix D) is cast as a princess). The feminine subjects constructed are fully engaged citizens who are interested in public affairs in accordance with discourses of the new democratic South Africa. They aim to extend their knowledge and participation in public life to a global scale. They are internationally acclaimed businesspeople, entrepreneurs and professionals. They are cosmopolites – 'globe-trotting' high earners who learn different business (and spiritual) ideas from countries across the globe. They can balance a busy private and public life as 'superwomen' who direct companies, run charity projects, publish books, produce television programmes and are still able to raise children, and have fulfilling romantic relationships and spiritual lives. They are thus not passive or subservient but instead challenge patriarchal gender norms as active, intelligent and unabashed public figures.

The liberated *Destiny* feminine subject also possesses some traditionally masculine characteristics. She is a conqueror in the world of business, and though still involved in it, is not limited to the domestic sphere. The masculinisation of the *Destiny* subject is most evident in her construction as a hero who rescues others from lives of obscurity, self-ignorance and

poverty. Like the knight in shining armour, she rescues girls from their insecurities, the youth from a lack of knowledge and other women from poverty and the state of being uneducated, bringing them into an environment and a state of mind in which they can pursue *their* destinies. As a masculinised feminine subject, she challenges patriarchal discourses which define all women only as passive, domestic caregivers who wait to be rescued by men.

On the other hand, this postfeminist subject is feminine in the conventional sense. Her emphasised femininity is mostly depicted in the photographs. It is signalled by her manner of dress and sometimes subtle sexy or sassy poses. Interestingly, although she is selected to be on the cover for her career accomplishments rather than her bodily appearance, there seems to be a concerted effort to emphasise that she is feminine in the hegemonic sense. She is adorned with jewellery and make-up, and poses for the camera in a way that visually highlights her physical appearance at the expense of visually representing her career accomplishments. Of significance, however, is that the magazine departs from popular assumptions that feminine beauty is signified by the thin body and slender shape, for the women appearing on *Destiny* covers have varying body types. Never-the-less these photographs seem to convey nothing of these women as entrepreneurs or intellectuals. Only in one photograph of Chaka Chaka (Appendix F), in which she poses with a laptop and mobile phone, is it implied in some visual way that this subject is a businesswoman. This photograph, I believe, notably departs from offering ‘just a pretty face’. Overall, however, the photographs offer readers a postfeminist subject position which re-inscribes women into patriarchal discourse that constructs women as aesthetically pleasing, while suppressing a view of them as professional subjects.

Materialism – the amassment of wealth, and the ability to consume, and afford expensive capitalist goods – is represented as a central part of this post-femininity. The ability to choose from various ‘brands’ is viewed as freedom for the feminine subject. Represented is thus what Lazar (2009b) refers to as an entitled femininity, where a woman’s rights and freedom are defined by the possessions she has or can have. The feminist struggle is constructed as struggle to acquire as many material resources as possible. Although not constructed as the only means, performance for the pleasure of men is regarded as a legitimate means through which women can acquire wealth. Such representation re-inscribes women into patriarchy through the “new heterosexual contract” in which the woman’s body and sexual expertise

constitute capital which she exchanges for “male property” (Radner 1993:62). On the other hand, by confidently expressing her sexuality, this postfeminist emphasised feminine subject rebels against patriarchal norms that emphasise feminine sexual passivity and innocence. She is free to flirt with any man and does not care for concealing her sexual appeal. Yet in the end, her happiness and satisfaction as a woman is only complete through a marriage commitment to the right man (Radner 1993). The postfeminist subject position offered is thus one of a complex interplay between feminine liberation and obligation.

Drawing from this postfeminist discourse, at times women are constructed as acting in a gender-neutral society where they have the freedom to choose the life and career they desire. However, as the discussion in Chapter 1 highlights, South Africa is far from being a gender-neutral society. It is instead a society structured upon a patriarchal gender order which subordinates women to men in all areas of life, including the field of business. Facing the daily challenge of sexism, women may fail to achieve their business or entrepreneurial goals and have limited choices not because of a lack of effort. Instead, sexist social practices which tend to support men and disadvantage women (e.g. masculinised after-hour activities which make it difficult for women to network) can limit what women can achieve.

So it is worth noting, that while in some instances, the articles challenge racism and thus positively confront racial power relations, they do not tackle the issue of gender discrimination against black women. I argue that by focusing on race without paying attention to gender, these texts fail to offer black women possible solutions to dealing with hegemonic masculinity, especially in business practice.

However, some of the texts acknowledge the existence of gender inequality in business and in the workplace, and provide some ideas on how to deal with it. First, it is argued that the more women have access to education and financial resources, and enter into male dominated fields and begin to lead, the more liberated and empowered women and the society at large will become. Such an argument, based on women’s empowerment and liberal feminist discourses, does not account for the gendered structuring of workplaces and educational institutions. Even if women become leaders, their increased presence alone in various institutions does not determine the furthering of just gender relations. So although positively affirming women as leaders and intellectuals, the women’s empowerment and liberal feminist

subject positions offered only go so far in challenging gender inequality. What is possibly more useful is to offer women positions from which they can collectively challenge unequal gender structures once in leadership.

The second suggestion on dealing with gender inequality seems to be that women should not be concerned with it, as the reading subject is encouraged to focus on mastering herself rather than mastering her circumstances. Her attitude, not her circumstances, it is suggested, determines her level of 'success'. Whatever happens, she is encouraged to "take it like a woman" (Appendix C), and simply find another way to achieve her goals in the face of difficulty. She is encouraged to survive rather than to challenge the sexist practices of business and public life. Since *Destiny* is produced as an inspirational guide to success, such construction, focusing on challenging and changing the self makes sense. However, by individualising women's struggle, such construction overlooks the change that could come about if women acted collectively to transform the structures that constrain them.

Interestingly however, although assuming that a woman's attitude determines her level of 'success', there remains a strong sense that women achieve their goals with the support of other women in what can be termed a sisterhood. The emphasis on the role of mothers as their daughters' sources of support and guidance, the construction of the cover subjects as rescuers and givers assisting other women, and the positioning of the magazine as a magical agent which offers readers a better self mirrored in the cover subject, points to such a sisterhood.

Motherhood, as part of this sisterhood is constructed in *Destiny*, as a significant subject position from which to experience femininity. Mothers are consistently represented as helpers or donors. They provide stability and act as the heads of the home. For example Luhabe's mother is said to have raised four children on "just R75 a month in the 1970s", Mdoda's mother offered her daughters life advice and acted like a "fifth sister" and Dhlomo's mother gives her daughter's fiancé her marriage blessing, a role usually taken up, in a patriarchal setup, by a male in the family in the case of the absence of the father. So in the texts, mothers appear as primary breadwinners and decision makers, roles normally assigned to men in patriarchal society. Interestingly, emphasis on the role of motherhood is given to the featured women's mothers, thus suggesting that for the professional woman, having being mothered is

valuable experience but becoming one is not obligatory. This resists patriarchal discourses which construct motherhood as natural and essential part of womanhood. While fathers are (briefly) represented in a variety of positive and negative roles, mothers are represented in consistent ways, thus suggesting that motherhood is a force of stability, offering a firm foundation for the development of women. Mothers, it is implied, are reliable and unswerving in their commitment to their children. Such an inference resonates with the historical social practice of parenting in the South African context, in which black women have tended to be primary household breadwinners in the absence of male partners as noted in Chapter 1. The articles thus seem to draw from a discourse of motherism in which black women's dedication to motherhood and nurturance is celebrated.

Furthermore, mothers are constructed in two distinct ways. First, the mother may be a passive helper, a "backbone" as in the case of Ngubeni's mother (Appendix C) who bends to the will of her daughter, provides for her needs and simply spurs her on towards achieving her goals. She desires the best for her daughter and shows no volition for becoming well-known or wealthy (Appendix F). This kind of mother is the feminine subject of a patriarchal discourse, whose primary role is looking out for the needs of others. On the other hand, the mother may be an active subject, not only offering her daughter advice on how to navigate the world, but also a hero in her own right, pursuing and achieving her own goals towards becoming more educated as in the case of Luhabe's mother (Appendix B) or exercising her astute business skills, as in the case of Banks' mother (Appendix C). In such instances, the role of a mother is to support as well as demonstrate 'success', through her own involvement in the public sphere. She challenges a patriarchal construction of the domesticated mother, offering an alternative in which motherhood is not the quintessence of a woman's existence. So by constructing both passive and active mothers in *Destiny*, patriarchal norms are simultaneously reinforced and challenged.

My overall interpretation of the texts analysed, is that they chip away at some tenets of patriarchy, positively constructing women as active agents with a diverse set of abilities. However by emphasising their conventional femininity, a feminine subjectivity potentially threatening to masculinity is held back. Such a reading however needs to be put into context. Magazines are created to make profit. In the current media context, postfeminist

constructions are popular as they are believed to sell well (McRobbie 2009; Gough-Yates 2003). As Gough Yates notes of British women's magazines:

[t]he magazine industry's depictions of femininity are attempts to unify the perceived complexities of young women's lives around coherent, commercially viable configurations of 'woman' that will appeal to advertisers and readers alike (2003:154).

In light of this, it would seem *Destiny* offers readers a hybrid feminine subjectivity with both traditionally masculine and traditionally feminine characteristics, in order to unify the perceived complexities of the lives and identities of South African women. This is possibly done to make the new femininity more palatable to both readers and advertisers who are themselves inscribed in a patriarchal system. However, even within the broader context of this patriarchal gender order, the *Destiny* feminine subjects represent a defiance of the hegemonic order (Fiske 1987b). They form a part of a feminine culture which tries to legitimise itself within a patriarchal order and "while it may not challenge... patriarchal domination in any direct way, at the very least it constantly whittles away at patriarchy's power to subject women" (Fiske 1987b:197).

So although the subject positions offered in *Destiny* at times re-inscribe women into patriarchal discourse, I believe the magazine does important work in offering an alternative to passive, domestic femininity and legitimises black women as active members of South African public life. The magazine's producers often receive positive feedback from readers and visitors to the *Destiny* website, as noted by the magazine's editorial director, Ingrid Wood (personal communication). This is an indication that the representations in the magazine resonate in some way with the experiences and lives of readers. Future studies could therefore investigate the interpretations readers make of the magazine.

APPENDICIES

Appendix A

DESTINY

SEPTEMBER 2009
ISSUE 20

BEAUTIFUL POWERFUL YOU
www.destinyconnect.com

TYRA & IMAN
From Catwalk Queens To Model Moguls

TIME TO DECIDE
Make Good Decisions

SKILLS OR ILLS?
Are SA's SETAs Helping Or Hurting Our Economy?

SPRING STYLE
Fashion & Beauty for a Beautiful You

THE WHEELS REPORT
All You Need To Know To Be A Stylish, Driven Woman

Dare To DREAM
DISCOVER YOUR PURPOSE AND FIND THE CAREER, RELATIONSHIP AND HAPPINESS YOU DESERVE

PLUS

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| DESTINYCONNECT.COM Find A Mentor, Network & Win Online | SEX NOTES Mind-Blowing Techniques | LOVE'S LIMITS How To Deal With A Toxic Relationship |
|--|---|---|

WIN! A CATERED HOME DINNER PARTY • STUNNING TRAVEL GEAR

CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR
CNN REPORTER & ANCHOR
On Her Career, Motherhood & Finding Balance

ANDILE GALESIVE
MUSIC STAR & PHILANTHROPIST
On How She's Giving Back

SIKI & NIKIWE
JOURNALISTS
On Their New Business TV Show

09020
9 771995 429008
R27.95 (VAT INCL) SOUTH AFRICA WSZ 2.95 NAMIBIA

Appendix A (continued)

Tyra Banks

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

WHO SHE IS Tyra Banks made history in the early 1990s as the first black supermodel to hit the covers of iconic style publications such as *GQ*, *Sports Illustrated's* swimsuit issue and the Victoria's Secret catalogue. But – far from making her face her only fortune – she's made remarkable inroads into the global TV industry with hugely popular shows such as *America's Next Top Model* and *The Tyra Banks Show*.

WHAT SHE'S ACHIEVED A cool \$75 million (about R600 million), thanks to an incisive business brain, a finger on the pulse of TV audiences and a genuine desire to help instill self-confidence in young girls seeking a career on the catwalk. She's also launched her own company, Bankable Enterprises.

WHY IT MATTERS Banks' success has done much to inject a dose of realism into the glamour-glutted superficial modelling world, proving that beauty and business savvy can co-exist. She's also helped overturn stereotypes about black women and earned the respect of the multi-billion-dollar entertainment industry with her resourcefulness, unrelenting hard work – and, of course, that killer smile.

From Model to Mogul

Bankable, beautiful and business-savvy, supermodel-turned-producer Tyra Banks is worth an estimated \$75 million (about R600 million). She pulled in one-third of that net amount in 2008 alone, and is quickly conquering the arena of mega-earning TV goddesses, inching closer in fame, fortune – and charm – to the likes of Oprah Winfrey and Martha Stewart

Banks (34) has 275 smiles. Like a star athlete who's perfected a jump shot or a curveball, she's studied, honed and mastered them. In her arsenal are the "surprise smile", the "angry, but still smiling" smile, the "flirting with my boyfriend" smile and the "commercial" smile, which was designed and perfected when she began modelling at the age of 15.

From the start of her career, when she was virtually plucked from an all-girls Catholic school in Los Angeles and whisked off to Paris, to her days as a mass-market first-name-only supermodel strutting the catwalk in her underwear for Victoria's Secret, Banks always treated modelling as a kind of beautiful science. Modelling – and smiling – was a skill that could, if engineered and managed carefully, change lives.

She's made history in the process, being the first black woman to grace the covers of *GQ*, *Sports Illustrated's* swimsuit issue and the Victoria's Secret catalogue.

But she's also made history as a model mogul, with reality TV shows and a highly rated talk show that nets her tens of millions of dollars a year.

Banks, wearing wide-leg jeans and a belted khaki trench coat that accentuates her height and her curves, demonstrates her most famous smile, the "smile

with eyes". Her green, cat-like eyes narrow and begin to sparkle, while her lips slowly part to reveal a row of perfect teeth. "Do you see?" she asks. "You can try it too."

She recently passed the 500th-episode mark for *The Tyra Banks Show* and has three shows on air in the USA, two of which she created and all of which she produces. Her talk show, which premiered in 2005, is on every weekday and her night-time reality competition, *America's Next Top Model*, has already seen its 11th season. *Top Model*, which pits would-be models against one another, is syndicated in more than 100 countries and has given birth to Banks' newest venture, *Stylista*, the first show in which she won't appear and which features 11 aspirants competing to become a junior editor at *Elle* magazine.

Like her heroine, Martha Stewart, Banks wants her name to immediately suggest a distinct point of view. Her brand, like her trademark smile, is consistent in all her shows: serious about the frivolous; empathetic and empowering; and always, always aimed at young women, across all races. Banks understands that her audiences want to identify with her and to be inspired, and she's cast herself as their role model/teacher/friend.

"I think I was put on this earth to instill self-esteem >

D UPFRONT • COVER FEATURE

THE FACES OF FORTUNE



ABOVE: Iman.
BELOW: Kimora Lee Simmons
and Gisele Bündchen.



an estimated \$35 million (about R280 million) a year. — SHEENA ADAMS

When fashion designer Yves Saint Laurent said: "My dream woman is Iman" several decades ago, it added star wattage to a celebrity model who'd already put her stamp firmly on the fashion world.

Born in Somalia, Iman was the first black supermodel – and probably the first model-turned-mogul too, having started her multinational company, Iman Cosmetics, in 1994. She later launched I-Man skincare products and Iman Global Chic, a line of fashion accessories and jewellery.

The lines' impressive, cross-cultural global reach resulted in Procter & Gamble embarking on a licensing agreement with her in 2004, which gave the company design and distribution rights for both Iman and I-Man products. (Iman's brand will soon be available in SA.)

Kimora Lee Simmons is another mother-cum-mega-earner who's put her name to shoes, jewellery, cosmetics, perfumes and even dolls since her lucrative divorce from music producer Russell Simmons. Four years ago the two sold their Phat Fashions brand to US apparel giant Kellwood for \$140 million (about R1,1 billion).

According to *Forbes* magazine, however, the world's top-earning model is still Gisele Bündchen – a title she's held since 2005. Her \$5 million (about R40 million) Victoria's Secret campaign may have ended in 2007, but it was swiftly replaced with a Brazilian sandal line, Ipanema (stocked locally at Woolworths) which earns her \$6 million (about R48 million) a year. She's believed to have a fortune of \$150 million (about R1,2 billion) and makes

in young girls," she said, flanked by two enormous bodyguards as she walked towards an ever-growing mob of fans in New York's Union Square, during a recent broadcast of her talk show. They were mostly younger, mostly female and a mix of ethnicities, from black to Asian, Indian, Hispanic and white.

From her TV shows, Banks makes an estimated \$18 million (about R144 million) a year. According to *Forbes* magazine, which placed her 68th on its annual Celebrity 100 list last year, she earned \$23 million (about R184 million) in 2008.

She owns 25% of *Top Model* and last year her production company, Bankable Productions, signed a deal to develop scripted and reality TV projects for Warner Bros. *Stylista* is one such show, set in the magazine world. An ABC deal she's developing with Ashton Kutcher is also in the pipeline.

Banks grew up in Inglewood, California, a racially mixed suburb. Her parents were divorced when she was six and her mother, Carolyn London, supported Tyra and her brother, Devin, by working two (and sometimes three) jobs, spending some time as a medical photographer in Los Angeles. Her father kept the family home after the divorce and Tyra, her brother and mother moved into a cramped one-bedroom flat. That experience has been central to her subsequent worldwide success.

"I think my mother stayed married for so long because [my father] was the breadwinner," she told *Essence* magazine in a recent interview. "I never want to be in that position. But maybe I've taken it into overdrive. People look at me and say: 'Oh, Tyra, you're doing such great things! Girl, you a mogul!'"

"I don't think they understand that it's almost as if I don't have a choice; what motivates me a little bit is fear."

On her first day at Immaculate Heart Convent, Banks was approached by another student who told her: "You should be a model."

"I told my mama and, because she was a photographer, we started doing some test shots," Banks recalled. "In the 11th grade, I got an agency and was modelling after school for catalogue-type stuff. Then a French agency saw my pictures and said: 'That's the girl we want to bring to Paris.'"

Banks told *Essence* that she never harboured an ambition to become a model, aiming instead to work behind the camera.

Nevertheless London, who eventually became her daughter's manager, was strategic. "My mom said: 'You won't go to Paris without studying the industry first,'" Banks said. "I went to the fashion library in Los Angeles and looked at all the French magazines from the past. My mom explained that I should

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study the names of the hairdressers, stylists, make-up artists, photographers, editors and, of course, the designers. I watched videotapes of models walking. My mom said: 'This isn't just glamour – it's a business.' So when I arrived in Paris, I was ready."

She went alone – and in her first season, in 1991, booked 25 fashion shows, including Yves Saint Laurent and Chanel. After her first two seasons, Banks' mother quit her job and flew to be with her. London, Tyra recalled, was analytical about the business. "She'd say: 'Remember the girl who was hot last season and isn't here any more? That's going to be you. You're like an athlete and they're going to look for the next draft pick. You have to think of the end at the beginning.'"

"People look at me and say: 'Oh, Tyra, you're doing such great things! Girl, you a mogul!' I don't think they understand that it's almost as if I don't have a choice; what motivates me a little bit is fear."

In the mid-Nineties, Banks started gaining weight. Her agency had a meeting with London and told her to put her daughter on a diet. "My mother told me the whole thing as we were walking down the street in Milan," Banks said. "She said: 'They say you're too curvy. Let's go order pizza.' We walked into a pizzeria and discussed a career change."

"Tyra was always smart," says Veronica Webb, who modelled with Banks. "She didn't like clothes – and why should she? She looked great in a bikini, and in a bra and panties. That's where the real action is in the fashion business: if you have great cleavage, you can make a fortune. When Tyra started to get really curvy, she signed a contract with Victoria's Secret. For a black girl, that was incredible."

Banks tried acting, appearing in the movie *Higher Learning* and opposite Will Smith on the TV show *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*. She also appeared for two seasons on Oprah Winfrey's show as a kind of youth correspondent.

In 2002, when she was 28, Banks came up with the idea for *America's Next Top Model* while making tea in her kitchen in Los

Angeles. She took the concept to Ken Mok, producer of reality show *Making the Band*.

They teamed up as co-producers and sold the show to UPN (now the CW Network), with a target audience of mainly female 18- to 34-year-olds. There are now *Top Models* in 15 countries.

The structure of the show is simple: 13 girls compete over 13 weeks to become the USA's next supermodel. The fascination lies in the details: each week, the girls – who're filmed while sharing a large apartment with just one phone – are presented with various challenges, like being asked to seduce the camera while "sky-diving" in a wind tunnel.

Top Model has been derided by the fashion industry as unrealistic. Even though the

winner receives a contract with Elite Model Management, a Cover Girl campaign and a layout in *Seventeen*, no winner's ever gone on to a successful career.

"Of course, I know what a supermodel looks like," Banks said, "but I also know that a show filled with 13 girls who have the right look and no personality isn't going to be relatable or watched. I'm more interested in fighting for the racial mix of the cast. Dark-skinned black girls usually aren't famous: if you think of black girls, they're light-skinned like me or Beyoncé or Halle Berry. When I'm casting a dark-skinned black girl on *Top Model*, I'm sending a message to a little girl watching at home that she's beautiful. And I don't ask [contestants] to do anything I wasn't asked to do."

"But even if they don't become models, they have to learn how to be strong," Banks added. "When they give up, or they stop trying, I get mad. I can never believe it. Life is hard sometimes, but how can you quit!?"

She admitted that her company, Bankable Enterprises, was keen to "cool it on reality shows", and complained that she was tired of *Top Model* contestants using the show as a vehicle to become a star.

Fame for fame's sake doesn't fit with the Tyra Banks brand. To see yourself as a brand is to have a kind of guarantee with the public; to conjure a particular world.

Over and over, Banks has said that she defines the Tyra brand as an "attainable fantasy", but that description seems a little narrow. Like Oprah Winfrey and Martha Stewart, she's dedicated to dreams coming true through work and determination. Empowerment, especially for young women, is Banks' actual "attainable fantasy".

It was hard not to contrast the brashness of the *Top Model* girls with the less fortunate ones who often populate the audience of *The Tyra Banks Show*. Perhaps the fantasy had become too attainable.

When I mentioned this to Banks, she countered: "I don't know if that's true. There'll be girls on that show who're vulnerable or confused or less confident, just like there are girls on the talk show who see their lives as hopeless. And I feel it's important that whatever happens to someone – women, especially – doesn't have to be their fate. You can, and must, move forward. That's something I try to instill every day on the talk show. You have to go and get your life back."

Her career might be on a roll, but her personal life, Banks admitted to *Essence*, can be painfully isolated.

"I'd go to work and women would be crying in my arms on the talk show," she said.

"But then I'd go home and put my key in my door and... nothing: no friends, no husband, no children. I feel so full when I'm at work, but so empty when I come home."

She's been notoriously secretive about her love life.

However, since her mother trained her to "see the end at the beginning", she isn't one to dwell on the negative.

Banks can imagine a day when she won't be on camera. "It won't always be my face," she said. "I know nothing lives forever and I'm prepared for that. But there's no end to producing. I'll still be at the helm."

So she's enjoying the ride. As she told *Ebony* magazine, she's in a good place.

"I have really big aspirations. I think I'll have an empire." ■

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Appendix B



The magazine cover features a large portrait of Wendy Luhabe, a Black woman with short dark hair, wearing a colorful patterned dress and a pearl necklace. The title 'DESTINY' is at the top in large pink letters. The date 'NOVEMBER 2009' and 'ISSUE 22' are on the left. Three smaller portraits of other women are on the left side. The right side lists several article titles in blue and pink. At the bottom, there is a 'PLUS' section with three columns of text and a 'WIN!' banner.

DESTINY

NOVEMBER 2009
ISSUE 22

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SFM DJ
On What Makes Her World Beautiful

ANNABEL BISHOP
GROUP ECONOMIST: INVESTEC
On Recessions vs Depressions

MICHELLE MCLEAN
BUSINESSWOMAN AND FORMER BEAUTY QUEEN
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Appendix B (continued)



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE WOMAN Wendy Luhabe isn't afraid to champion progress and dictate change. So, yes, you'll find her on Facebook, you'll see her words of wisdom reproduced in books, news articles or speech transcripts. She'll talk about her husband, politician Mbhazima Shilowa, her grandchildren, her travels and her business ventures. But listen to her spontaneously break into song - her favourite, *Pie Jesu*, of course - and you'll spot the twinkle in her eye.

THE VISION: Luhabe firmly believes in grabbing her opportunities. Right now her hope for the future hinges on a world in flux, one she feels is aching for change. "There's a new currency of power sweeping the world," says Luhabe, "and it's not based on titles, but on everyone's capacity to lead every day. Women do that already. We must become more conscious and intentional in our leadership and provide the balance that's been missing in the power hierarchy of the world. Our role must be to question our deeply held assumptions about power, progress, relationships and responsibility."

A Passion for Empowerment

There's an ancient Sanskrit proverb which says: "Where women are worshipped, goddesses dwell. Where they're not worshipped, all actions are fruitless." Wendy Luhabe – self-made entrepreneur, champion of women's economic rights, mother, grandmother, wife and global citizen – believes it's essential that we return to a world vision in which women set the agenda. And the time for that, she believes, is now

“**T**he ground has shifted beneath the feet of existing business models, social and economic policies that have outlived their usefulness and whose contribution has mostly been poverty, devastation, injustice and polarisation,” says Luhabe of the damage inflicted by the current global financial crisis. “I’m convinced that now, more than any other time in history, women hold the wisdom to build and lead institutions that serve everyone equitably and to use democracy to meaningfully improve lives.”

This means thinking differently too. Which is why Luhabe points to the successful Grameen Banking model as an example to follow. Rolled out in Bangladesh in 1976 by Professor Muhammad Yunus (read his profile in the November-December issue of *DESTINY Man*) and built on the notion of banking that provides credit to the poor without requiring any collateral, the bank today boasts some 7.93 million

borrowers, of whom 97% are women. “We’re not making access to information and resources easy enough,” she says. “Look at what the Women’s Development Business [WDB] is doing with the Grameen model [here in SA]. It works. It’s effective. Why aren’t we developing that?”

It’s an approach Luhabe firmly believes will pay dividends, if only by empowering women. “I submit that women are much better placed to be the custodians of hope and to be champions of wisdom, possibility and creativity for a new world order to emerge,” she says.

MAJOR INFLUENCES

Luhabe’s personal history speaks of the impact of strong, determined women. Along with her Cradock, Eastern Cape primary schoolteacher-turned-political activist, Matthew Goniwe, she counts her mother as one of the most significant influences in her life. “She really was ahead of her time,” says >

Appendix B (continued)

D UPFRONT • COVER FEATURE

Luhabe, recalling the dynamic woman who raised four children on a nurse's salary of just R75 a month in the 1970s. "Her dream was always to write matric and learn how to drive. She achieved that. During my formative years, I saw how she put her mind to things and achieved them."

Adelaide and Stanley Luhabe also armed their children with an appreciation of hard

work and discipline. "Little things, like always eating dinner at the table," Luhabe recalls fondly. "It didn't seem meaningful at the time, but it maintained the fabric of the family." Luhabe applied the same principles to her own family and today they're being passed onto her grandchildren, six-year-old Luyanda and two-year-old Luyolo, as well as her seven-year-old nephew Mkhululi.

Her belief in dedication and discipline saw Luhabe successfully carve out a niche for herself in SA's business landscape. It was a journey into social entrepreneurship which started in 1991, after 10 years of marketing cosmetics and luxury brands. "I began to develop a passion for growing people's potential," she recalls. "So when I was overlooked for a promotion, I took that as an omen to follow my passion." She started a company that "prepared black graduates to make better-informed choices of study at university, prepared them to look for suitable employment and prepared them for corporate SA". While that venture ended in 1993, Luhabe encapsulated her experiences and philosophy in her book *Defining Moments*, which was published in 2002, and more recently in her current role as Chancellor of the University of Johannesburg.

WIPHOLD

But it was in 1994 that Luhabe made a permanent mark on South African society as one of the four women founders of arguably SA's

about economic empowerment and financial independence; we taught middle-class black and white women to become investors in the economy in their own right and, most importantly, we demonstrated to women that it was possible to take responsibility for their own economic empowerment."

Luhabe believes this self-belief and knowledge are crucial for women to find their unique expression in the economic landscape. "When women take care of themselves financially, there'll be less violence and abuse against them," she says. "When women have access to resources, they change the destiny of their families, particularly their children."

Wiphold was followed by another pioneering project in 2003, the establishment of a private equity fund for women-owned or managed enterprises. "We established a gender-focused fund because, 10 years after SA's democracy, women still weren't successful in accessing funding from traditional sources, notwithstanding our best intentions regarding gender equity," she recalls.

PLANNING AND PLAYING

Luhabe's less certain what the future now holds. "Generally, I don't plan. I prefer to let the universe use me as a channel for ideas," she says. "Over the past three years I've been involved with the Cartier Global Women's Initiative to promote women social entrepreneurs in all five regions of the world. I'm convinced that if we can put resources in the hands of women, we'll eradicate poverty. So I intend to do more work with women in Africa in economic empowerment over the next few years."

She'd like to play a role in "growing the numbers of girls who have access to education – because, clearly, lack of that is what's disadvantaged women worldwide". She also admits to "flirting with the idea of a fund that all working women can contribute to monthly in order to assist less fortunate women".

This taps into Luhabe's innate belief in the potential of all human beings. "We're each powerful beyond measure and every challenge is an invitation for us to discover our magnificence," she says. ➤

LOOKING BACK

1957: Born in Daveyton (old Benoni Location), Gauteng on 29 May.



1974: Matriculated from Healdtown, Fort Beaufort.

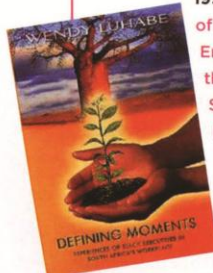
1977: Obtained a BA, University of Fort Hare.

1981: Obtained a BCom from the University of Lesotho.

1991: Left her career as a marketing professional, where she worked for Vanda Cosmetics and BMW SA and North America to start her own company, Bridging the Gap.

1994: Co-founded Wiphold.

1997: Recognised by the WEF in Switzerland as a Global Leader for Tomorrow and by Japan's Osaka Junior Chamber of Commerce as the Outstanding Young Person for that year.



1999: Honoured as one of 50 Leading Women Entrepreneurs of the World by the STAR Group in Los Angeles, USA.

2002: Published her book, *Defining Moments*.

2002: Responsible for the launch of a

R120 million private equity fund for women-owned enterprises.

2005: Capped as an honorary Doctor of Commerce in business management from the University of Stellenbosch.

2006: Appointed as Chancellor of the University of Johannesburg.



"We're each powerful beyond measure and every challenge is an invitation for us to discover our magnificence"

most prominent and acclaimed women's investment group, Wiphold. Such was its impact that in 2005, the work of Luhabe and her partners, Gloria Serobe, Nomhle Canca and Louisa Mojela, was recognised by Switzerland's IMD, the top-ranked business school in Europe, which used the Wiphold story as a case study for one of its executive development programmes.

Looking back, Luhabe admits that "Wiphold was both pioneering and revolutionary. Its historic significance was that we taught ordinary working-class women

D UPFRONT • COVER FEATURE



Wendy with husband and COPE Deputy President, Mphahlele Shilowa

As far as her own life goes, she believes in working and playing hard – capitalising on her staggering reserves of energy which she confesses her sister still marvels at. While business, board memberships and writing absorb her, she makes time for simple enjoyments such as “taking my grandchildren swimming twice a week, unless I have meetings, which I try not to schedule during those hours. We also go for long walks at Zoo Lake.”

She’s equally preoccupied by her physical, intellectual and spiritual development. “A few years ago, I decided that every year I’d visit two places I’ve never been to. As a result, I’ve seen so many places in the world. One year I went to Buenos Aires in Argentina to learn to tango, after seeing the movie *Shall We Dance?* Another year I went to the south of France for a month to learn to speak French – although I haven’t had much practice, since I’m mostly surrounded by English-speaking people. Last year I went to India to experience the Ayurvedic approach to health management. A few years ago I took up harp lessons and this year I spent a week in Scotland immersed in harp lessons in the Highlands near the

Isle of Skye. Next year I want to do the El Camino de Santiago Pilgrimage Walk in northern Spain,” says Luhabe, whose list of accomplishments includes being trained “to give a Oneness blessing which promotes whole-brain utilisation from the University of Oneness in India. I’m also a trained practitioner in energy transfer, which promotes healing of body, mind and soul.”

In order to hold all the threads in the intricate tapestry that is her life, Luhabe admits that her family, “circle of girlfriends” and her PA of more than 10 years, Thoko Radebe, play an essential role. So does her husband, politician and Congress of the People (COPE) Deputy President Mphahlele Shilowa.

“I’ve been married for 15 years, even though my friends didn’t believe I was marriage material,” laughs Luhabe. “My husband gives me all the space I need to grow.”

The couple met back in 1993 at an inaugural meeting between the ANC leadership and black business. “I was one of the five women at that meeting and when our eyes met, our souls recognised each other,” she

LUHABE’S SUCCESS STRATEGIES

- “The two vital ingredients for success are opportunity and the ability to make choices,” believes Luhabe. “Once we have those, we need to find or create:
- Passion for something that makes us come alive.
- Courage to take risks.
- Self-worth and self-respect.
- Resilience and determination to live our purpose.”

recalls. “It wasn’t love at first sight; our love has grown over the years. We love to travel and we escape to the bush to reconnect with nature. We’re self-declared epicureans who love life and live fully.”

But it’s not all wine and roses, she admits. “Marriage is challenging. It requires constant effort to be selfless and have maturity, understanding, patience, forgiveness, emotional and spiritual intelligence. There must be rules. To keep the magic alive, we practise random acts of appreciation, like my having a rose grown and named after my husband, or his compiling a book of messages from my friends for me.”

As far as reconciling their divergent careers, Luhabe’s thankful she’s not a politician. “I don’t understand politics,” she says. However she’ll continue to push for a society which encourages knowledge and education, entrepreneurship and support over hand-outs of social grants or the current system of BEE. “Unless we can find a model of economic empowerment that responds to SA’s social challenges in a meaningful and sustainable way, we must accept that we’re living with a time bomb,” she says.

Ultimately, her dream is simple: “I’m committed to having our country succeed, as are most South Africans.”

Namaste. **D**

ONLINE BONUS: DESTINY
See the exclusive one-on-one interview with Wendy Luhabe on DestinyTV at www.destinyconnect.com.

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Appendix C



DESTINY

JANUARY 2010
ISSUE 24

BEAUTIFUL POWERFUL YOU
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SPIRITUAL DYNAMO
Thami Ngubeni:
Her Passions, Projects
& Plans for 2010

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

HER MEDIUM Thami Ngubeni has made a habit out of colonising any form of media she tries her hand at. Over the years she's read news on Metro FM, produced for TV alongside the likes of the legendary Disney organisation, been a judge for the International Emmy Awards, gone on retreat with Deepak Chopra, graced local screens in top soaps like SABC1's *Generations*, written, produced, edited... the list is endless. She can count local magazine legend Jane Raphaely as one of her mentors and boasts a little black book with names and numbers from both sides of the Atlantic.

HER MESSAGE Simply this: create the life you want to live.

Totally

THAMI

Thami Ngubeni's been on a lifelong journey to merge her love of all things beautiful with her spiritual centre. Along the way she's worked in radio, TV, magazines, acted, produced, edited, been published and workshopped her way around SA discussing issues of vocation, spirituality and life. She rocks to her own rhythm...

If you ask Thami Ngubeni about her "personal brand", or what she's done to mould her multi-faceted image into what it is today, you might be surprised at the answer. "It's what I was born with," she says simply. "It's what's within this packaging. I don't think it was developed over time. I didn't have an epiphany. This is how I've known myself to be. Perhaps things have become clearer over the years, but my core's remained the same."

At the heart of her journey – and her message to others – is knowing who you are. "Don't allow the world to dictate to you who they think you should be," stresses Ngubeni, who believes her own mother's influence has been paramount. "She never tried to force any type of profession on me, nor tell me what I should be. She's been my backbone

throughout my life."

That backbone has given Ngubeni wings to finance herself when she studied film and TV producing and screenwriting at the University of California, Los Angeles, USA; to form her own company – Thamzin Media – in 1999; to enjoy acting success as Khensani in SABC1's *Generations*, M-Net's *Known Gods*, in the film *Critical Assignment* and in SABC3's hospital drama *Jozi-H*; to co-produce SABC3's *The Apprentice SA*; to produce the TV series of *The Lion King* in conjunction with Lebo M and Disney in New York; and to editing Oprah Winfrey's South African version of *O, The Oprah Magazine*.

"Every single thing I've done in my life was done because it appealed to a certain aspect of who I am," says Ngubeni. It's a lot to juggle, she agrees, but "if you look back, you'll realise I don't necessarily ➤

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D UPFRONT • COVER FEATURE

do all of it all of the time. I explore my different interests and use various sets of skills as and when they're needed."

For her, it's all about the intent: "The message, I believe, is consistent across all mediums. It's about discovering and connecting with the highest parts of yourself."

VISION AND VALUES

Her vision, she says, is to expand her work's global reach. And in Thamzin Media, she has the perfect vehicle to do just that, given the group's interests in publishing, TV production, marketing and advertising through its Afrofusion arm. "One of the benefits of travelling and being exposed to other ways of doing things is that you get a more global view of what your industry's about," she adds. "You learn to spot opportunities."

Helping others get onto the first rung of the business and entertainment ladder is crucial to Ngubeni, who helps the next generation through her newly-launched Entrepreneurial Entertainment and Media Mentorship Programme, which conducts workshops and seminars, links mentors and mentees, and provides advice, tools and guidance. "One requirement is that you must have demonstrated something practical about the area you want to go into. Don't come to me with an idea: come to me with an idea and a plan, something tangible. Achievers dream and then do."

Ngubeni's learnt along the way that outward success in and of itself is never enough. Her Metro FM show *The Sacred Space* (Sunday mornings 6-9am) and her 2006 book, *My Sacred Spaces*, are testament to this. As are the nationwide workshops she conducts, where she gets conversation flowing around issues of identity, self and diversity.

The latest evolution of her "brand" crystallises the complete Thami Ngubeni package. Being played out under the cyber-banner www.lifewiththami.com, the vehicle brings all her diverse interests together. She describes it as a "portal to interact with my 'community' and share life's experiences together. I



see myself as a companion. I facilitate, ask questions. I've been very lucky and I'd like to share that with others."

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

Ngubeni's emphasis on wellness coincides with the global trend towards self-realisation. "This is the Age of Aquarius – it's a time for alignment," she says. "The financial crisis has shown us that the premises

"This is the Age of Aquarius – it's a time for alignment. The financial crisis has shown us that the premises upon which we've built our societies and world structures are flawed. It's a time for change. It's not about patching holes, but about going back to basics."

upon which we've built our societies and world structures are flawed. It's a time for change. It's not about patching holes, but about going back to basics."

With that in mind, Ngubeni insists on sustainability in all her projects – which are many indeed: an "international quarterly journal focused on issues of humanity" which she and her partners, The Africore Group, are publishing and which is due for international distribution this year; a CD compilation linked to her radio show which aims to facilitate daily devotion and connection to the divine; her daily meditations and inspiration, also due out shortly; her long-term desire to work for the United Nations; her role as Goodwill Ambassador for Lifeline Southern Africa... Oh, and the "mentorship in a bottle" book Thamzin Media's bringing to SA soon – African American entertainment veteran Thembi Mshaka's *Put Your Dreams First: Handle Your Entertainment Business* – to which Ngubeni contributed.

Closer to home, she also started the Thami Ngubeni Foundation towards the end of last year, which aims to improve the quality of people's lives "in a very practical way". Starting in Katlehong on Johannesburg's East Rand – "that's where I'm from – it's where my great-grandmother, uMam Vundla lived, and my grandfather

and my mother. That's where my umbilical cord is buried" – the foundation is gearing up to address the rat problem in the area. "There are people in hospital having their feet nibbled by rats and little kids in shacks having their faces disfigured while they're sleeping. It's a huge problem," says Ngubeni.

Other social issues on her radar include "the abhorrent violence against women by men" and the abuse by young mothers of the welfare system.

Also kicking off in 2010 is Ngubeni's *Life With Thami* column in DESTINY and her facilitation of discussions on www.destinyconnect.com and www.lifewiththami.com. "It's about us sharing insights and experiences," she says. "I guess the key message is that you're never alone."

However, while in the eyes of the world Ngubeni paints with broad brush strokes, the woman herself considers herself to be an "extroverted introvert". Although she appreciates the attention of fans – both on the air and in supermarket queues – her private life is strictly off limits.

She's also a firm believer in the value of observation. "There's no way you can listen when you're always talking, so it's

good to just take a back seat and watch," she says. Yet that might be a difficult task for someone who's been on the go since her days as a presenter for Tele-School following high school. "I used to write all my own scripts, as well as scripts for the other presenters. I was also reading news on Metro FM. I've always worked," she says.

How does this dynamo ever find the time to switch off? "I don't necessarily see my work as work," she laughs. "Even before I was writing books for publishing, I was writing. So these are really my hobbies: finding out about people, reading, deciphering life, thinking and experiencing."

When she does wind down, you're likely to find her meditating, playing tennis, doing Bikram yoga, jogging, playing netball, spending time with her family or "just sitting and doing nothing".

And somehow it's not difficult to picture her stretched out on an inviting chaise-longue, reading Elizabeth Gilbert's inspirational *Eat, Pray, Love* and just, well, being Thami. ■

ONLINE BONUS:

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View our exclusive behind-the-scenes interview with Thami Ngubeni on DESTINY TV.

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NGUBENI'S BUSINESS LESSONS

Know your boundaries. "It's important to know that there's a certain price you won't pay. You need to know your own breaking point."

Pay your dues. "Nowadays, people want it all – and they want it yesterday. But they're actually robbing themselves of the amazing jewels that lie along the path. Character's built when one is overcoming obstacles, when one's broke and struggling to pay one's staff. Those challenges help shape one's vision."

Pick your projects. "There are just 24 hours in a day – so manage yourself within that time frame. That's one lesson I've yet to master myself!"

Keep a paper trail. "Agreements and terms of engagement must always be put down in black and white."

Build in some slack. "In your projections, always have room for movement because things don't always happen when you think they will, or cost what you envisaged."

Manage your risk. "Make sure your risks are calculated and consider your responsibilities."

Take it like a woman. "At some point you'll get ripped off: someone will steal your idea, pull the rug out from under your feet or stab you in the back. That's life. Learn the lesson – and move on."

Appendix D



DESTINY

MARCH 2010
ISSUE 26

BEAUTIFUL POWERFUL YOU
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MATCH MADE IN HEAVEN
Khanyi Dhlomo & Chinezi Chijioke's Dream Wedding

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A Match Made in HEAVEN

The recent wedding of Ndalo Media MD Khanyi Dhlomo and McKinsey & Company Management Consultant Chinezi Chijioke was romantic, moving – and every bit as special as the couple whose union it consecrated. Enjoy your front-row seats!

A magical, hot summer's day in Franschhoek; a silk chiffon, jewel-encrusted Elie Saab wedding dress and a bride and groom who matched each other flawlessly in charm and panache.

The marriage of Khanyi Dhlomo and Chinezi Chijioke on 20 December seemed an obvious choice for one of the most memorable weddings of the year, mainly for its festive, but down-to-earth atmosphere and delicious touches of luxury.

The event at the graceful, treed Allée Bleue wine estate was also a stylish homage to the whirlwind four years that Khanyi and Chinezi spent getting to know each other, in equally stylish destinations across the globe, having met while Khanyi was studying for an MBA at Harvard Business School.

A particularly thoughtful touch was the Memory Lane cards that the couple penned and placed on the tables – 25 of their most exciting experiences and trips together. It was just one example of how, even though the event involved more than 300 guests, the couple and their team of organisers managed to create a tender, personalised day of celebration.

It started in the late afternoon as guests made their way down to the estate's lavender and rosemary fields for the traditional ceremony. White parasols – handed out to the ladies as wedding favours – blinked in the sun as everyone took their seats.

An elegant, long white aisle led to a breathtaking

gazebo of dusty pink and cream roses. Khanyi, radiant in her Grecian-inspired dress, was given away by her eldest brother, Lwazi.

Chinezi says his bride's smiling face as she walked towards him was what he'll always remember best about the day.

"I wasn't prepared for how happy a moment that would be for me. In a day full of wonderful memories, that was by far the highlight," he says.

He also has fond memories of asking Khanyi's mother, Venetia, for her blessing before proposing to Khanyi three days later. "I intended to speak to Khanyi's mother before leaving to spend a month with my parents in Nigeria, but a mutual friend gave me the good advice that you can't ask a mother to keep that secret for a month. So I waited and spoke to her when I got back – and, thankfully, she gave me her blessing," he recalls.

Many of the guests, if they didn't already know each other, had met the previous day at a relaxed garden barbecue at Franschhoek's famed Dieu Donn  restaurant, so the atmosphere was one of convivial warmth.

Pastor Nkosi Khanyile presided over the wedding vows with humour and sensitivity, while guests alternated between gales of laughter and tears.

The ceremony included a beautiful reading on marriage from the writings of Khalil Gibran, as well as a traditional Apache (Native American) marriage >

D UPFRONT • COVER FEATURE

blessing, read by Khanyi's friends, Sthu Zungu and Wendy Tlou.

Khanyi's mother and Chinezi's mother, Mary-Ellen, also joined the couple at the flower altar for a candle-lighting ceremony in honour of Khanyi's late brother, Mpumelelo and father, Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

Former *Idols* star Brandon October concluded the formal rites with moving renditions of the hymn *You Raise Me Up* and the Louis Armstrong classic, *What a Wonderful World*.

After the ceremony, guests moved to a swish cocktail area, with white leather couches sprawled under the trees, for champers and a bit of live jazz.

Guests Given and Ipeleng Mkhari posed laughingly for pictures at the open-air bar, while King Kgosi Leruo Molotlegi, head of the Royal Bafokeng nation, stood nearby. Other well-known faces included Tim Modise, Augustine and Bally Chuene, Nkhensani and Zam Nkosi, Sandile Zungu, Sizwe Nxasana, Dr Judy Dlamini, KZN Health MEC Dr Sibongiseni Dhlomo, and Sonia and Leslie Sedibe.

The party then moved to a specially-erected marquee for the reception, which was open to the breeze and glass-topped for star-gazing. Hannes Loubser, from planning company Wedding Concepts, said there was a collective dedication to "creating simply the best wedding ever."

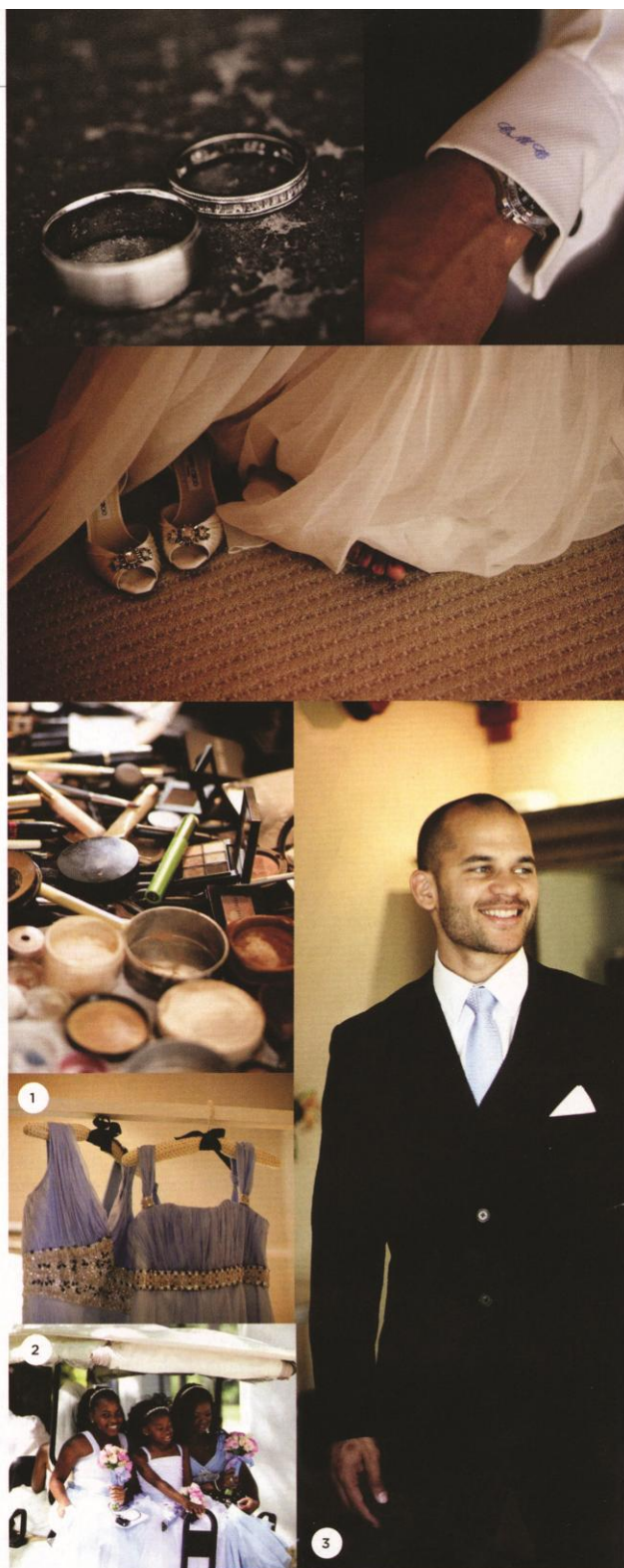
"The combination of the Western Cape scenery, the landscaping of the venue and the added décor elements created a truly exotic look. The weather was so amazing on the day that guests literally kicked off their shoes as they savoured the canapés and cocktails while taking in the sounds of the jazz band," he says.

Giant chandeliers, printed with the signature paisley pattern that decorated the wedding invitations, hung from the rafters and single, superbly illuminated blooms radiated in vases alongside rose centre-pieces. The menu incorpo- ➤

TWO HEARTS, ONE WHOLE

The following extract from Khalil Gibran's *The Prophet* was read by Chinezi's friend, Adam Rambert

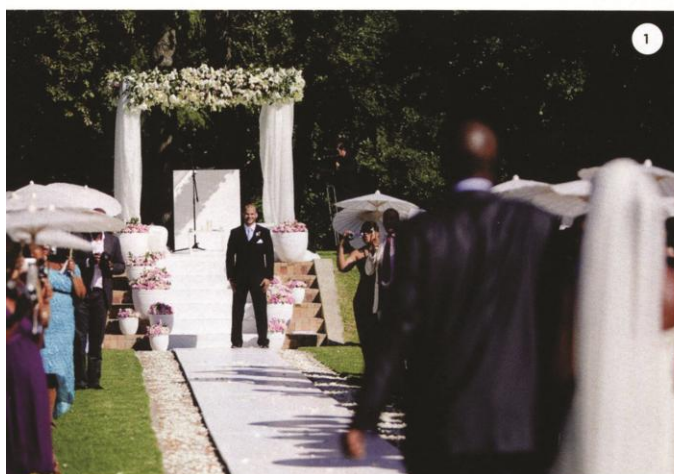
*Love one another, but make not a bond of love:
Let it rather be a moving sea between the shores
of your souls.
Fill each other's cups, but drink not from one cup.
Give one another of your bread
But eat not from the same loaf.
Sing and dance together and be joyous,
But let each one of you be alone,
Even as the strings of a lute are alone
Though they quiver with the same music.*



Appendix D (continued)



D UPFRONT • COVER FEATURE



1. Chinezi waits for Khanyi as she walks down the aisle with her eldest brother, Lwazi Dhlomo. 2. Khanyi and Lwazi. 3. Brandon October, who performed *The Prayer*, *You Raise Me Up* and *What a Wonderful World* at the ceremony. 4. The couple's mothers, Mary-Ellen Chijioko and Venetia Dhlomo, during the candle-lighting ceremony. 5. Mpho Diale and Thandi Modise-Diale. 6. Prof Otty and Tshitshi Nxumalo. 7. Bame Pule and Merafe Moloto look on as Khanyi walks down the aisle. 8. Logan and Delphine Govender. 9. Musa and Tumi Ramakgopa. 10. African Leadership Academy CEO and founder Fred Swaniker with co-founder Chris Bradford. 11 & 12. The outdoor lounge where guests enjoyed pre-reception cocktails, canapés and entertainment by the Simply Smooth Jazz band. 13. Female guests were given cream parasols as mementos, while male guests enjoyed Cuban cigars as gifts later in the day.

rated Malay and Indian influences, as well as some North African flavours. The five-tier cake included flavours like dark Belgian chocolate ganache, carrots, macadamia nuts and white chocolate tiramisu.

Khanyi and Chinezi announced their arrival as a married couple to the thumping Brenda Fassie anthem *Vulindlela*, with Chinezi showing some serious Zulu dancing skills – to the delight of the applauding onlookers.

Khanyi laughs that although she and Chinezi had agreed on the choice of the song beforehand, she was very surprised by her groom's dancing expertise.

"We both enjoy dancing to it, and the song proved wonderful! To *ukusina* [perform a Zulu dance], however, was all Chinezi's idea. I'm not sure where he learnt it. Clearly, he's a Zulu-Igbo-American man," she says.

The couple had also previously invited each guest to submit their favourite songs for the reception, which ensured a packed dance-floor until the wee hours.

Khanyi says she's thrilled with the way the evening came together, and adds that fitting the lengthy planning of a big wedding into the running of a demanding media company wasn't as difficult as she'd feared.

"It doesn't feel tough when it's a labour of love, and both the wedding and Ndalo Media are that. We wanted the wedding to be beautiful, but also relaxed and comfortable, and for each of our guests to know how special they are to us. We also wanted to be able to enjoy the day ourselves – and we certainly did."

The musical gifts on the night included a sublime version of the ballad *The First Time Ever I Saw Your Face* by the couple's talented doctor friend and singer, Nthabiseng Legoete.

For Khanyi, equally memorable highlights were the taking of the marriage vows, the candle-lighting ceremony for her late >

Appendix D (continued)





UPFRONT • COVER FEATURE D







14. Khanyi's sons, Khaya and Hugo, with their cousins (from left): Thabani, Ntokozo, Bafana and Sandile Dhlomo. 15. Khanyi and Chinezi at the altar with Pastor Nkosi Khanyile. 16. The bridal couple with Khanyi's sister-in-law Nonhlanhla Dhlomo, her eldest brother Lwazi, her younger son Khaya, her mother Venetia Dhlomo, her elder son Hugo and her second-eldest brother Mfundo. 17. The couple with groomsman and Chinezi's cousin Nkem Chijioke, Chinezi's father Prof Mark Chijioke, his mother Mary-Ellen, his brothers Eric and Ako, his sister-in-law Sumeeya Chishty-Mujahid, his niece Ella-Celeste Chijioke, his sister Olanna Chijioke, and his aunt and uncle, Jo Anne Murphy and Douglas Grafflin.

MARCH 2010

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Appendix D (continued)

D UPFRONT • COVER FEATURE



1. Nkhensani and Zam Nkosi. 2. Sizwe Dhlomo and his mother, Ntokozo Dhlomo. 3. Neo Mokhobo and Thuli Zulu. 4, 10 & 11. The reception marquee decorated with paisley giant chandeliers, white and cream furniture and table linen, touches of blue in the glassware and cream and pink flowers. 5. Lindiwe Suttle and Mandla Sibeko. 6. Mpho Diale, Sizwe Nxasana, Nono Dhlomo and Dr Judy Dlamini. 7. Nicola and Mampho Brescia with Nthathi Moshesh and Relebohile Sefako. 8. Wandile and Dr Mashadi Motlana with Penny Ndlela. 9. Sandile and Zodwa Zungu with Thembeke and Antoine Johnson. 12. Kholisa and Ciko Thomas. 13. Sonia and Leslie Sedibe with Thami

brother and father, and her groom's speech, in which he thanked her mother for raising "such a wonderful, beautiful woman".

"There isn't just me to take care of Khanyi; I have to thank Hugo and Khaya [Khanyi's sons], who've been very accepting of me."

Turning to face his bride, Chinezi continued: "The first time we met at a fundraiser [for the African Leadership Academy] in Boston in 2005, I was struck by your beauty, your smile and your style. But it was more than that: it was your sense of grace... I was captivated by it then, and I'm still enchanted by it now."

The other speeches of the night were just as poignant, with both Khanyi's uncle, Mandla Dhlomo and Chinezi's father, Professor Mark Chijioke, expanding on the crucial importance of family and heritage.

Chijioke said: "One of my continuing hopes is that the tradition of global network energisation, which we started in my family in the early Seventies [with his own marriage to his American-born wife], will spring a link between Nigeria and the USA, Nigeria and Europe, Nigeria and Asia, and now Nigeria and South Africa. We need to pull up the continent in every possible way and, in all humility, do it as a duty thrust upon us in the circumstances."

Chinezi's brothers, Ako and Eric, offered a heartfelt and humorous tribute to the couple. Eric, in true best man tradition, had guests in stitches as he recounted anecdotes from their youth, teasingly adding that he couldn't understand how Chinezi had managed to "wiggle his way" into the impressive Dhlomo family.

"Khanyi, maybe he appealed to your sense of goodwill and charity, which I know you have in abundance," he grinned.

"The force of Khanyi's persona hits you within five minutes of meeting her. She's a model of grace and poise: sophisticated, yet grounded; stunningly beautiful, yet wholesome. She's a model role-model in all senses of the word.

"And then there's Chinezi – a Nigerian-American hunk!" he added mischievously.

Eric said his brother's "fearless honesty" and "lack of self-consciousness of character" distinguished his personality.

Having enjoyed the first of a few "mini-honeymoons" the couple has planned in SA and abroad, they agree that their real-life fairytale romance was destined to end in matrimony.

"We believe in marriage. We're very happy >



Ngubeni. 14. Lindile and Mfanafuthi Sithebe. 15. Augustine Chuene. 16. The bridal couple with Faith Seoue, Queen Serobe, DESTINY's Papama Mtwisha, Thoban Jappie, DESTINY's Candice-Lee Kannemeyer and Sheena Adams, and Travers Solomon. 17. Joy and Deon Dhlomo. 18. Regina Osih and Nothando Ndebele. 19. Busi and Peter Mombaur. 20. MC for the reception, Khanyi's cousin Sicelo Sikakane. 21. Khanyi and Chinezi's five-tier wedding cake. 22. The couple enjoy their first dance.

D UPFRONT • COVER FEATURE

together and excited about the life we're building. Apart from loving each other, what's working for us is that we have the same values. We really want to bring joy into each other's lives and support one another in fulfilling our purpose on earth," says Khanyi.

Chinezi adds: "Our time together has been wonderful, and continues to grow more so. Seeing the world together has always been exciting for us, but what we really cherish most are the routine joys we share – sunny Sunday afternoons together, spending time with Hugo and Khaya, or having a relaxed evening braai with friends."

And since it was an educational institution that brought the couple together, they say they're immensely grateful for being able to share their love of learning with each other.

"Education's deeply important to both of us. We've both grown up in families with a commitment to education, and have been blessed by the opportunities it brings. Creating opportunities for others, in turn, through education is something we aspire to."

Love this strong – and this fulfilling – couldn't have happened to two more deserving, or nicer, people! As Eric observed: "This is a match made in heaven – it's destiny." **D**

LITTLE WHITE BOOK

Photographers: Jules Morgan – 073 804 4059, www.julesmorganweddings.com.

Jean-Pierre Uys – 084 577 4686, www.jeanpierrephtography.co.za.

Wedding Planner: Hannes Loubser at Wedding Concepts – 021 426 5783, www.weddingconcepts.co.za.

Décor & Flowers: Chris van Niekerk of Foci Function Concepts – chris@foci.co.za.

Stationery: Lara Friday @ Lara Designs – 082 681 4500, www.fullcirclestudios.co.za.

Wedding Cake: Kanya Hunt of Hunt House Kitchen – 082 375 5200.

Make-up: Faith Seoue, 073 514 5147, using Bobbi Brown Cosmetics – www.bobbibrowncosmetics.com.

Hair: Brian Warfield – 076 408 7537.

ONLINE BONUS:

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1. Dudu and Xola Qubu. 2. Ipeleng Mkhari. 3. Thembisa and Simphiwe Dinga. 4. Noluthando Langeni and Sayo Skweyiya. 5. Drs Lesiba and Vuyoletu Mokgotlane. 6. Dolly, S'busiso and Phumzile Luthuli. 7. Acha Leke and Swaady Martin-Leke. 8. Skhumbuzo and Dr Sibongiseni Dhlomo with Nono and Siphelele Dhlomo. 9. Lungi Morrison and Rebs Mogoba. 10. Sbonga Dhlomo, Sinethemba Dhlomo, Bubly Mbele and Slindele Dhlomo. 11. Khanyi and Chinezi at the wedding reception. 12. Sindi and Lwazi Koyana. 13. Mpume Mthembu and Nombuso Hadebe.

Appendix D (continued)



Appendix E

DESTINY

MAY 2010
ISSUE 28

ANELE MDODA
BEAUTIFUL POWERFUL YOU
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"I want to broadcast a show all over Africa that celebrates us all"

THE CASE FOR CRITICISM
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UPFRONT • COVER FEATURE
WRITTEN BY SHEENA ADAMS

Loud & Proud

Among the crop of dynamic, *über*-successful, bright young things emerging from SA at present, it's hard to ignore media-savvy Anele Mdoda. Outspoken, entertaining and politically conscious, the radio jock and TV presenter tells DESTINY about her grand life and business plans

When Anele Mdoda says she's ably juggling the roles of radio DJ, TV presenter and now actress, you believe her. In fact, if she told you she was standing in the next local government election, you'd be hard-pressed to bat an eyelid.

Her seamless self-assurance, backed up by considerable lip, manages to be charming and utterly convincing at the same time.

At just 26, she's concocted a sure-fire formula for success based on sheer grit and her winsome personality – and her list of achievements is impressive.

She's holding down a coveted midday slot on 5FM alongside long-standing friend Grant Nash; she was a TV presenter for the hit show, SA's *Got Talent* and she's just finished shooting a feature-length, soccer-themed film with comedians Trevor Noah and Kagiso Lediga.

Called *Taka Taka Ta*, the movie's expected to be released before the upcoming Fifa World Cup. Mdoda plays the role of Pinky, the stressed-out hairdresser wife of a losing soccer team owner, who gets the idea of buying a Brazilian soccer star to turn the squad's

fortunes around.

She says she only agreed to make the film after much prompting from close friend Noah and the director, who impressed her by producing a manila folder filled to the brim with photographs from her flamboyant stint on *Strictly Come Dancing* two years ago.

"In each photo I had a different expression on my face and he was, like, 'These are the reasons you're perfect for the part of Pinky.' I was straight-up and told him I can't act, but he was adamant that he didn't want me to act. He just wanted me to be Anele," she smiles.

It's all terribly convenient, she explains. Building the brand of Umtata-born and Pretoria-bred Anele Mdoda hasn't been easy. Racist slurs, graveyard shifts and nay-sayers who criticised her looks have all been obstacles she's overcome.

"At this stage, it feels really good that things seem to be coming together for me, but at the same time, I do feel as if I've worked very hard for them. My success so far has been a combination of opportunity, talent and hard work. ➤



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE WOMAN Anele Mdoda's made a success out of the professional art of ruffling feathers – her uncompromising, entertaining and outspoken radio presence took a while to grow on some of 5FM's traditional support base, but she's gradually won them all over. Her midday slot with Grant Nash is one of the station's most popular programmes and the varied demographic she's helped consolidate at 5FM is continuously celebrated by the public broadcaster.

HER HORIZON With TV gigs that have included a flamboyant stint on SABC2's *Strictly Come Dancing* and a presenting job on the same channel's popular SA's *Got Talent*, Mdoda's about to star in her first movie and has her sights set on her own talk-show. Radio, however, remains her first love.

D UPFRONT • COVER FEATURE

"Anele Mdoda is a company and I run myself like one. In addition to my day jobs, I do voice-overs and MC work. I'm constantly out there," she says.

Mdoda, like her close friend and fellow 5FM DJ Poppy Ntshongwana, cultivates what looks like an exhausting online presence on social networking sites, and the two collaborate on hosting special events and parties with the same objective in mind: raising their profiles.

Part of her motivation is the realisation that the rise of social media websites has made her task of brand-building much easier, considering the tools some of her favourite mentors had at their disposal – people like Alex Jay and Eddie Zondi.

She replies to every email she receives and thrives on the immediacy that the social networking phenomenon has brought to the media space. Amazingly, she has more than 6 500 Twitter followers and 4 800 Facebook friends.

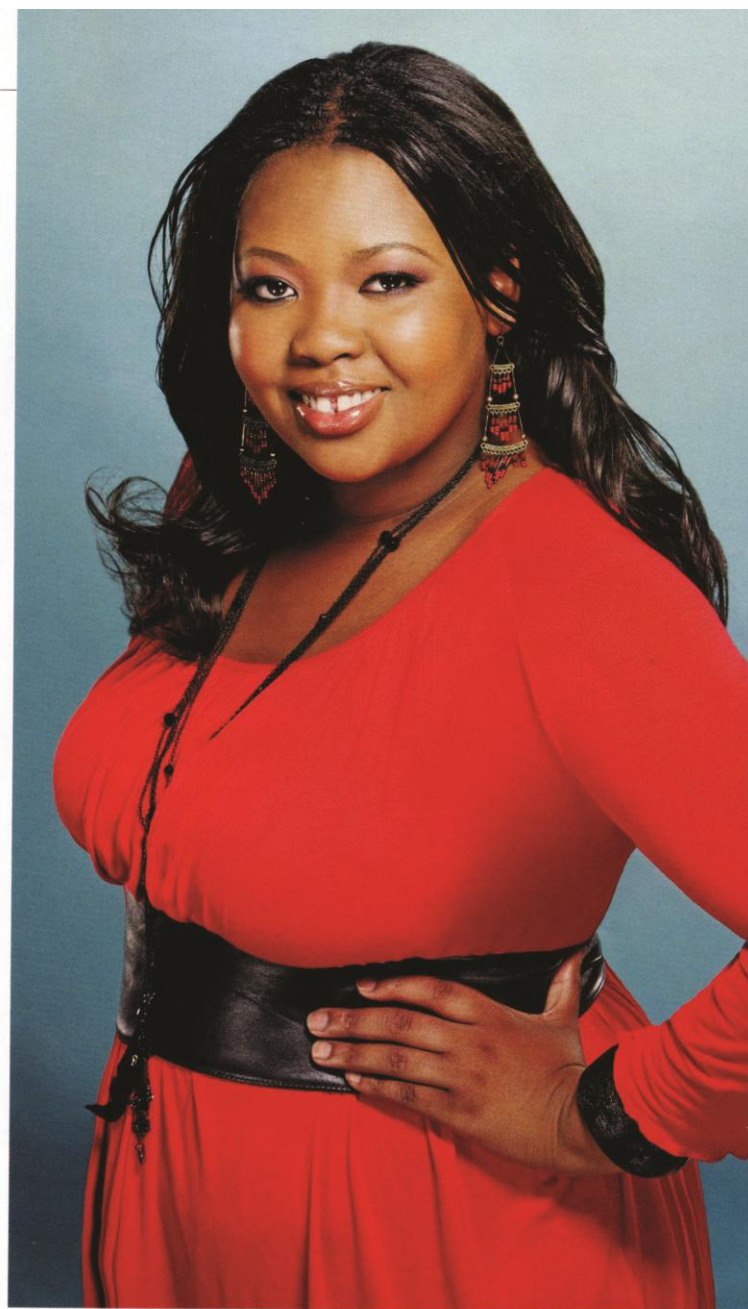
"Initially I was just Tweeting and updating my Facebook status because that's who I am, but now I can see how it works in your favour. One downside was that people constantly thought I was being paid for mentioning brands, but it made me aware of how you can use all these platforms to build your name.

"Everything's instant now. During the days of Alex Jay, it was like he was in the room with listeners, but nowadays I'm sitting right next to them. They're listening to me, but they're also on the phone to me. When they Tweet, I reply, so entertainment has become a two-way conversation," she says.

Jay, incidentally, proved to be her lucky break by pestering and eventually succeeding in getting former Highveld Stereo Station Manager Ravi Naidoo to hire Mdoda. When she joined the station in 2006, she'd already spent a few years (alongside Nash) at Tuks FM at the University of Pretoria, where she studied international relations.

Two years later, Mdoda and Nash were offered a national platform at 5FM and went in, guns blazing, as replacements for the long-standing *F & Martinengo Show*, hosted by Ian F and Sasha Martinengo.

It was the culmination of many years of



hard slog and a far cry from the days when Mdoda would stare longingly as her childhood neighbour, Noeleen Maholwana-Sangqu, then working for Radio Transkei, walked to work.

"I was always thinking: 'Oh, my gosh, one day... Mark my words, I'll get there.' My mom was, like, 'Yes, yes, yes – now go be a lawyer!'" Mdoda chuckles.

As exhilarating a time as it was, she admits to being very nervous about going

into 5FM.

"By that stage, I'd worked on my radio personality for four years. I'd done graveyard shifts and three shows a day, at one point. Funnily enough, Grant and I agreed that we weren't going to do anything differently; we were simply going to maintain the show. But as soon as I switched that mic on, things changed. I thought: 'I can't take myself back four steps to take two steps forward,'" she recalls.

Grant and Anele's dynamic on-air relationship took some getting used to by the die-hard fans of the previous show's incumbents, but the two are now well and truly household names.

"The DJs who did the show before us had been on for 14 years and 5FM had many listeners who were holding onto their 'white' radio station. It was a bold move for 5FM to say: 'Actually, this is what we're going for now instead.' I just thought: 'Sorry for the 40-year-olds, but you really can't be dictating what's on the station any more. By all means stay, but – to be honest – you're no longer our target market.'"

She's dealt scathingly with some on-air callers who've openly criticised the changes and is proud of her ability to take no prisoners.

"I came on with the attitude that I'd answer back to anything said to me.

"The station's profile changed overnight. We're young, we're LSM 6-10 and it doesn't matter what colour you are. Advertisers have noticed that shift as well. They aren't advertising products directed at 40-year-olds; now they're going for the 25-year-olds. Of course, Grant and I have fun with what we do, but we're always looking at the revenue, too," she says.

Sassy, clever and unafraid of blazing trails, Mdoda has strong parents and three sisters to thank for her fortunes.

Her dad works in the mining industry and her mom, Yolisa, was an SABC continuity presenter before working in university administration and as a political activist. She passed away last year, after losing her battle with pancreatic cancer. Mdoda says the loss left her in the role of "Mom" to her younger sister, Zama (16).

"My mother would have been 50 this year. The night she passed away, my friends all came to my house and asked: 'Why aren't you crying?' I was sad, but I was relieved to see her go because she was simply in too much pain. She wasn't even my mom any more."

Mdoda says she tries to attend parents' evenings at Zama's school and support her, without "taking over".

"We grew up looking out for each other. My mom was very good about that. She taught us that if Zama, for instance, had a

bad day, it was [the other three siblings'] duty to fix it. She was like our fifth sister; it was kind of nice. But she could still tell us off, man!" Mdoda laughs.

Her enviable confidence and *joie de vivre* also come from her mother, she says.

"I always thought you had to be a certain

"I want my own talk-show and I've already got all my guests lined up in my head. First up will be Lee-Ann Liebenberg. I'm going to ask her all the questions everyone else is too afraid to ask! I'm going to throw a maths textbook at her and ask her to prove that she can do at least one sum in there to show us she's not dumb."

way to be on TV. I was also told that because of the gap in my teeth, I'd never make it onto TV. I remember going to my mom and nagging: 'We have to close my gap!' But she said: 'We'll be doing no such thing. If you don't make it onto TV, it means you're not good enough.'"

Needless to say, that's another test Mdoda's aced, having safely tucked her *Strictly Come Dancing* and *SA's Got Talent* stints under her belt.

"Radio's definitely my first preference. I'll always do it. I'll be on 702 when I'm 50, but I'm liking TV as well.

"I want my own talk-show and I've already got all my guests lined up in my head. First up will be Lee-Ann Liebenberg. I'm going to ask her all the questions everyone else is too afraid to ask! I'm going to throw a maths textbook at her and ask her to prove that she can do at least one sum in there to show us she's not dumb," Mdoda laughs.

On a more serious note, she believes she's well on her way to living the African dream, Mdoda-style, by supplying broadcasting content to the continent.

"We women like sharing power. As soon as a woman gets power, all she wants to do is share it. As soon as a man gets power, all he wants to do is retain it – we're different like that. So, yes, I'm tough and loud because I'm in a male-dominated industry. But I also like the fact that I'm a woman who sticks to my feminine traits.

"I want to broadcast a show all over Africa that celebrates us all. I want to interview artists from Nigeria and actresses from

Cameroon," she says.

Juggling all these plans has a flip-side – a very active social life in which Mdoda gets to let her hair down. She waxes lyrical about Tuesday night book club meetings, where 16 of her closest friends assemble and inject good, old-fashioned fun into

their routines.

"It's like *The View*, where everyone gets to give their opinion on whatever's on their mind. I also get to hear what other people are saying through my friends, so from a research perspective it's good for me. I get a lot of my content from them," she says.

Mdoda's also an avid spinning and Bikram yoga junkie and did the *Cape Argus* Cycle Tour for the second consecutive time this year. She trained hard, she says, to ensure that celebrity cyclist Lance Armstrong didn't show her up. "I wasn't going to be the tired one with Lance around – hell, no!" she laughs.

Her charitable side is expressed in the education arena, where she's putting two young children through school.

If there's anything that gets her down these days, it's the sorry state of current role models. Mdoda says she believes African liberation and cultural icons have done a really bad job of transferring their wisdom.

"The older generation doesn't want to impart its knowledge to the youth – be it politics or radio. That's why I'm so pedantic about it. If someone wants me to teach them, I will.

"The only way your legacy lasts is if you give it to somebody else – and nobody's passing the baton to women. But that's fine. We'll just go get it ourselves." ■

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Appendix F



The magazine cover features a large portrait of Yvonne Chaka Chaka, a South African singer, wearing a red sequined dress and large colorful earrings. The title 'DESTINY' is at the top in large red letters. Various headlines and guest names are listed on the cover.

NEW LOOK

DESTINY

JULY 2010
No 30

Beautiful Powerful You
www.destinyconnect.com

YVONNE CHAKA CHAKA

"I was always an entrepreneur at heart"

THE PURSUIT OF POWER
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Is your man's ex still haunting him?

ALL WORK, NO PLAY?
Get your balance back

THE CUTTING EDGE
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ON BRINGING WOMEN TO THE FORE

UNATHI MSENGANA
Musician & DJ
ON SPOILING HER FRIENDS

LEBO MASHILE
Poet & author
ON WORKING WITH HER MOTHER

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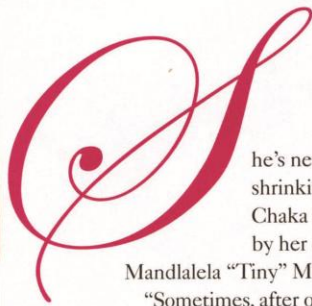
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• The People's Princess

From bubblegum popstar to music royalty, Yvonne Chaka Chaka's come a long way. The icon, who's celebrating 25 years in the industry, has also made her mark in business and, more recently, philanthropy too

WRITTEN BY SHEENA ADAMS



he's never been known as a shrinking violet, yet Yvonne Chaka Chaka (45) is sometimes shocked by her doting husband, Dr

Mandlalela "Tiny" Mhinga.

"Sometimes, after one of my performances he'll ask: 'Why did you sit on that man's lap?' I'm always, like, 'Which one?' I always flirt with men when I'm performing!"

"I have to remind him that he has me forever. In all my years as a musician, I've never been on tour because he didn't like the idea."

The couple has been together for 21 years, managing to raise four talented sons and run a myriad of successful businesses while juggling their respective careers.

Their secret weapon, says Chaka Chaka, has been their shared, insatiable drive for success. "We've always been visionaries. Back when there was no such thing as BEE, we were prepared to get into debt for our businesses because we knew freedom was coming soon and that SA would be the place to come to."

That said, the entrepreneur in her harbours a regret that she didn't do more in her early days of musical success to buy property.

"If God had given me the wisdom then that I have now, we could have owned half the old farms in Bryanston, Johannesburg," she sighs.

As a recording artist, the "Princess of Africa" has made 20 albums in her quarter-century career and was one of the first local musicians to publish and own her music with the founding of Chaka Chaka Promotions in 1989. She's now planning a string of celebratory concerts to mark her 25th anniversary.

Her musical genes, she says, come from her father, Puti Machaka.

"My dad sang and whistled like an angel. When he was walking home in the evenings, you could hear him from the street," she recalls.

He passed away when she and her two sisters were quite young and the trio was raised in Soweto by their mother, Sophie Machaka, on her domestic worker's salary of R40 a month.

"At that time, black single women weren't allowed to own houses, so the white government >

Appendix F (continued)



fought to take our house from my mother – but Pat, the woman my mother worked for in Florida, Gauteng, fought tooth and nail for us to get it back. We girls stayed with my mom in Pat's backyard room and had to sleep on the floor.

"I guess that really made us strong because from that age, we knew we had to hold hands and be there for each other," Chaka Chaka says.

The same kind of selfless thinking is evident in the role she plays as a Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef).

Her huge capacity for forgiveness is another theme that's run through her life – despite her painful memories of the apartheid years.

"I remember clearly the treacherous journey home from school my sisters and I had to take. The young white boys in Florida knew what time the *kaffertjies* would be coming home and would open their gates for the dogs to attack us, or use slingshots to hit us with stones. We knew that once we emerged from the Florida train station, we'd need to split up and start running," she says.

Nevertheless, the daughters of domestic workers did enjoy certain advantages. "We were the smart ones in class. We could speak better English than the others because we lived in town with the *kleinbase*."

She was an all-round achiever, she says, as accomplished in the classroom as she was on the sprinting track.

"That's actually where 'Chaka Chaka' comes from. My real surname

is Machaka, but because I ran at school, the kids would tease me and say I was full of *maChaka Chaka*," she laughs.

But it was as a performer that she sensed – early on – where her future path lay, after becoming the first black child to appear on South African television when she sang the popular Brook Benton number, *My True Confession*, on the show *Sugar Shack* during the Seventies.

"I got paid R500 for that job, which

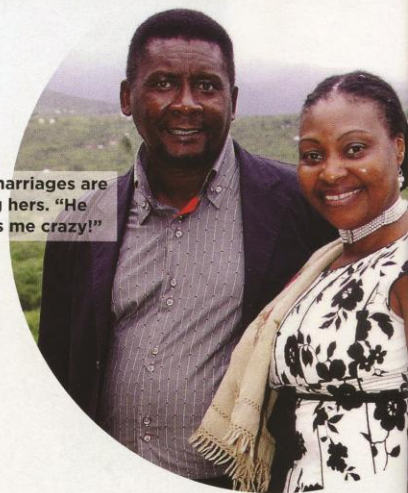
"I suspect I was always an entrepreneur at heart. In fact, my sisters say that as a young girl, I sold the oranges my dad would buy – a pocket for each of us every month – at the bus-stop for 2c each. Then I'd steal theirs to eat myself!"

was a huge amount then. And when I started earning money as a professional singer, I knew I had to start investing cleverly."

Looking at the privileged upbringing enjoyed by her four sons – Ningi (28), Themba (26), Mfume (20) and Mandla (16) – often leaves her with conflicting feelings, she says.

"While I was growing up, there was never a night when my sisters and I went to sleep without having eaten, but it would be pap and tomato gravy, or my mom would bring home the two slices of bread she got every day for lunch and give them to us.

"So when I look at my own kids now, standing in front of an open fridge and saying 'no' to muffins, cheese sandwiches, Coco Pops or



Yvonne says all marriages are tough – including hers. "He sometimes drives me crazy!"

whatever, I just marvel at the difference. I've really come a long way."

Chaka Chaka gave birth to Themba when she was just 19 and about to start university. The event, she says, was a huge disappointment for her mother.

"She wanted me to study law, but I wanted to do accounting. It was sad and upsetting at the time, but when I look back at it now, I think God had other plans for me," she muses.

And Chaka Chaka's mother did eventually get to sit proudly at her graduation ceremony. Today she has qualifications in speech and drama, adult education, governance and administration.

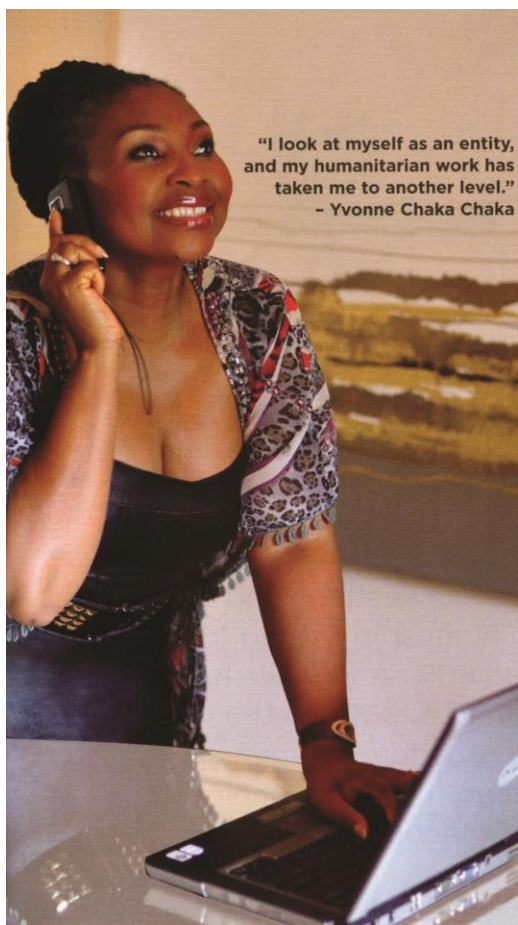
But music was always at the back of her mind. As soon as her baby was old enough to be cared for by neighbours, Chaka Chaka took to hanging around the offices of Gallo Records in the Jo'burg CBD, trying to meet influential musicians.

"One day I found the guts to talk to Ray Phiri and sang a song for him. But he said: 'Oh, no, you can't sing!'" she chuckles.

She was eventually discovered by Phil Hollis at Dephon Records, who got her to record *I'm in Love With a DJ* within days of hearing her sing.

"The first day we met, he gave me

PHOTOGRAPHER: PATRICK TOSELLI, HAIR & MAKE-UP: FAITH SEQUE, STYLING: PAPA MTHIWA, ASSISTANT: LAUREN NICOLL, PREVIOUS PAGE: DRESS: HIP HOP, 01 325 6010, WWW.HIPOFASHION.CO.ZA, EARRINGS: WWW.HIPOFASHION.CO.ZA, SHIRT: ONI, LOCATIONS: FOSCHINI, 01 262 4141, DRESS: FOSCHINI, 01 262 4141, WWW.FOSCHINI.CO.ZA, SHOT ON LOCATION: FOSCHINI, 01 262 4141



"I look at myself as an entity, and my humanitarian work has taken me to another level."
– Yvonne Chaka Chaka

R20 – four purple R5 notes – and told me to come back the following Monday. He said: 'I'm going to make you a star.' But I just looked at this white man and thought: 'Ja, right.'"

In fact, the single sold a phenomenal 35 000 copies in 1985, and Chaka Chaka vividly remembers her first royalty cheque for R10 000. "Can you imagine me coming home with that while my mother was earning R40 a month!? I used it to start building her a new house."

The money kept rolling in: R1 500 for a concert and R2 500 for an outdoor performance. But Chaka Chaka was still insecure about her future. "I told myself I needed to have something to fall back on," she recalls.

After she and Mhinga married in 1989, the couple went into business together, setting up two successful

salons in Johannesburg – Vonnie's Seventh Heaven and Le Classique.

"I suspect I was always an entrepreneur at heart. In fact, my sisters say that as a young girl, I sold the oranges my dad would buy – a pocket for each of us every month – at the bus-stop for 2c each. Then I'd steal theirs to eat myself!"

She and her husband later opened a limousine company called Bindlani Royal Car Service, with clients including the likes of Michael Jackson.

"I had to constantly explain that I'd invested money into that company. I'd bought my share in order to try to transform it, and they were moving very slowly. I wanted to see a black CEO and more people of colour in the workforce."

"I eventually got out of there and bought into IT company Simeka BSG, where I'm now a shareholder

and a Director."

Suren Singh, Chief Financial Officer at Simeka, has said the company hopes to gain leverage off Chaka Chaka's extensive networks, particularly in government and on the rest of the continent.

Chaka Chaka's also signed some profitable endorsement deals through the years, including being the face of FNB for the past nine years. In addition, she recently signed on as the face of Lifebuoy Soap.

"I look at myself as an entity," she says, "and my humanitarian work has taken me to another level."

That work comprises her role at Unicef and its Roll Back Malaria Campaign – a cause very close to her heart. Chaka Chaka lost a backing singer, Phumzile Ntuli, to cerebral malaria after a performance in Gabon in 2004, and the research she conducted after his death horrified her into action.

"The past five years have been amazing, going to the White House and sitting on the same podium as Bill Gates, talking about malaria. I'll never change the world, but I want to do as much as I can," she says.

Her own fashion lines – Yvonne's Clothing and Chaka Chaka Jewellery – are currently being designed and she also plans to set up a fund-raising team for her charity vehicle, the Princess of Africa Foundation.

Talk about the world being your oyster! **D**

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For a behind-the-scenes look at the Yvonne Chaka Chaka cover shoot, visit: www.destinyconnect.com.

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Appendix G

Propp's (1968) character functions adapted from Fiske (1987b:137).

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Villain: | villainy, fighting, action. |
| Donor: | giving magical agent or helper. |
| Helper: | moves the hero, makes good a lack, rescues from pursuit, solves difficult tasks, transforms the hero. |
| Princess: | a sought-for person or thing |
| Dispatcher: | sends hero on a quest/mission |
| Seeker hero: | departs on search, reacts to donor, attempts difficult tasks |
| Victim hero: | is forced from home, goes on a journey of no searches, overcomes imposed difficulty or adversity. |

Propp's (1968) narrative functions as outlined by Prinsloo (2009:228-9).

Stage 1: Preparation

1. a member of the family leaves home;
2. a prohibition or rule (interdiction) is imposed on the hero;
3. this prohibition is violated;
4. the villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance;
5. the villain gains information about the victim;
6. the villain attempts to deceive the victim to take possession of the victim or victim's belongings (trickery; villain disguised, tries to win confidence of victim);
7. the victim is taken in by deception, unwittingly helping the enemy;

Stage 2: Complication

8. the villain causes harm/injury to family member;
- 8a. alternatively, a member of the family lacks something or desires something (magical potion etc.);
9. this lack or misfortune is made known; the seeker hero is given a request or demand, and he [or she] goes or is sent on a mission/quest; alternatively, the victim hero is sent away, freed from imprisonment;
10. the hero or seeker plans action against the villain;

Stage 3: Transference

11. the hero leaves home;
12. the hero is tested, attacked, interrogated, etc., preparing the way for his or her receiving a magical agent or helper;
13. the hero reacts to the actions of the future donor;
14. the hero uses a magical agent (directly transferred, located, purchased, prepared, spontaneously appears, eaten/drank, help offered by other characters);
15. the hero is transferred or led to the location of the object of the search or quest;

Stage 4: Struggle

16. the hero and villain join in direct combat;
17. the hero is branded;
18. the villain is defeated;
19. the initial misfortune or lack is resolved;

Stage 5: Return

20. the hero returns;
21. the hero is pursued;
22. the hero is rescued from pursuit;
23. the hero arrives home or in another country and is not recognised;
24. a false hero makes false or unfounded claims;
25. a difficult task is set for the hero;
26. the task is accomplished;

Stage 6: Recognition

27. the hero is recognised;
28. the false hero or villain is exposed;
29. the hero is transformed (given a new appearance);
30. the villain is punished;
31. the hero marries and ascends the throne (is rewarded/promoted).

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