

THE UNATTAINABLE “BETTERLIFE”:
THE DISCOURSES OF THE HOMOGENISED SOUTH AFRICAN
BLACK EMERGING MIDDLE-CLASS LIFESTYLE IN *DRUM*
MAGAZINE

MICHELLE HARDY

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
MA APPLIED MEDIA
in the
FACULTY OF ARTS
at the
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

SUPERVISOR: DR. MARIUS CROUS
CO-SUPERVISOR: PROF. LIESL HIBBERT
EXTERNAL EXAMINER: PROF. H WASSERMAN (RHODES)
Date of submission: January 2011

Contents

Abstract	2
1. Introduction	4
2. Theoretical literature	
2.1. A historical socio-political and cultural review of South African society: from colonialism through apartheid policy to democratic policy	8
2.2. Current reformulations of black identities in South Africa	12
2.3. The history of <i>Drum</i> and its cultural significance	15
2.4 Current editorial and commercial environment of <i>Drum</i>	18
3. Analytical literature	
3.1. Magazines as cultural texts	21
3.2. Discourse and semiotic analysis	24
4. Method	29
5. Results	35
6. Discussion	39
7. Conclusion	56
8. Appendix	61
9. Bibliography & References	62

Abstract

Drum and *YOU* are two general interest magazines which share the same publisher, language (English), format, and are compiled by many of the same journalists and editors. The greatest distinction between the two publications is that *Drum* is aimed at a specifically black readership while *YOU* caters for a general, cosmopolitan South African readership. With various commonalities in the production of *Drum* and *YOU*, what do the differing commodities, discourses and cultural repertoires presented in *Drum* in comparison to *YOU* communicate about the conceived black audience/s by the magazines' producers?

In contrast to the dominant body of research on *Drum* magazine, which has been dedicated to pre-1994 editions, the investigation undertaken in this research focuses on post-apartheid editions of *Drum* under the commercial ownership of Media24. This also provides a unique opportunity to compare and contrast *Drum* and *YOU* which has not been extensively explored in the past.

A theoretical study on some of the credible, plausible discourses circulating in *Drum* drew from Laden's (1997; 2003) research on black South African middle-class magazines and Steyn's (2001) studies on narratives of whiteness including colonial and apartheid policy discourses. Other theory considered to identify types of discourses included those on self-stylisation, excorporation and the historic, cultural influence of *Drum* in black South African identity formation. Critical discourse analysis is employed to discern the distinction and boundaries between the conceived black middle-class readerships of *Drum* and *YOU*.

A multifarious content is present in *Drum* magazine for the diverse post-apartheid black middle-class of South Africa. Discourses of the African traditional and conservative feature side-by-side with contemporary, liberal and Western discourses; while the cultural repertoires of the bourgeois middle-class are presented beside the more modest commodities of the lower-income working class. This communicates an increasingly integrated South African consumer culture and a willing bourgeois solidarity amongst middle-class groups, creating a larger consumer class for advertisers and marketers in South Africa.

In comparison to *YOU*, the discourses of the conservative-African-traditional provide a distinctive feature of *Drum*. However, this discourse is limited to realms which do not threaten the prevailing magazine culture of consumerism and the dominant global culture of Western science and reason. The other great distinction from *YOU* is *Drum's* prominent educating and didactic function, offering an aspirant lifestyle by marketing a range of Western technologies and commodities. This is in addition to suggesting options for desirable social conduct and socially-responsible behaviour.

Key words: aspirational lifestyles, black South African middle-class, consumer culture, consumer magazines, cultural repertoire, discourse, *Drum*, South African consumer culture, *YOU*

Chapter 1: Introduction

Members of various South African societal groupings continue to redefine and represent themselves and others as they grapple with new or lost privileges, a new government, a new Constitution, a breakdown of neat, definable racial statuses, and the destabilising of the racial-economic structure after the first open democratic elections were held in 1994. South Africans find themselves in a unique situation, in relation to other nationalities, that the politically dominant racial group (black South Africans) is not necessarily also the *economically* strongest racial group. While discourses in the political arena centre on the economic development and cultural renaissance of black South Africans, the language used in the economic commercial sphere, specifically through marketing and mass communication, is still largely determined by white South Africans focusing on Western, capitalistic worldviews. This often results in various competing discourses in different realms of society from which the black and white South African draws from to define themselves and their position in society and create their own cultural repertoires of social behaviours and commodities (Laden: 2003, pg. 212).

Language and discourse in cultural consumer texts supply the analyst with a means to investigate inter-relationships between groupings within a society, whether defined by race, gender, ethnicity, nationality, culture or any variant that is held collectively in a community (Wodak: 2002; Foucault: 1989). The language and images used to represent and self-represent specific racial, cultural, gender, national, ethnic, religious and other groups, often expose unconscious perceptions and conceptions of other groups. Discourse analysis makes evident the relations of power and dominance between groupings and the resulting resistant discourses (Habermas: 1967), whether it takes place in conscious overt displays of indoctrination or in inadvertent, inculcated development of accepted perceptions. Discourses circulated by the least economic and politically powerful take place in private spheres while the more powerful groups' discourses are circulated in public spheres by mass communication media, reinforcing its influence and power. Language and discourse is often used to sustain and

reproduce the social status quo (Wodak: 2002) by the dominant ideology of society in order to “legitimise relations of organised power” (Habermas: 1967).

Mass media texts often reflect the dominant discourses of a society (Adorno & Horkheimer: 1944, Althusser: 1969). Mass media products offer ideas, lifestyles, language and perceptions which are most widely accepted by the consumers of the information. The purpose of this research is to identify the prominent discourses and cultural repertoires of selected mass media products in South Africa, which indicate the current status of power relations within the country. The mass medium selected is *Drum* magazine, a publication targeted at the middle-class black South African, chosen for its unique rich history in the lives of black South Africans, as well as for its current ownership by a previously conservative Afrikaans organisation, Naspers, now named Media24.

The specific edition and section of the magazine analysed was selected according to the introduction of a new lifestyle section in *Drum* entitled “betterlife”, launched on 11 February 2010. Since the perceived idealised lifestyle of a group provides insight into the conceived socio-economic, cultural and ethnic identity(ies) and status(es) of the members, the lifestyle section of a magazine provides textual and visual indications of the desired lifestyles and conceived identities of the readership of the magazine. The cultural repertoire/s presented in the magazines are constructed by the magazine’s owners and producers who are in turn ultimately driven by market forces, advertisers, sponsors and marketers, in addition to the conceived desires and needs of the readership. This particular lifestyle section is compared to that of the same week’s corresponding edition of *YOU* magazine, *Drum*’s sister magazine, which was historically targeted at white English-speaking readers, but today has a more multicultural South African audience. The aim of the comparison of the discourses and cultural repertoires of the lifestyle sections is to determine the social, cultural and economic boundaries between the black readerships of *Drum* and *YOU* employed and selected by the editorial teams. This will provide insight into the conceived audience/s of the emerging black middle-class in South Africa, in relation to a general South African middle-class.

A summary of theory on South Africa's historical racial discourses provided by Steyn (2001) offers the possibility of lingering white supremacist discourses of the apartheid and colonial political and social eras within *Drum* in relation to *YOU*. These discourses include ideologies which subordinate the South African black person and the desire to "civilise" and "uplift" the black person through Western education and socialisation (Steyn: 2001, pg. 59-60). Although these discourses are taboo in contemporary South Africa, their presence could be revealed in the comparisons of discourses between the distinctly black readership of *Drum* and the general (historically white) readership of *YOU*. Laden's (2003, pg. 197) theory on contemporary South African black middle-class magazines agreed that these magazines do function as "modern-day civility manuals" by educating and civilising the black readership according to Western standards of acceptability. Laden also suggests that the readers of these magazines desire a "bourgeois solidarity", revealed through employed discourses which readily embrace Western customs and practices, especially commodities and technologies (2003, pg. 202). This creates another function of black middle-class consumer magazines as projectors and providers of an aspirational lifestyle (Laden: 2003, pg. 197).

Drum is also enriched with a history which connects it to early African urbanity and the emerging black middle-class of the 1950s (Clowes: 2008; Samuelson: 2008; Rawerda: 2007; Odhiambo: 2006). *Drum* magazine's history and symbols have become iconic within South Africa and the world, reinforced with the 2004 feature film about the magazine and Sophiatown, simply entitled *Drum*. Many of the fashion symbols and colloquialisms of the Sophiatown era are reproduced in contemporary cultural repertoires, such as fashion (Samuelson: 2008, pg. 71). Although now in a post-apartheid setting under a new commercial ownership with different objectives, contemporary editions of *Drum* might draw from the discourses and symbols from its more familiar historical editions to retain some of its original popularity. In opposition to the historical discourses of the urban African are the essentialist and stereotyped rural African traditional and conservative discourses. The usage, prominence, selection and placement of

this ethnic-specific discourse in *Drum* should indicate if the readership is conceived in this stereotypical and essentialist way by the editors. *Drum's* position between the historical African urban and rural discourses, the racist and white supremacist discourses in relation to *YOU*, and the contemporary integrated post-apartheid black South African discourses, could create a platform for renegotiation through self-stylisation (Mbembe: 2002, Nuttall: 2002) and excorporation (Fiske: 1989).

The dominant body of prior academic research on *Drum* focuses on the 'Drum Decade' of the 1950s, while this investigation turns instead to the post-apartheid, Media24-owned editions published in 2010. The results aim to build on Laden's (1997, 2003) discussions on the making of consumer-consciousness among black South Africans through contemporary consumer magazines and their desire for a common "bourgeois solidarity" as well as Steyn's (2001) indications of white supremacist discourses circulating within the white South African population. The comparison will indicate how the black middle-class readers of *Drum* are defined and conceived of in relation to the general middle-class readership of *YOU* by the magazines' collective producers and editors. The findings will indicate to what extent the emerging black middle-class readership of *Drum* is incorporated into a bourgeois middle-class consumer culture; appropriated through didactic instructions of acceptable behaviour; suppressed through sustained white supremacy ideology, or conceived of as an ethnic, traditional and conservative culture. The findings also measure the impact of the iconic *Drum* of its earlier years on current editions and its capacity to create platforms for self-stylisation and excorporation for black South Africans in post-apartheid society.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Literature

2.1 A historical socio-political and cultural review of South African society: from colonialism through apartheid policy to democratic policy

Although South Africa is a vastly complex and diverse nation, the socio-political historical events pertinent to this research can be narrowed down to those that influence the relationship and status of the white (European/Afrikaans) and black (indigenous Bantu) groups. A review of Steyn's (2001) narratives of whiteness reveals three great historical events which dramatically shaped the socio-political history of South Africa and the way white and black South Africans relate to each other: colonialism, apartheid and democracy. The colonisation of South Africa began in the 1600s when the Dutch East India Company, and later the expanding British Empire, established ports and settlements along the South African coast as trading posts. As the Dutch and British encroached on the land of indigenous Africans such as the Xhosa and Zulu ethnic groups, clashes ensued causing several frontier wars. The expansion of the British empire at the expense of the local population was not only supported politically by the British government, but also ideologically in the worldview of white supremacy. This ideology purports that being of European descent or having "whiteness" fixed one's status at the top of the economic and social pyramid in early modern South African society. As Steyn (2001, pg. 7) points out, "The modernist construction of a homogenous, superior "whiteness" played a central part in colonial discourse." While it cannot be fully explored here, white supremacy ideology gained impetus and affirmation through two of the dominant discourses of the 19th century, Christianity and Rational Science (Steyn: 2001, pg 11-22). Europeans justified slavery and the oppression of dark-skinned people through interpretations of biblical scripture, as well as through natural science and Social Darwinism. The latter social ordering system classified humans in a hierarchical order, placing Africans in an animal category at the bottom, with Caucasians at the top as "unquestionably human" (Steyn: 2001, pg. 17). This scientific discourse of the 19th century made Africans "legitimate objects of domination through natural sciences" (Steyn: 2001, pg. 17). In this way, black people were able to be

controlled through psychological oppression, despite their majority in population, and could only be broken through a rise of black consciousness. The introduction of *Drum* magazine in the 1950s, which encouraged and defined black African urbanity as well as a black middle-class, was perceived as a threat to this white supremacist ideology. This led to the constant monitoring, harassment and censorship of the magazine and its staff members for several decades during apartheid (Clowes: 2008, pg. 181).

Another important social dynamic of this period is the status of the Afrikaner in 19th-century South Africa. After fleeing British colonial rule in the Cape and establishing the inland Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the Afrikaner nation was forced into war over this land, which was discovered to contain rich deposits of gold and diamonds. The Anglo-Boer War from 1899 to 1902 subjected the Afrikaner to inhumane treatment through the scorched earth policy (when Afrikaner farmlands and homes were destroyed by fire to ensure the economic and social destruction of the Afrikaner nation), and detainment in concentration camps at the hands of the British army. The Afrikaners regarded the English as imperialists who treated them “with little more dignity or respect for their cultural integrity than they did the indigenous black people” (Steyn: 2001, pg. 26). This lowly status imposed by the English assisted and encouraged an Afrikaner Christian nationalism identity to develop amongst Afrikaners. In the Afrikaner imagination, their recognition as rightful inhabitants and owners of South Africa was made legitimate by dominating other non-white South African groups:

Afrikaner “freedom” came to be understood as freedom to exercise racial hegemony. The right to be “white” was yoked to the rightlessness of “nonwhites”. Being “civilised” in a savage, untamed country entailed the right to be masters of the heathens. (Steyn: 2001, pg. 32).

At the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer Wars, Britain recognised that their minority rule of South Africa was better enforced if done in collaboration with the Afrikaners. As reassurance to their defeated Afrikaner opponents, a systematic discrimination policy against the black majority was written into the foundation of the Union of South Africa, ensuring that Afrikaner status would be placed above

that of the black South African. A white solidarity enabled the small white minority to rally around their colour, while de-emphasising the vast numerical advantage of the majority black domination (Steyn: 2001, pg. 35).

This firm foundation in the political and legal separation of races, spurred on by the constant Afrikaner fear of losing privilege and wealth and the threat of political domination and “chaos”, formed and developed the apartheid policy, entrenched after the Afrikaner Nationalist Party victory in the 1948 elections. A number of political acts proclaimed in quick succession firmly defined and separated the races in almost all facets of life, from domestic life to schooling to recreational and even sexual activity. This policy lasted over 40 years, rationalised by colonialist era ideology of white supremacy and Christian doctrine, despite severe international political and economic pressure.

The end of apartheid and the incumbent free democracy did not automatically eradicate the white supremacist belief system, resulting in the pervading presence of apartheid discourses and narratives in current social interactions. Steyn (2001) provides qualitative research on the perception of whiteness in South African society five years after the first democratic elections. Her research identified various narratives with which white South Africans use to describe “whiteness”. Of the five master narratives of whiteness in use in the early 21st century, two originate from the white supremacist and apartheid ideologies. The “Still Colonial after all these years” narrative places the white South African in a missionary state of “goodwill” who works to “uplift blacks” in aid of societal transformation (Steyn: 2001, pg. 59-60). An ideal integrated society is therefore only achieved if blacks “raise” themselves to the level of white “civility”, a discourse clearly inherited from colonial ideologies. Those who engage in the second narrative, “This Shouldn’t Happen to a White”, still have faith in white superiority, although it may not always be openly admitted. This often bitter, racialised, dichotomous discourse, driven by continued fear and loss of privilege, originates from the apartheid era belief system (Steyn: 2001, pg. 69-81).

Against this background of the shaping of white identity in the white imagination as presented by Steyn, we turn to the consequences, effects and identity of the black South African during this time. According to Althusser (1969), society is diametrically divided into a ruling class and working class; the former which controls the latter through state apparatuses (courts police, government, etc.) as well as through ideologies transmitted through ideological state apparatuses (schools, media, laws etc.). In this construct, the working class is almost helpless and indefensible against the ruling classes' tactics to sustain their power. This understanding of society provides an explanation as to why black South Africans, although by far the majority, were unable to effectively resist or overturn the domination of white colonialism and then apartheid policy for such an extended period of time.

Although this was the explanation of domination in the 20th century, more current theorists say that this “unilateral view of power and domination in (South) Africa” has “a wrongful disregard for historical manifestations of human agency in specifically African contexts” (Laden: 2003, pg. 196). Many cultural theorists believe that black South Africans proved to be “resilient and inventive in the face of oppression” by retaining their own languages and cultures throughout European and Afrikaans conquest (Steyn: 2001, pg. 25), a feat which many indigenous groups around the world were not able to achieve after a period of colonisation. Black South Africans had an “enterprising response to the oppressive circumstances induced by various modes of British and Afrikaans colonialism” (Laden: 2003, pg. 195). Laden continues:

“...despite having been deprived of political rights for so long, black South Africans have long since been more than passive subscribers to, and casualties of, colonialist legacies and the apartheid regime”. (Laden: 2003, pg. 195)

According to this theory, black South Africans are credited with being culturally dynamic, able to formulate new forms of so-called civil sociability and socio-cultural capital without it being imposed upon them. This sentiment negates Laden's (2003, pg. 197) suggestion that black consumer magazines function as didactic “modern day civility manuals”. The discourse analysis on *Drum* will reveal if this civilising and educating component is in action, or if black South

Africans are forming fused and hybrid identities which both confirm and reject acceptable Western social behaviour in different contexts.

2.2 Current reformulations of black identities in South Africa

The end of apartheid presented black South Africans with more than political and legal freedoms. They were also in possession of imaginative freedoms allowing them to define themselves as something other than 'non-white'. They were provided with the opportunity to embrace their 'blackness' while still discovering what this term meant in contemporary, urban society. They could achieve the same levels of socio-economic status as white South Africans, creating new levels of aspirations and imagination in self identity. Black South Africans could choose between a variety of identities to different extents and at different times, or combine others to create fusion identities. Identities are formed by combining "the intimate or personal world with the collective space of cultural forms and social relations" (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, Cain: 2003, pg. 5). As individuals and groups continuously self-fashion their identities, they become "caught in the tensions between past histories that have settled in them and the present discourses and images that attract them or somehow impinge upon them" (ibid, pg. 4). In this case of black South Africans in a post-apartheid collective space, some of the newly-fashioned identities could be based upon Western values and ethics; traditional African values and culture, or new, unique sets of values and lifestyles. Sixteen years later, several forms of black identification processes have been identified, some of which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Many Modernist social theorists describe a "yearning" of the non-Western citizen to be part of the Western model of the "Great Society" (Lerner: 1958, pg. 47). The Western model of modernisation "provides the most developed model of societal attributes (power, wealth, skill, rationality)" and hence, "[w]hat the West is, in this sense, the [underdeveloped nation] seeks to become" (Lerner: 1958, pg. 47). Although these observations have been re-worked in the post-modern

era, academics recognise that this perception is still present in society, "...whiteness remain(s) desired objects for many black African people of South Africa, while it is perceived to hold the key to prosperity, modernisation and access to a wider world" (Steyn: 2001, p. 167). Much research and analysis on the advertising and content of *Drum* magazine editions produced during the apartheid years supports this (Rauwerda: 2007; Clowes: 2008). This sentiment explains a growing consumer-conscious black middle-class in South Africa which values and consumes Western technologies.

It is important at this point to explore the social definition of "middle class"; especially to dispel the common perception that it is directly linked to household income and social conditions. Kearney (2001, pg. 256) describes class as "a position in a field of value and a relationship of uneven exchange with other positions" in society. Value can be interpreted as forms of capital and as symbolic or physical power in money, calories, prestige, authority, property or knowledge (Kearney: 2001, pg. 278n11). For the purposes of this research middle-class simply refers to "a set of dispositions or aspirations representing what middle-class people typically 'do' or 'aspire to', rather than a group of people whose monthly income qualifies them as actual members of this socio-economic stratum" (Laden: 1997). Laden describes this aspirant lifestyle as a "dominant ethos" which is "a highly significant force in present-day South Africa". This gap between aspirations and real social conditions can result in what Even-Zohar (1997, pg. 7) calls "cultural interference", when a weaker culture is motivated to borrow models and structures from the repertoire of a dominant cultural system as its own system no longer offers its members viable options for the lifestyles they wish to maintain. While poverty restricts the possibility of participating in this consumerist, middle-class lifestyle, it does not necessarily prevent it; in fact, it may even encourage it (Laden: 1997).

Yet Laden warns of the error of interpreting this borrowing from the Western culture as a desire of South African black middle class citizens to 'be white' or adopt a 'white' culture. Her research on black South African consumer magazines suggests that the social entity of the black South African middle class

seeks to define itself despite, or perhaps in response to, the previous oppressive apartheid regime, and not entirely assimilate itself to it. More obvious means of defining themselves would be to express overt resistance such as a return to ethnic identity in an urban environment. Yet Laden opines that urban black South Africans are in favour of a shared solidarity as respectable middle-class citizens.

All the magazines suggest that members of South Africa's black middle-class(es) have chosen to disregard conventional affiliations of politics, race, class, and religion, in order to forge a sense of 'participatory citizenry' and a seemingly apolitical 'bourgeois solidarity' (Laden: 2003, pg. 202).

This bourgeois solidarity is described as having a uniting function and is "more social and organizational than ideological and political" (Laden: 1997). While the so-called white South African culture seems to continue to provide an aspirational yardstick for the urban black South African, it is not entirely ideal. The black middle-class instead unites or converges Western notions of individual happiness and the common good with traditional African notions of shared affinity and collective accountability (Laden: 2003, pg. 202). Its cultural repertoire of commodities, goods, practices, behaviour, beliefs and values also borrows, reconstructs or imports from various other cultural sources, including African-American culture (Laden: 1997; Rauwerda: 2007, pg. 394).

Although Laden's perspective offers a conciliatory approach to the reformation of South African identities, a multitude of black identities, some more common than others, are in existence. Results of overt resistance amongst some black South Africans towards the "erosion of white privilege" has led to a revival of essentialist ideas regarding authentic racial and ethnic identities (de Robillard: 2009, pg. 169). In contrast, the 21st-century global village malaise over cultural identity has also allowed the media-dominant Western culture to absorb weaker ones. African author, Mbembe (2002, pg. 374) says "that the circulation of goods and commodities, as well as the constant process of buying and selling, results in the liquidation of tradition and its substitution by a culture of indifference and restlessness that nourishes self-stylization". Nuttall (2002, pg. 439), in her observations of the black youth culture publication *Y mag*, describes self-stylisation as "how people seek to transform themselves into singular beings".

Self-stylisation is a dominant feature of youth sub-cultures. Laden also agrees that the “fundamental drive to consume things” is “a way of prefiguring new social options for fashioning new ‘individual’ and collective concepts of selfhood and identity” (Laden: 2003, pg. 197).

The options of current black middle-class identities listed above (apolitical bourgeois, essentialistic ethnic, African-American, Western, traditional African and individual self-stylisation) provide a general and brief overview of what discourse analysts and social researchers might expect to uncover when examining South African cultural texts such as consumer magazines. The fact that cultural definitions of groups are complex is not argued in a post-modern context. Instead this research aims to contribute towards the discussion of the identities of the black middle class South African through discourse analysis of “betterlife” in *Drum* magazine and compared to “Lifestyle” in *YOU*. The presence of socio-economic suppression of the black middle class by the current owners and producers of these sister magazines through the utilised discourses will be explored.

2.3 The history of Drum and its cultural significance

Although the current *Drum* magazine is a fixed feature on magazine shelves across South Africa and in some parts of the continent, enjoying a readership of over two million people (AMPS 2009A), it is its earlier editions of the 1950s and 1960s which give the publication its social, cultural and political significance in South African history “as the ultimate icon of black urban culture” (Odhiambo: 2006, pg. 171). Introduced in South Africa by British co-founders Robert Crisp and Jim Bailey, under the title of *The African Drum*, the magazine arrived in South Africa at a time of vast international social and political upheaval. The Second World War had concluded a few years prior and the United Nations had instituted the International Bill of Human Rights, entrenching the rights and freedoms of indigenous or local populations from oppression and domination. This resulted in the decolonisation of Africa and the subsequent independence of

most African states. In South Africa, the tide of post-colonial black freedom was quickly suppressed by the incoming Nationalist Party government in 1948 with the introduction of the apartheid political system. By 1951, when *The African Drum* was first published, the first and foundational apartheid legislation had been passed into law including the Prohibitions of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), the Population Registration Act (1950), the Group Areas Act (1950), and the Immorality Act (1950), which made it a criminal offence to have sexual relations with a person from another race (O'Malley: 2010).

The first editor of *The African Drum*, Robert Crisp, from a truly colonialist viewpoint, wanted the publication to depict black South Africans as “noble savages” with content that consisted mainly of tribal preaching and folk tales (Clowes: 2008, pg. 180). The first publishers appeared to assume that the African subject lived at the confluence of the traditional world (assumed to stand for a rural tribal life) and a new westernised modern world (which the publishers implied was a European influenced urban life) (Odhiambo: 2006, pg. 157). With a print run of only 20 000 copies per edition in its first years, *The African Drum* was not a financially successful venture (South African History Online: 2010). The publication's co-founder, Jim Bailey, replaced Crisp as editor with the inexperienced Anthony Sampson. The magazine was reinvented to appeal to South Africa's ever-expanding and commercially significant, urban black population, and was renamed *Drum* (South African History Online: 2010). This strategy to win readers also included the hiring of a number of black journalists and photographers including Henry Nxumalo, Todd Matshikiza, Arthur Maimane, Can Themba, Casey Motsisi, Ezekial Mphahlele, Nat Nakasa, Bob Gosani and Peter Magubane (South African History Online: 2010). Most of these men are still journalistic legends in contemporary South Africa thanks to their racy reportage and sensational short stories. The new *Drum* featured more typical urban, modern topics and themes such as sport, fiction, music, pictorial features (normally of attractive female singers, models or starlets), and investigative journalism pieces in the ‘Mr Drum’ editorial (Rauwerda: 2007, pg. 393). The new strategy paid off and circulation figures climbed to 70 000 in the mid-1950s. A

1958 edition of marketing journal, *Selling Age*, estimated *Drum's* audience at 865,000.

By employing black journalists and photographers to depict black characters in modern city settings, *Drum* “became a laboratory in which African urbanity was produced and performed” (Samuelson: 2008, pg. 64). This assertion and celebration of the new urban black culture in *Drum* was predominantly centred on, and epitomized by, Sophiatown (Samuelson: 2008, pg. 63), both as a geographical destination and as cultural inspiration. Rauwerda says that “the articles in 1950s *Drum* are frequently treated as documents of Johannesburg’s culture (and the culture of the township of Sophiatown in particular)” (Rauwerda: 2007, pg. 394). This early suburb of Johannesburg was established in 1905 for white residents, yet was soon largely occupied by Africans due to its dubious proximity to a sewerage works and refuse dump. The suburb became a centre of entertainment for the black Johannesburg community, with a prolific number of *shebeens* (beer halls), jazz clubs and dance halls. The Sophiatown culture, and the content and style of *Drum* in the 1950s, was greatly influenced by the romanticized notion of 1940s/1950s American gangsterism (Rauwerda: 2007, pg. 399).

Despite *Drum's* reputation for controversial and sensational reporting, the publication was unable to publish material of an overtly political nature (Odhiambo: 2006, pg. 158) due to the strict media censorship that the Nationalist government enforced at the time. However, there were several instances when the government believed the *Drum* publishers overstepped the boundaries by conscientising white readers about black hardships, albeit in a subtle manner. Several members of staff were arrested, including Can Themba, Peter Magubane, Jurgen Schadeburg and Sylvester Stein (Anthony Sampson’s replacement) amongst many others. *Drum* was especially perceived as a threat by the South African government as its rising circulation figures authenticated the magazine’s claims that it represented “the ‘true’ African voice” and that “*Drum* and its writers [were] powerful shapers of public opinion” (Clowes: 2008, pg. 181). As Odhiambo proffers, “*Drum* became one of the most important media

spaces within which black Africans in South Africa and on the rest of the continent were able to imagine, construct and disseminate notions of Africa, African culture and their political beliefs” (Odhiambo: 2006, pg. 157). Despite *Drum*’s reputation as a platform for black expression in this time, cultural research says that the influence of white ownership and editorship must not be discounted: “*Drum*’s writers were working within the confines of a white-dominated system in which Africans did not have the freedom to publish a magazine without white ‘guidance’” (Rauwerda: 2007, pg. 396).

The South African government confirmed their trepidation of the influence of *Drum* in civil society in the next decade with their unsuccessful attempt to secretly purchase the magazine in what became known as the ‘Muldergate’ scandal. By the early 1960s, many of the iconic *Drum* writers had fled the country, stifled by the strict media censorship laws. The magazine experienced severe financial difficulties and Bailey converted the publication into a supplement of the *Golden City Post* newspaper. But three years later, *Drum* had re-established itself and even began producing two copies a month from 1972. Several banned editions in the 1970s and 1980s saw the legendary independent publication sold to Nasionale Pers (Naspers, now Media24), South Africa’s largest Afrikaans media conglomerate, in April 1984 (Clowes: 2008, pg. 181).

2.4 Current editorial and commercial environment of Drum

Although *Drum* had always been under “white guidance” (Rauwerda: 2007, pg. 396), the acquisition of the magazine under Naspers moved it into a new era of white dominance. *Drum* is now one part of a trio of general interest magazines that operates under the same head editorial team at Media24. *Huisgenoot* is the oldest of the three magazines, first published in 1916 by Nasionale Pers (Naspers), created to provide financial support for Naspers’ daily newspaper, *Die Burger*, as well as promote Afrikaner nationalism through the coverage of an idealistic Afrikaans cultural life, including literature, music, theatre, fine arts and history (Botma: 2008, pg. 2). After 1961, when the Afrikaner-dominated republic

had been reached, the magazine began to relax its elitist Afrikaans cultural theme and converted to a more light entertainment format of foreign and local pop culture (Botma: 2008, pg. 2). *Huisgenoot* then made its biggest change in content after the first democratic elections of 1994 when it “shifted its brand of popular patriotism to the leaders, celebrities and symbols of the inclusive “new” South Africa” (Botma: 2008, pg. 2). However, Naspers remained closely knit with Afrikaner nationalism (through its partnership with the National Party) and capitalism (through its connection with the insurance giant, Sanlam) right up until 1990s, and many critics think “that it is unrealistic to think that some of this history will not be reflected somewhere in especially the ownership and control structure of the company” (Botma: 2008, pg. 7).

In 1987, an English version of *Huisgenoot* was launched, titled *YOU*. The content again focused on popular culture like *Huisgenoot*, only with a greater, global cultural substance and less local, Afrikaner celebrities and Afrikaans events or themes. All three magazines are currently under the editorship of Esmaré Weideman and other managing editors, with separate contributing teams of journalists. *YOU* and *Huisgenoot* remain predominantly mirror copies of each other, with the same articles, pictures, advertising and lifestyle sections, with only a minority of pages hosting alternative content or photos. In contrast, the majority of *Drum* content varies greatly from the other two magazines, with only a minority of similar (not shared) content.

The demographic information of the readers of *Drum* and *YOU* magazines demonstrate that the income level between the two readerships is not vastly different, as might be immediately assumed due to South Africa’s historical socio-economic historical hierarchies. Sixty percent of *Drum* readers and 45% of *YOU* readers earn a household income of below R8000 a month (SAARF AMPS: 2009), which contradicts initial assumptions that *Drum* readers are significantly poorer than *YOU* readers (see Table 1). In terms of education, 20% of *YOU* readers have tertiary level qualifications while *Drum* readers have a similar result with 15% possessing tertiary qualifications. These similar socio-economic statistics question the factors which drive the vastly different lifestyle sections

between the two magazines. An important factor to consider is the spread of urban and rural readers between the communication, with a significant portion of *Drum* readers (31%) residing in rural communities.

Chapter 3: Analytical Literature

3.1 Magazines as cultural texts

Although popular consumer magazines are not often endorsed as preferential sources to analyse processes of social and cultural transformation (Laden: 1997), they have been credited with assisting in forming tacit knowledge; that is, knowledge that is shared by everyone in a given culture and that is part of a social or cultural unconscious (Laden: 2003, pg. 194). This research rests on much of Laden's (1997, 2003) conviction of consumer magazines as "ideal working models" (Laden: 1997) of discursal modes and popularly accepted representations of the day's social, cultural and behavioural norms, organised largely through a range of goods, lifestyles and cultural activities. These texts therefore assist largely in creating cultural repertoires for particular groups and societies. Magazines provide a still picture, alive with rich cultural representations, that record salient moments of a societies tacit knowledge through discourse.

Some of the hesitations around the cultural authority of consumer magazines derive from their inevitable attachment to capital and market forces which arguably interfere with pure cultural information. The historical roots of the magazine form in the 18th century are inextricably connected with the birth of the capitalist economy and a rise in consumer culture (Laden: 2003, pg. 192). Laden believes that magazines are best perceived as meta-commodities, both as commodities in themselves and vehicles for the dissemination of a range of other commodities. Magazines are non-essential luxury items to be purchased and consumed, fixing them as part of a middle-class cultural repertoire, and also platforms from where consumer activities and commodities are promoted. Yet Laden argues that while the primary function of consumer magazines is to create revenue, which it can only competitively manage by marketing consumer goods, it also unconsciously structures the social and cultural practices they represent (Laden: 1997). This places a measure of power on the producers of the magazine who construct and assemble its cultural repertoires and discourses. An important function of creating a shared repertoire of lifestyle options and social

practices, influenced by market forces and a consumer culture, is the creation of an aspirant culture – one that is not necessarily a given state of affairs:

Consumer magazines and the cultural commodities they recommend [are] valid ways of enabling people to imagine as plausible alternative realities which may be structurally opposed to their existing reality (Laden: 1997).

Early popular cultural theorists, especially the neo-Marxists, believed that the capitalist culture industry aims to coerce the public into a consumerist culture in order to drive profit, and that the public is defenceless against it. Adorno (1994: p. 55) states that the culture industry “misuses its concern for the masses in order to duplicate, reinforce and strengthen their mentality, which it presumes is given and unchangeable”. However, most current cultural theorists are of the belief that goods, lifestyles and social activities are not imposed from above onto consumers, but that the practices of consumption are mostly socially-motivated sovereign choices (Laden: 1997).

In John Fiske’s *Understanding Popular Culture* we see that popular culture “is formed always in reaction to, and never part of, the forces of domination” (1989, pg. 15). Fiske describes popular culture and sub-cultures as the “refusal of commodification and an assertion of one’s right to make one’s own culture out of the resources provided by the commodity system” (1989, pg. 15). Members of the popular culture or sub-culture utilise a resource or commodity provided to them by the dominant capitalist group but make it their own by defacing, misusing or altering it. This process is known as expropriation. It is, however, important to realise that the popular culture member’s moment of power is only brief, as this act of rebellion is often incorporated into the dominant mass culture by making it another profitable commodity. Their act of defiance and power is also subverted by the fact that the resource was made available to them by the dominant force in the first place.

Fiske examines the use of the tabloid magazine as a site of struggle between the dominant forces and the subordinate:

...hegemonic force can be exercised only if the people choose to read the texts that embody it, and they will choose only those texts that offer opportunities to resist, evade, or scandalise it... (1989, pg.105).

Some of the means by which the subordinate are able to resist, evade or scandalise dominant resources is the use or misuse of language (slang, puns, etc.); excessiveness and obviousness (dramatic stories, clichés) which serve to portray the “Other” (especially the economically powerful) negatively; or claiming some of this power by remaking a commodity of the dominant forces into something of their own.

In a South African consumer magazine context, particularly for the black middle-class market, Laden calls consumer magazines an experimental medium where “traditional meanings and cultural institutions are reformulated alongside current institutions, events, images, and topicalities” (Laden: 2003, pg 211), providing a range of opportunities for social exchange, reflection, and cultural integration among their users or readers and the larger society. Magazines are therefore perceived both as products of social and cultural change as well as a vehicle of this change. If the social function of black middle-class consumer magazines are approached as Fiske identifies them, they become a means of strategically transforming the cultural repertoire ‘from below’ in keeping with the changing needs and interests of many black South Africans (Laden: 2003, pg. 193). On the other hand, from a more political-economic perspective, these magazines may also function as “modern-day civility manuals” by the producers of the magazine which “suggest options for desirable social conduct and promote notions of ‘social correctness’, while marketing a full range of western commodities, values and beliefs, including literacy and education, entertainment and popular culture, and notions of liberal democracy” (Laden: 2003, pg. 197). *Drum* provides an interesting resource to discuss the influences of both the producers and readership of the magazine due to its history with black South African expression during apartheid and its current absorption into a dominantly white-owned, profit-orientated company with historical political links to the former nationalist apartheid government. As the current editorial teams (under white leadership) select, separate and assign content of topics, discourses and images to the lifestyle sections of both *Drum* and *YOU*, it should reveal the distinctions between the two conceived audiences and provide clues as to whether this is

commercially driven, stereotypically defined by white ideologies, or desired and requested from the black audience themselves.

3.2 Discourse and semiotic analysis

Knowledge is composed of the sayable and the visible, words or things, the discursive and the material (Kendall & Wickham: 1999). Discourse is the communication of this knowledge through spoken or written word. Discourse is also understood to occur in the space between thinking and speaking, acting as a bridge, or:

...a thought dressed in its signs and made visible by means of words, or conversely the very structures of language put into action and producing a meaning effect (Foucault: 1981, pg. 126)

For many discourse and linguistic analysts, the conditions under which discourse is produced and sustained in general society is of great interest. At the forefront of the postmodern era's understanding of discourse is Foucault, who had a highly influential hypothesis on discourse production and circulation:

...in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality. (Foucault: 1981, pg. 113).

Foucault believed that discourse, in all its vastness, is ordered, regular and systematic due to sets of systems and procedures it is subject to. Identifying these procedures and systems also exposes the power behind certain discourses – why they command authority or why they are repeated and widely distributed in society – while others undergo rarefaction (the process of rarefying). One such procedure of controlling discourse is to exclude the production of certain statements; either through prohibition, the opposition of reason and madness, or the “will to truth”. Prohibition denies us the ability to say anything in any circumstance (as this translates to power) (Foucault: 1981, pg. 113); while the division of reasonable and mad discourse also excludes the statements of the mad individual or groups (or is translated through institutions and disciplines of psychiatry) (Foucault: 1981. pg. 114). “The will to truth” is the

desire for the real nature of things, to have accurate knowledge, which rests on institutional support of science, history, universities and libraries. This “will to truth” procedure “tends to exert a sort of pressure and something like a power of constraint...on other discourses” (Foucault: 1981, pg. 116), forcing them to compete with knowledge that is allegedly more true and credible.

While the above procedures are considered to operate from the exterior as systems of exclusion, there are also internal procedures which function as principles of classification, ordering and distribution, under the functions of commentary, author and discipline. Commentaries are discourses that are built upon major narratives in society which are seen to hold a secret or treasure (Foucault: 1981, pg. 117-118). Commentary allows a series of new discourses to be created *ad infinitum*, although this is done by repeating major narratives and asserting the dominance of the primary text. Secondly, the author-function is a procedure of control. Here author is not in the form of the individual, but rather as an origin of meaning or a unifying principle in a particular group of statements (Foucault: 1981, pg. 119). Discipline is the anonymous (not authored) domain of objects, methods, rules, definitions and techniques which allows for the construction of new statements which can be true or false but must be “in the true”; comprehensible within the theoretical horizon (Foucault: 1981, pg. 120-121). While commentary, author and discipline allow spaces for the creation of new discourses, they are, nonetheless, principles of constraint (Foucault: 1981, pg. 122) by limiting the chance-element of discourse, either through repeating texts (commentary), unifying and ordering to the self (author), or developing statements that are not alien to the theoretical horizon (discipline).

Foucault also suggests conditions under which discourses can be employed. While he acknowledges that there are discourses which are “at the disposal of every speaking subject”, there are those to whom access is restricted or largely forbidden (Foucault: 1981, pg. 122-123). The first system of restriction is ritual, which defines the qualification which must be possessed by individuals who speak specific discourses. It defines the gestures, behaviour, circumstances and the whole set of signs which must accompany the discourse and the supposed or

imposed significance of the words, their effect on those addressed, and the limitation of their constraining validity. Another restricting system is a “fellowship of discourse” where discourses are preserved and circulated within a closed space (Foucault: 1981, pg. 123-124); while the system of doctrines (religious, political, philosophical) allows only people who share the recognition of, and conformity to, the same truths. Lastly, the social appropriation of discourse takes place through the system of education, which Foucault says “is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledges and powers which they carry” (Foucault: 1981, pg. 125).

Foucault offers methodological approaches to discourse analysis, one which is concerned with the effective formation of discourse (genealogical) and the other which attempts to distinguish the forms of exclusion, limitation and appropriation outlined in the systems and procedures above (Foucault: 1981, pg. 131). This area of theory has developed into Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which also is concerned with the power relations reflected in discourse usage and distribution. CDA also derives partly from the neo-Marxist school which has a fundamental assumption that societies comprise of dominant and oppressed groups which are constantly in conflict for power. CDA’s extension of this assumption is that these conflicts and hierarchies are evident in our daily discourses. The purpose of CDA is to analyze “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak: 1995, pg. 204). CDA sees discourse – the language used in speech and writing – as a form of “social practice”. A ‘discursive event’ or ‘text’ (concrete oral utterances or written documents – Reisigl & Wodak: 2001) has a dialectical relationship with the institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. The discursive event is shaped by the social context (socially conditioned) but also works to shape society (socially constitutive). To elaborate, it is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it (Wodak: 2002, pg. 8). Language is therefore a very powerful tool that “transmits and produces power” (Foucault:

1978, pg. 100) and is “a medium of domination and social force ... serv[ing] to legitimise relations of organised power” (Habermas: 1967, pg. 259).

General interest consumer magazines can become a highly pertinent subject of critical discourse analysis because of their reflection of popular culture and the formed relationship between the speaker, who has the power to control discourse (representing the market-driven advertisers and publishers), and the reader who consumes and interprets the discourses. This traditional, one-way communication format of magazines can provide examples of discourses which maintain power relations and societal class structures. Foucault’s theories on the manipulation of the production and circulation of discourse outlined above can be effectively utilised to critically analyse these bodies of texts. Discourse can only be regular and systematic (and therefore comprehensible) if it follows rules, such as the systems and procedures described by Foucault which create, control and prohibit discourses. These rules are also at play in magazine discourse production and include those in the production of the statements; those that delimit the sayable; those that create spaces in which new statements can be made, and the rules that ensure that a practice is both material and discursive at the same time (Kendall & Wickham: 1999, pg. 42-46). When applying these methods of identification to commercial magazine production in general, we can already identify several of Foucault’s procedures which are applicable: that certain statements are prohibited because they are offensive, or are excluded because they are not considered justifiably truthful (magazines often employ the voice of the expert to represent ‘the truth’); or in commentary which can be found in many articles which has its roots in the major narrative of capitalism (i.e. acquiring things to better your life, achieving your highest potential). The way in which magazine discourses are employed derives from a long tradition which has created rituals around the production of discourse within it, such as the qualifications of the speakers (journalist employed by publisher or experts in a field of study), the format of signs, symbols gestures and behaviours that are appropriate and attractive in magazines, and the requirement of exerting a certain consumerist effect on the readership. As a final example, the fundamental

role of the media as an educator places an authoritarian role on mass media magazines as a social appropriator of discourse. All of these rules work to create discourses in magazines, yet simultaneously control and regulate their production and circulation to maintain the status quo which supports the economically and socially powerful groups. In *Drum*, these systems and procedures might lead the white owners and editors to employ certain discourses which maintain the disadvantaged position of the black South African in order to protect or sustain white privilege as provided during apartheid policy.

Chapter 4: Method

The materials selected for the qualitative textual assessment is a 24-page edition of “betterlife” of *Drum* and a 15-page lifestyle section of *YOU* on 11 February 2010. This was the launch edition of *Drum*’s new lifestyle section and is likely to capture the fundamental aspects of what the magazine producers deduce the ideal projected and current lifestyle of *Drum*’s readership to be, based on substantial research and demographic data gathered by means of surveys. Both the sections were produced under the same executive editorial team at Media 24. Each section is sub-divided into various lifestyle categories including fashion, beauty, food, décor, health, careers, money matters and others. The *Huisgenoot* and *YOU* lifestyle sections are identical while the *Drum*’s “betterlife” is completely unlike the other two.

As presented previously, consumer magazines as a meta-commodity are vehicles of dissemination for a range of goods, social activities, practices, behaviours, beliefs, values and lifestyles. The commodities featured are often of an aspirant or ideal lifestyle which the magazine represents through a shared cultural repertoire of lifestyle options and social practices, also known as tacit knowledge (Laden: 2003, pg. 194). In the case of *Drum* and *YOU*, this aspirant lifestyle can be classified as “middle-class”. Laden (1997) describes that “middle-class” has come to mean more than just a socio-economic classification judged by household income, instead referring to “a set of middle class dispositions or aspirations representing what middle-class people typically ‘do’ or ‘aspire to’”. Since this aspirant culture is unrelated to income, monetary value and economic bands, it can be described according to the origins of its cultural repertoire. For this research studying cultural repertoires presented in consumer magazines, the items are indicated by means of visual symbols (clothing, gestures, food) and written language (colloquial terms, cultural terms).

The aim of this research is to identify the origins of the commodities in the cultural repertoires represented by both *YOU* and *Drum* through signs and language. In other words, what goods, social activities, practices, behaviours,

beliefs and values, represented through words, colloquialisms, tone, images and human gestures, are selected and separated for *Drum* readers by the producers of *Drum* and *YOU* in these two editions. The analysis will provide a preliminary study of the types of discourses circulated in *Drum*, particularly in reference to *YOU*. All relevant discursive events and language will be classified into categories from three main areas of prominent South African cultural discourse as derived from relevant theory cited previously:

1. Historic cultural discourses

a. *African traditional*

This discourse includes “essentialistic ideas about authentic racial and ethnic identities” (de Robillard: 2009, pg. 169). It includes any use of indigenous black South African languages, not colloquialisms such as *tsotsi* township lingo or borrowed European/Afrikaans words. It also refers to any traditional ethnic practices, social roles, dress, values and beliefs (e.g. *lobola*, polygamy, circumcision rites etc.) reflected in the written or pictorial content.

b. *‘Drum Decade’ Sophiatown*

Drum is inextricably linked with the Sophiatown era which is a historic and iconic symbol of early African urbanity and the rising of black middle-class. The language and signs associated with this discourse include fashion and lingo of the 1940s/50s [described as similar to American gangster culture of the time (Rauwerda: 2007, pg. 399)], and reference to any of the iconic *Drum* features and attributes of its heyday (e.g. Mr Drum, Sis Dolly etc.)

2. Discriminatory apartheid and colonial discourses

a. *Apartheid subordination*

According to Steyn’s (2001) research, many examples of apartheid discourse of white superiority are still present; if not always tangibly and

openly, then at least subliminally. The history of the publisher of these magazines, with a strong link to the Nationalist Party government during apartheid, especially lends itself to the possibility of locating this discourse in the publications. The subordination is not likely to be openly communicated, but can perhaps be traced through the comparison of *Drum* and *YOU*.

b. Modern-day civility manuals

Another example of an existing narrative of whiteness present in contemporary South African society is the colonial effort to “uplift” black South Africans to the level of “white civility” (Steyn: 2001, pg. 59-60). Laden’s investigation into black consumer magazines has found evidence that these products work as “modern-day civility manuals” which “suggest options for desirable social conduct and promote notions of ‘social correctness’, while marketing a full range of western commodities, values and beliefs, including literacy and education, entertainment and popular culture, and notions of liberal democracy” (Laden: 2003, pg. 197). Laden says this can be in the form of “informal educational apparatuses” which impart basic literacy skills through photo-stories or comics and word games. Lifestyle sections might address basic health, nutrition and hygiene matters (more basic than in comparison to *YOU*) or answer social problems from a Western perspective; for example, discouraging having children out of wedlock (Laden: 1997). The civilising discourse may be found in direct examples or through indirect comparisons between *Drum* and *YOU*. It is important to note that these differences would be understandable if the readership statistics supported that the *Drum* readership is of a significantly lower income bracket and has a lower level of education. This assumption is proven to be false with the two readerships sharing similar demographics.

3. Contemporary discourses

a. Self-stylisation

Self-stylisation assists people in transforming themselves into singular beings (Nuttall: 2002, pg. 439) or in forming youth sub-cultures. This creates new social options for individual and collective concepts of selfhood and identity (Laden: 2003, pg. 197). In the analysed *Drum* and *YOU* texts, this could take the form of commodities which do not seem to conform to any other existing mainstream culture.

b. Excorporation

Excorporation is similar to self-stylisation, although the newly formed identity or culture will often incorporate the defacement, misuse or alteration of commodities in the cultural repertoire of the dominant culture. In the South African context, the commercially dominant culture can be described as Western, white (both South African white and global Caucasians) and capitalist. John Fiske says that some of the means by which subordinates are able to resist, evade or scandalise dominant resources within the tabloid magazine is the use or misuse of language (slang, puns, etc.). Another tactic of excorporation is in excessiveness and obviousness (dramatic stories, clichés) which serve to portray the “Other” (especially the economically powerful) negatively. The subaltern can also attempt to claim some of this power by remaking a commodity of the dominant forces into something of their own (1985, pg. 105). In a South African context, a reaction of excorporation might include misusing or fusing English and Afrikaans words with African indigenous words, defacing Western technologies or consumer items, or ridiculing and therefore disempowering the economically and socially (not politically) powerful white South African.

c. Bourgeois solidarity

Despite the common perception that black South Africans would be eager to form a new exclusive urban culture subsequent to the new democratic republic, Laden found that black consumer magazines suggest that members of South Africa’s black middle-class(es) have chosen to disregard conventional affiliations of politics, race, class,

and religion, in order to forge a sense of “participatory citizenry” and a seemingly apolitical “bourgeois solidarity” (Laden: 2003, pg. 202). If this sentiment is communicated in *Drum*, the discourses will feature the black subject naturally and willfully encompassing and projecting the cultural commodities of the common middle-class Western, white culture without any evidence of subordination.

All of the above discourses have merit to be present in the text of the selected *Drum* and *YOU* editions. Their probability of featuring in current *Drum* editions is proven through theory, history or previous academic research. However, it is not a foregone certainty that *Drum* and Media24 should adhere to the theory and research or follow on the same historical trajectory. Many of these discourses would be able to coexist in the publication, while some may be contradictory. The objective of this research is to locate the presence and prominence of these particular discourses within the two texts and discuss the possible consequences in black South African identity formation and inter-racial, inter-class relations and conceptions in post-apartheid South Africa, **if these discourses were to be repeated in following editions.**

The discursive events of the *Drum* “betterlife” and *YOU* “Lifestyle” appearing in the same week will be critically analysed, paying close attention to cultural language references and commodities from particular cultural repertoires. The qualitative results are tabulated in the seven sub-discourses and the three main discourses. The results are further divided into discursive events which occur regularly in *Drum*, such as standard sections like “*Drum* Fashion”; and unique events which are published by chance in the specific analysed publication, such as particular statements, words or themes within sections. A subjective interpretation of the signs and language and its prominence in the text, as well as the amount of entries in each discourse will provide an indication of which discourses are circulated and consumed **within this post-apartheid, Media24 edition of *Drum*.**

These findings will indicate examples of how white producers of the magazine enforce previous discourse of white supremacy; express the desire to educate and civilise the black reader to Western standards of acceptability, or stereotype the black South African as traditional and ethnic-centric. The findings will also measure the influence of the black reader in exercising power and independence through excorporation and self-stylisation, or in the choice to assimilate to a bourgeois middle-class South Africa. Lastly, the analysis will also determine the current *Drum's* producers' willingness to sustain and reproduce some of the iconic historical symbols and discourses of the iconic magazine. The findings are a surface analysis of *Drum* discourses based on this single edition, and cannot be applied broadly to all recent, post-apartheid editions.

Chapter 5: Results

1. Historic cultural discourses

a. African traditional

Pg	Discursive event	Description	Discursive series
<i>Standard events in Drum</i>			
52	“Culture talk with Pastor Dick” column	Question-answer format advice column on cultural, religious or spiritual issues. Accompanied by photo of black man in suit (Pastor Dick)	Black South African traditional cultural and moral values
62	“Social: Building a better life together” column	Provides examples of groups/communities who share their wealth and skills	<i>Ubuntu</i> – black South African traditional cultural and moral values
<i>Unique events in Drum, edition 11 February 2010</i>			
52	“polygamy”	A traditional model of marriage practiced in some African ethnicities	Black South African traditional cultural values
52	“lobola”	A traditional African marriage proposal ritual practiced by most African ethnicities	Black South African traditional cultural values

b. “Drum Decade” Sophiatown

Pg	Discursive event	Description	Discursive series
<i>Standard events in Drum</i>			
50-51	“Ask Sis Dolly” column	Question-answer advice column on personal relationship issues	<i>Drum</i> magazine iconic heritage
<i>Unique events in Drum, edition 11 February 2010</i>			
30-31	Images of 1940s/1950s fashion	Young black female models in clothing attire and accessories in the style of 1940s formal wear associated with Sophiatown culture	Sophiatown era fashion
30-31	“Get that Sophiatown look...”	Introduction to section	Sophiatown era fashion

2. Discriminatory apartheid and colonial discourses

a. Apartheid subordination

Pg	Discursive event	Description	Discursive series
<i>Unique events in Drum, edition 11 February 2010</i>			
40-42	“Made with love” Valentine’s Day food recipes	Featured recipes are less sophisticated, less complicated, less extravagant, with cheaper ingredients in comparison to the <i>YOU</i> recipes, e.g. fish kebabs with vegetables, speedy breakfast (eggs, toast, sausages), easy butter chicken, banana boats	Racist, stereotyped discourse of the unsophisticated, uneducated, underprivileged black South African
62	“Khayaletu burial society”	A group of women from “poor backgrounds” who pool money together to be able to afford funerals for family members. In <i>YOU</i> , this section is about buying a car on auction	Racist, stereotyped discourse of the underprivileged black South Africa

b. Modern-day civility manuals

Pg	Discursive event	Description	Discursive series
<i>Standard events in Drum</i>			
27	“betterlife”	The title of the lifestyle section of <i>Drum</i> magazine. In comparison to <i>YOU</i> where the section is simply entitled, “Lifestyle”	Colonial discourse seeking to “civilise” and advise according to Western standards
44	“HIV update”	Regular information on services provided to HIV sufferers. Significantly included in first betterlife edition and not found in <i>YOU</i>	Colonial discourse seeking to “civilise” and advise according to Western standards
47	“Ask Dr Fred” column	This Western medical advice column is only found in <i>Drum</i> , not in <i>YOU</i>	Colonial discourse seeking to “civilise” and advise according to Western standards
58-59	“ <i>Drum</i> Entrepreneur” column “cut-out-and-keep”	Column exclusive to <i>Drum</i> . Examples of small-scale self employment businesses. How to start your own business and tips. The instruction to “cut-out-and-keep” emphasises the educational intentions	Colonial discourse seeking to “civilise” and advise according to Western standards
52	“Culture talk with Pastor Dick” column	Advice on spiritual problems disseminated by a Christian leader/authority (pastor)	Colonial discourse seeking to “civilise” according to Christian standards

3. Contemporary discourses

a. Self-stylisation

Pg	Discursive event	Description	Discursive series
<i>Unique events in Drum, edition 11 February 2010</i>			
30-31	Instructions on how to modernise conventional gloves with own details	Pictorial demonstrations of detailing gloves with buttons	Individualise mass produced garments for a unique identity

b. Excorporation

Pg	Discursive event	Description	Discursive series
<i>Standard events in Drum</i>			
31	“Shisa”	Contemporary African term meaning “hot” – used as the title for the trendy fashion section	Colloquial black South African terms translated from English
51	“Bra Lucas”	“Bra” is a derivative of “brother”, widely adopted in various African societies and the African Diaspora as terms of respect for a fellow male contemporary	Colloquial African terms derived from English
50	“Sis Dolly”	“Sis” is a derivative of “sister”, widely adopted in various African societies and the African Diaspora as terms of respect for a fellow female contemporary	Colloquial African terms derived from English
<i>Unique events in Drum, edition 11 February 2010</i>			
30-31	Instructions on how to modernise conventional gloves with own details	Pictorial demonstrations of detailing gloves with buttons	The action of individualising mass produced garments for unique identity

c. Bourgeois solidarity

Pg	Discursive event	Description	Discursive series
<i>Standard events in Drum</i>			
28-31	“ <i>Drum</i> Fashion” column	Clothing from boutique shops as well as high-end retail outlets – much like in <i>YOU</i>	Western middle-class fashion trends
32	“ <i>Drum</i> Beauty” column	Beauty products and tips are the same as in <i>YOU</i> – only difference is the use of a black model	Western middle-class beauty trends

33-34	"Drum Décor" column	Decorating tips for living spaces for the bourgeois class	Western, middle-class home décor trends
58-59	"Drum Entrepreneur" column	Section exclusive to <i>Drum</i> . Examples of small-scale self employment businesses. How to start your own business and tips	Western, capitalist ideal of working hard and creating your own wealth
60-61	"Drum Careers" column	Section exclusive to <i>Drum</i> . Examples of people who are working in a specific vocation – includes the job description, skills, qualifications, perks etc.	Western, capitalist ideal of working hard and creating your own wealth
<i>Unique events in Drum, edition 11 February 2010</i>			
33-34	"Trendy Tables"	Furniture featured is generally fashionable (from a Western middle-class perspective)	Western, middle-class home décor trends

Chapter 6: Discussion

This discussion centres on the plausible discourses in editions of *Drum* magazine published by Media24 in the post-apartheid era, as posited by the theory on historic cultural discourses and repertoires of *Drum* (Clowes: 2008; Samuelson: 2008; Rawerda: 2007; Odhiambo: 2006); lingering racial apartheid and white supremacist discourses (Steyn: 2001), and the current discourses and cultural repertoires of the emerging black middle class, particularly evident in consumer magazines (de Robillard: 2009; Laden: 1997, 2003; Nuttall: 2004; Mbembe: 2004). The results of the discourse analysis will be discussed in reference to the core theorists, citing the prominence of the discourse in the analysed section, in direct comparison with the corresponding edition of *YOU* where relevant, and in context of the applicable readership demographics (AMPS: 2009A).

African traditional

“betterlife” in *Drum* indicates the sustained importance and presence of traditional African practices and values in the lives of middle-class black South Africans in 2010, with the inclusion of a dedicated column to “cultural, religious or spiritual” issues entitled, “Culture talk with Pastor Dick”. The column includes a space for Pastor Dick to offer a personal, subjective perspective on the topic, as well as a question-and-answer forum where readers have the opportunity to ask questions answered by Pastor Dick. This column is exclusive to *Drum* “betterlife”, with *YOU* or *Huisgenoot* not offering any similar form of spiritual or cultural advice for its readers.

Although the column states it addresses spiritual and religious issues along with cultural, the particular edition analysed is solely directed towards cultural clashes within black South African society and the resulting moral implications. The theme of this particular column is marriage, a tradition which despite being partly Westernised for black South Africans in contemporary society is still deeply entrenched in traditional African customs which have been practiced for generations (de Robillard: 2009, pg. 172-173). Pastor Dick’s personal column on

marriage is a lament for “black people” who “have modernised and moved away from the rural areas to the city in search of jobs” who continue to disintegrate “our culture” and lose “our traditions”. Examples of this disintegration of traditional African culture and values in relation to marriage for Pastor Dick include the practice of *vat-en-sit*, when couples co-habit before marriage, and the questioning or abandoning of the *lobola* practice (similar to a dowry offering for the bride-to-be).

Pastor Dick not only adopts a discourse which confirms that African traditional values are equitable with moral values (“We need to sit down with our kids and explain the role of culture in marriage. If we do nothing now, we could become a nation with no moral values guiding us”), he also evokes mystical and superstitious realms of African cultural belief: “Any misfortunes that befall them such as barrenness, death, sickness or losing a job would be attributed to the fact that there was no blessing from the family and friends”. The prominence of this conservative, traditional African discourse in the column indicates that the *Drum* staff members believe there is strong support and demand for this belief system in their readership. The accompanying personal letters in the column, with more questions and conflicts on *lobola* and *vat-en-sit*, demonstrates that there is indeed a demand from the readers themselves, and therefore a need to address traditional African cultural questions, especially as they intersect with secular, Christian and Western traditions and beliefs in South African society. These letters introduce another traditional African marriage custom, namely that of polygamy – which Pastor Dick attempts to support with a conservative patriarchal discourse that justifies why men may take more than one spouse and not *visa versa*.

Another example of traditional African discourse evident in *Drum* “betterlife” is the “*Drum MONEY*” column which promotes a traditional African economic system structured on the sharing of wealth in families and communities as opposed to individualist, capitalist accumulation of wealth. It promotes the traditional African value of *ubuntu* and the traditional economic practice of a *stokvel*. *Ubuntu* is a Zulu word reflecting a traditional African philosophy meaning, “a person is a

person through other persons” (Louw: 1997, pg. 2), which promotes respect, human dignity and compassion for others in a society with equality between members and a loyalty to the group (Louw: 1997, pg. 1-2). *Drum* “betterlife” mirrors this value in the community-orientated by-line to “*Drum* MONEY”, “Building a better life together”. A custom by which this ethical philosophy is practiced is in a *stokvel*, “a type of credit union, or communal buying group, in which a group of people enter into an agreement to contribute a weekly, fortnightly or monthly fixed amount of money to a common pool, to be drawn in rotation according to the rules of the particular *stokvel*” (Lukhele: 1990, pg.1). These funds could be paid out in annual lump sum payments, or distributed to those who require the funds for unexpected events, such as a funeral. This practice has been traced back to when black South Africans first began entering the money economy in the early 19th century (Wits Business School: 2008, pg. 3). This economic system of collectively saving and redistributing wealth is vastly divergent from the Western capitalist philosophy of individual wealth accumulation. The corresponding “Your money” column in *YOU* provides advice from a dedicated financial journalist. In this particular example, the column provides tips and advice for buying a motor vehicle on auction. The financial advice in *YOU* supports the structured, formal money economy practiced in international commercial finance.

The presence of this traditional African discourse of *ubuntu* and traditional African practices of *stokvel*, *lobola* and polygamy in *Drum* indicate that the Media24 editorial team surmises that these values, systems and discourses exist in black South African society and are worth supporting and validating by reproducing them in *Drum*. Significantly, although the majority of *YOU* readers are black, this traditional African discourse is restricted to *Drum*. A justifiable reason is that *Drum*’s readers represent a larger rural black readership as well as a larger proportion of less affluent readers. Yet this justification contradicts research on *stokvels* which show that burial societies are not confined to poor or rural South Africans, and that black executives in urban areas participate in sophisticated *stokvels* (Wits Business School: 2008, pg. 2); as well as the fact

that *lobola* and polygamy is also practiced in affluent and urban communities. In terms of Foucault's theories on the order of discourse, the exclusion of the African traditional discourses in *YOU* could be attributed to the division of reason or madness (1981, pg. 114), according to Western standards. The conservative traditional African values, and belief in the mystical consequences if the standards are not adhered to, would be classified as superstitious and irrational by the Western reader. This discourse of madness, or at least unreasonableness, would therefore be excluded from *YOU*.

Drum Decade, Sophiatown

The "Dear Dolly" agony aunt columns in *Drum* can be traced back to the magazine's earliest years in the 1950s when popular entertainer, Dolly Rathebe, wrote the column. This iconic black female jazz singer and actress was a trendsetter in her time and came to symbolise black African urbanity and many believed her image embodied Sophiatown itself (Clowes: 2008, pg. 65). In more recent times, the "Sis Dolly" agony aunt columns have been associated with long-time *Drum* employee, Liz Khumalo, who began her career at *Drum* in 1972 as founder Jim Bailey's secretary, and rose to become the editor-in-chief of the magazine. She wrote the "Sis Dolly" column from 1979 and continued until after her retirement in 2001 (*Mail & Guardian*: 1997; Sekano: 2001). This long standing tradition of the "Sis Dolly" agony aunt column in *Drum*, despite the identity of the author, is one way that the current Media24 owners and publishers of the magazine retain some of the original *Drum* identity and heritage in the "betterlife" section. This demonstrates the ordering of discourse according to the internal procedure of the author-function, which unifies a particular group of statements and allows its distribution (Foucault: 1981, pg. 119). Although Foucault originally described the author-function to order and validate discourses in the realms of science and literature, the concept applies in this fairly frivolous discourse of relationship advice as the content is only validated by qualifying it with the author of Sis Dolly. The attribution of the author of Sis Dolly is what

authorises or validates the advice provided, even though the current author of the advice is not a known expert or trusted source. This is made possible thanks to the process of the ritual (Foucault: 1981, pg. 123) of the “Sis Dolly” advice columns. The continuous practice of Sis Dolly as an expert relationship adviser, from the days of “Dear Dolly” Rathebe in the 1950s and the loyal *Drum* employee Liz Khumalo of later decades, allows the now faceless and nameless Sis Dolly the qualification to disseminate advice. As with most relationship advice columns in consumer magazines, this advice is predominantly centred on commentaries (Foucault: 1981, pg. 117) on the existing vast body of relationship psychology discourses and moral and ethical guides based on primary Western texts, such as the declaration of human rights and religious texts.

Although not a permanent or regular feature of “betterlife”, it is worth noting that the first edition’s fashion pages encourage readers to “get that Sophiatown look”, picturing several 1950s outfits and accessories that are associated with the Sophiatown era. This perhaps indicates that the editors, and particularly the black fashion editor and assistant editor, are recalling the significant connection of *Drum* magazine with the culture and fashion of the Sophiatown era. This aligns with Samuelson’s (2008, pg. 69-70) assertion that the black urban modernity that Sophiatown represented will never be erased, and that it is a “usable past from which to craft new modernities”, especially in fashion and film (*ibid.* pg. 71). The images and symbols of this usable past of the Drum Decade in Sophiatown are possibly even more significant to the South African black population as the beginning of the black urban middle-class in the country and even the continent. This part of history could instil a measure of pride which was largely denied to black South Africans during the days of subordination and repression during apartheid.

Apartheid subordination

The racist and white supremacist discourse which still circulates in South African society (Steyn: 2001, pg. 11-22), is not expected to be candidly or frankly

apparent in *Drum* magazine due to its sensitive, taboo and even unconstitutional nature. The racist, stereotyped discourses informed by irrational scientific and religious statements of early centuries (Steyn: 2001, pg 11-22) is now mostly excluded from the production of statements thanks to the system of prohibition (Foucault: 1981, pg113), which requires the restraint of these now taboo statements in certain places, such as consumer magazines. However, the existence of this discourse in private, interpersonal exchanges, in addition to Media24's historical connection with racist political parties and its current white-dominated ownership, suggest that this discourse may be traceable through comparisons with the corresponding *YOU* magazine's lifestyle section for a general South African middle-class.

Most of the clothing, furniture and beauty product commodities featured in the lifestyle sections are comparable between the two publications in terms of the pricing of the products and their level of status in the brand or retail outlet source. However, there is a distinct disparity in the food and recipe columns of the two lifestyle sections. *Drum* features uncomplicated recipes with basic, everyday ingredients for South Africans, including "Fish kebabs with vegetables", "Speedy Breakfast", "Easy butter chicken" and "Banana boats". The simplicity of these recipes suggests that the producers of the magazine believe the readers to possess basic cooking skills and have a lower income that does not allow for luxury items of food. In contrast, the corresponding *YOU* recipes feature unconventional South African recipes with complicated instructions and sophisticated ingredients such as "Dolmades", "Flat Breads" with cherry tomatoes, anchovies, olives and capers, "Beetroot and rocket salad", "Pomegranate drink with lemongrass", "Roast pork loin rack", and "Baked cheesecake with fresh strawberries". These readers are assumed to possess a more experienced palate in Westernised definitions of sophistication, as well as the income to purchase some of the delicacy ingredients.

Referring to the demographics of the magazines, the larger proportion of rural readers in *Drum* (31% as compared to 8% for *YOU*) might justify the varied levels of Western-conceived ideas of sophistication between the two publications, since

rural readers have limited access to rarer ingredients. Also supporting this assumption is the higher proportion of *YOU* readers in the highest income brackets. However, this assumption or deduction ignores the over a quarter of *Drum* readers (27%) who also fall into the top two income brackets, as well as the 45% of middle income earners (see Table 1). While *YOU* has a similar amount of middle income earners at 48%, this readership as a collective is classified into a more affluent and sophisticated class when assigning recipes. In contrast, the middle income *Drum* readers are rather grouped with the lower income groups (28%) than the higher income groups (27%) when selecting the value of ingredients or familiarity with Western sophisticated dishes.

Notably, the food and recipe column is the only column in the lifestyle section where the commodities are not promoted through listing its retail provider and the retail value. The promoted items in the fashion, beauty and decor columns are presumably sponsored while the ingredients in the recipe column are not. This is significant as it is then a jurisdiction where the editors are able to select the products according to what *they* assume is appropriate for the readership, instead of it being dictated by sponsors or advertisers.

White superiority in the realm of finance and wealth is also evident in the comparison of *Drum* and *YOU* in the “money” columns. As discussed above, “*Drum* MONEY” focuses on the social, communal and traditional African financial practice of *stokvels* or burial societies, while *YOU* features professional financial advice in line with Western methods of saving and purchasing as promoted by commercial banks and investors. The discourse of the “*Drum* MONEY” column is couched with phrases such as “poor backgrounds” and “struggle to pay”, associating this custom with poverty and a desperate resolution to save. *YOU* readers are provided with expert financial advice on advanced levels of economic activity (e.g. advice on buying a car on auction), while *Drum* readers are provided social advice on managing a *stokvel* from unnamed, laymen members of the Khayaletu Burial Society. Studies on burial societies support *Drum*’s inclusion of the *stokvel* method of saving, with statistics showing that it is a vastly popular social practice with over eight million members of burial societies in South Africa

in 2002 (Wits Business School: 2008, pg. 1). However, these studies have also shown that these societies are not confined to poor or rural South Africans, and that black executives in urban areas also participate in sophisticated *stokvels* (Wits Business School: 2008, pg. 2). The encouragement to responsibly save money by the *Drum* editors conveys a negative white liberal view which does not have faith in the incumbent black government to cater for its poorer citizens, or in the self-reliant capacities of the black citizen. The discourses of expert financial advice is limited to *YOU* readers who are perceived to be qualified to understand and utilise this discourse, a system of inclusion based on fellowship (Foucault: 1981, pg.123-124). In other words, *YOU* readers have access to this advice based on their conceived level of education, income and social class.

The lack of professional opinion replaced by nameless sources disseminating advice in the first person, in addition to the association of poverty with the subjects of this “*Drum MONEY*” column, articulates a somewhat degrading and patronising view of the practice of *stokvel*, the Khayaletu Burial Society, and by implication, the readers of *Drum*. This is especially inappropriate when considering the demographics of *YOU* which show that 45% of the readership has a household income of less than R8000 – suggesting that information on *stokvel* savings may be relevant to this group too (especially as 43% of the readers are also black and may already practice this as a cultural tradition).

Modern-day civility manuals

Steyn’s (2001, pg. 59-60) evidence of the continuing circulation of colonial discourses in the relations between black and white South Africans derives from an obligation to educate and civilise black South Africans to conform to Western societal norms. Laden (2003, pg. 197) extends this in her research on black consumer magazines, suggesting that they assume a role of “modern-day civility manuals” and a source of aspirational lifestyle options. This social appropriation of discourse is an example of one of Foucault’s (1981: pg. 125) systems of inclusion which assists in repeating and affirming certain types of authoritative

discourses to maintain the societal status quo. As Foucault states, “any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledges and powers which they carry” (1981, pg. 125). The educational function of black consumer magazines, including *Drum*, is a catalyst to assimilate or domesticate black readers into the ideologies that consumer magazine producers and funders prefer to circulate, such as capitalism, consumerism, democracy and Western social behaviours.

The aspirational and didactic content of the analysed text is best reflected in the title of *Drum*'s lifestyle section: “betterlife”. The invented word suggests that the lives and lifestyles of *Drum* readers can (or need to) be bettered. This is in contrast to *YOU* where the section is simply entitled “Lifestyle”; suggesting that the projected commodities and ideal cultural repertoires are already assumed and practiced by the *YOU* reader. Confirming Laden's (2003, pg. 197) assertion that these magazines provide “hardline education”, “betterlife” includes regular columns on career guidance and tertiary studies (*Drum* CAREERS, *Drum* ENTREPRENEURSHIP), financing (*Drum* MONEY), medial columns instructing readers on basic matters of health, nutrition and hygiene (*Drum* HEALTH, Ask Dr Fred), food preparation (*Drum* FOOD), and family-planning (*Drum* ADVICE). Most of these columns are not found in *YOU*'s “Lifestyle”, while those that are contain alternative content.

There is a very strong focus on self-empowerment through employment in “betterlife”, either as an employee or a self-employed entrepreneur. The *Drum* entrepreneurship column provides an example of an inspirational successful entrepreneurship venture with expert opinion on the reasons of success, plus the “*Drum* five keys to success” tips. It is clear that *Drum* “betterlife” aims to inspire its readers to become self-employed in the difficult employment climate of South Africa. “*Drum* CAREERS” provides examples of particular vocations, trades or professions by profiling an individual's career path, from education to employment. The column provides a detailed description of the challenges, pitfalls, salary, and scope for employability in the market. This again is an attempt in *Drum* “betterlife” to familiarise the audience with the job market and available

career options. Since this is not found in a dedicated youth section, which familiarises young people who are approaching the unfamiliar stage of the working world, the implication is that the *Drum* readership is not believed to have an understanding of available careers or self-employment opportunities and need to be educated about it; at least more so than the *YOU* readers who are not provided with these columns. This is in full support of Laden's (2003, pg. 197-198) statement that "unlike magazines directed at white readers, they [black consumer magazines] do not take for granted their readers' familiarity with the range of urban practices and commodities they address and seek to promote". In addition, the inclusion of this self-empowerment advice confirms a lack of confidence in the current black-dominated ruling party of post-apartheid South Africa, communicating a negative white liberal view of the country by the producers of *Drum*. The inclusion of these sections in *Drum* confirm Laden's (2003, pg. 197) description of black consumer magazines as "hardline education", especially in the "cut-out-and-keep" instruction printed in the entrepreneurship column, which is normally associated with youth or child educational inserts in magazines. This sentiment is very patronising of the black readers of *Drum* who are not perceived to be employable and need to be trained or domesticated into acceptable employee roles. The action of limiting the career and employment advice and inspiration to the black readers of *Drum* becomes a stereotyped response when considering the education levels of both readerships, which are strikingly similar: 43% of *Drum* readers have at least a Grade 12 level of education, and 15% have a tertiary education; while *YOU* has a readership of 46% educated at Grade 12 level and 20% at tertiary level (see Table 1). However, unemployment levels are high in South Africa, and over 31% of *Drum* readers are classified as unemployed, which might justify limiting these columns to *Drum*.

Medical advice columns are common in many general interest consumer magazines, and both *Drum* "betterlife" and *YOU* have health sections which feature various snippets of health facts and tips. However, *Drum*'s health advice is substantially longer, with an extra feature page dedicated to a particular health

issue; in this edition, halitosis (bad breath). This is in addition to the “Ask Dr Fred” column which is a question-answer forum written by a Western doctor. Readers are given the opportunity to send questions regarding health or medical problems, which Dr Fred responds to based on his Western medical opinion. The institutional support of Western, scientific medical knowledge offers the reader the chance to know “the real nature of things” (Foucault: 1981, pg. 115), to have accurate medical knowledge through the expert opinion of Dr Fred. The ritual of restricting this knowledge and power to those qualified to advise, in this case a doctor, and assigning symbols such as a white lab coat and stethoscope, allows Dr Fred’s discourse to be viewed as truth. This will to truth procedure “tends to exert a sort of pressure and something like a power of constraint...on other discourses” (Foucault: 1981, pg. 116); for example, those that promote and validate traditional or alternative medicinal solutions to health problems. In contrast to the traditional African discourses and solutions to spiritual and cultural problems in the Pastor Dick column, there is no evidence of traditional African approaches to medical problems in the *Drum* health columns, such as traditional, herbal medicines or faith healing. This discourse has probably been excluded according to the ordering system of Western reasonableness.

These two additional pages in “*Drum* HEALTH” suggest that *Drum* readers are more in need of medical advice, particularly Western medical advice, since *YOU* does not offer the same facility to its readers in its lifestyle section. As stated above, extending medical advice in *Drum* could not be based on education levels, since the demographics in this regard are almost identical. Possible justifications based on demographics include that rural *Drum* readers have limited access to formal medical facilities, nurses and doctors. However, this assumption may also be a legacy of the colonial attitude of civilising the black South African according to Western appropriate behaviour, and agrees with Laden’s (2003, pg. 197-198) assertion that it is not taken for granted that black readers are familiar with urban practices.

Other topics which Laden identifies in the modern-day civility manuals of black middle-class consumer magazines include education on family-planning and

sexually-transmitted diseases. The analysed edition of *Drum* includes a double-page spread of information and advice on unwanted pregnancies, as well as a regular “HIV Update” insert. The action of educating black readers on sexual behaviour could stem from supporting statistics which show the higher prevalence of HIV/AIDS among black South Africans than other races (Human Sciences Research Council: 2002) and the association of high fertility rates with black South Africans and poverty (South African Regional Poverty Network: 2008). This assumption or stereotype could also be attributed to colonial discourses which “exaggerated the physicality in general, and sexuality in particular of Africans” (Steyn: 2001, pg. 15). The unwanted pregnancy feature in the “*Drum* ADVICE” column is dedicated to dealing with unexpected pregnancies out of wedlock, particularly for teenagers and young, unmarried women. The article focuses on the negative consequences of unexpected pregnancies, including quitting of school, breaking the news to unsupportive family members, the high costs associated with pregnancy and child-rearing, and unsupportive biological fathers. The generally discouraging and cautionary article agrees with Laden’s (2003, pg. 199) findings that black middle-class magazines tend to “confirm the desirability of the ‘nuclear family’, while denouncing teenage pregnancies, abortion, and the widespread practice of childbearing out of wedlock”. In addition to this section is an “HIV Update” insert in the “*Drum* HEALTH” spread, not located in the corresponding “*YOU* Health” snippets, which provides useful contact details of supporting organisations. The title to the insert suggests that HIV is a regular topic in “*Drum* HEALTH”.

The colonial missionary legacy is another highly influential factor in the discourses of the “Culture talk with Pastor Dick” column. Pastor Dick has the authority and implied wisdom to disseminate advice on spiritual, religious and cultural issues for black South Africans. Without any background on this columnist, it is assumed that his authority on these matters can be attributed to his title within the Christian structures. The authority of Christian leaders stems from the colonial period when Christian missionaries travelled throughout South Africa during colonisation to educate and civilise the indigenous peoples in the

Christian truth and way of life (Steyn: 2001, pg. 11-16). Many black South Africans adopted Christianity as their religion and moral guide, making Christianity the dominant religion in the country today with 80% of the population citing it as their faith (South African Census: 2001). This provides a ritual system of inclusion (Foucault: 1981, pg. 123) that allows Pastor Dick to circulate his statements on a public scale since he is qualified to do so with the symbolic title of “pastor”. The presence of Pastor Dick within *Drum’s* “betterlife” shows that the colonial discourse of Christian authority is still circulated and accepted in contemporary black South African society; hence spreading the influence of Euro-centric, Christian-Judeo ideology and values in contemporary South African culture and discourses. This is the case despite the fact that the new post-1994 constitution characterises the country as being a secular state.

Self-stylisation and excorporation

Consumer magazines provide spaces in which self-stylisation can be expressed through the creative forces which are involved in its production, especially in fashion trends which is a “central technolog(y) of self-stylisation” (Samuelson: 2008, pg. 71). As *Drum* is a plausible platform where hegemonic, middle-class, bourgeois repertoires meet with traditional African cultural repertoires, this could create opportunities for self-stylisation in *Drum* for its readers in conflict between contrasting ideologies, repertoires and discourses (this conflict is expressed through moral conflict in Pastor Dick’s column on cultural issues). It also offers the opportunity to exercise excorporation, when black South Africans form their own cultural repertoires “in reaction to, and never part of, the forces of domination” (Fiske: 1989, pg. 15). In the case of *Drum*, the forces of domination would be the predominantly white-owned and managed publishing company, Media24, which dictates the commodities featured due to its commercial demands.

Despite the propensity for self-stylisation in *Drum* “betterlife” as various contrasting cultures collide, and with a number of black journalists, sub-editors,

analysts, columnists and contributors working side-by-side with white editors and publishers, there is very little evidence of this activity. A minor example in the particular edition analysed is the styling of the Sophiatown gloves in the fashion pages, which demonstrates that one can borrow from commodities of the past (Sophiatown era fashion) and present (buttons) to create a singular and unique commodity. This is also an example of excorporation as the clothing items featured derive from the mass culture industry (clothing retail chains) but are altered or grouped by *Drum* staff to create symbols associated with early South African urbanity. Although these symbols were originally borrowed from 1940s/1950s American gangster culture (Odhiambo: 2006, pg. 160), the symbols have come to be known as part of the cultural repertoires of the Sophiatown era which was not entirely dictated by the dominant white ruling class of the time who were opposed to the prospect of an African middle class. However, this was only a chance event in this edition of *Drum* and is unlikely to be repeated in future editions. The lack of self-stylisation is probably due to *Drum's* classification as a mainstream, high volume consumer magazine which takes on a hegemonic approach to black South African culture and often ignores niche or youth sub-cultures.

Fiske (1989, pg. 106) describes how popular texts such as tabloid magazines (of which *Drum* and *YOU* entail thanks to their celebrity gossip features and sensationalist articles) provide opportunities of excorporation in the misuse of language. According to Fiske, tabloid magazines have “developed a form of language that enables various oral cultures to find resonances between it and their own speech patterns, and to find pleasure in relating the two. It achieves this largely through its departures from official, correct language.” The use of language becomes even more interesting in *Drum* as the publishers use the “middle- and upper-middle-class language” of South Africa (Webb: 1998) to communicate with the 90% African vernacular speakers which consume it. Therefore, the simple injection of vernacular words or phrases, such as *lobola*, already deviates from the dominant system. In addition, *Drum* demonstrates examples where disciplined English language has been appropriated by black

users and made or excorporated into oral, popular words. Two examples are in the title of two columns, “Ask Sis Dolly” and “Test-o-therapy with Bra Lucas”. “Sis” and “bra” are derivatives of the English words “sister” and “brother” respectively, and have been widely adopted in various African societies and the African Diaspora as terms of respect for a fellow contemporary, with a meaning of “shared oppression, common victimization, community of interests, solidarity, and collective activism” (Oyewumi: 2001, pg.1, 3). This is a fairly *ubuntu* application of the words which promotes equality, respect and compassion for every member of society, stranger or not. This is in contrast to the English language in Western society where “brother” and “sister” are reserved for blood-related siblings, with someone that one shares a personal bond, or as sign of Christian fellowship (Clark: 2001).

Another example of subtle excorporation is in the title of the youth fashion pages, “*Drum* SHISA”. “*Shisa*” is a Bantu language word meaning “hot”. In the English language, “hot” can be used colloquially as a term for something that is in fashion or a popular commodity in that cultural repertoire. Using the Bantu word for “hot” in *Drum*’s youth fashion pages could arguably be an example of subtle excorporation as the colloquial English term is abandoned for the direct translation, creating a “pleasure that derives both from the power and process of making meanings out of their resources and from the sense that these meanings are *ours* as opposed to *theirs*” (Fiske: 1989, pg. 127). However, in general, there is no strong indication of the subordinate black South African class resisting and scandalising the dominant white ruling class in *Drum* “betterlife”, with no evidence of oppositional, evasive, offensive, vulgar and resistant language and symbols as Fiske describes. This demonstrates exclusion of discourses based on prohibition (Foucault: 1981, pg. 113), as the employment of these excorporation statements would suggest a measure of power to the users of that discourse if it were circulated in a magazine.

Bourgeois solidarity

Contrary to the resistant and challenging theories against mainstream, mass popular culture, such as self-stylisation and excorporation (Mbembe: 2002; Nuttall: 2002; Fiske: 1989), is the concept of a participatory bourgeois solidarity, which Laden (2003, pg. 202) believes is expressed in black South African consumer magazines such as *Drum*. *Drum* “betterlife” strongly supports this notion in the columns and sections where commodities are promoted. All the featured clothing garments, beauty products and furniture items in the analysed edition are commodities belonging to the Western, bourgeois middle-class which could be hegemonically applied across the middle classes of South Africa, or even Western societies across the world. There is no distinction here that these commodities are unique to a racial culture; and although the specific items might differ from the corresponding *YOU* “Lifestyle”, they still derive from the same commercial retail chains and form part of the same popular bourgeois cultural repertoire and discourses. The *Drum* editorial team is satisfied to promote this bourgeois lifestyle, either as an aspirational ‘better life’-style option for black, middle-class South Africans to promote a bourgeois solidarity; or as one that they believe is suitable or appropriate to the readership. When considering other sections of “betterlife” which provide examples of lower-income appropriate commodities (*Drum* FOOD) and the discourses which aim to educate and civilise (*Drum* CAREERS, *Drum* ENTREPRENEURSHIP, *Drum* HEALTH), in addition to the implication of the title of “betterlife” itself, it becomes apparent that these shared bourgeois commodities may just be conceived as aspirational yardsticks by the producers and readers of *Drum* alike. Another reason for the presence of these bourgeois commodities is the fact that they are priced and attributed to the retail chains as advertising and promotional opportunities for these stores. Therefore, the inclusion of these products in *Drum* may be entirely commercially driven to stimulate spending and may not be assumed to be appropriate for the readership by the producers and editorial executives.

In addition to the middle-class commodities which are promoted are the middle-class social and economic behaviours that are encouraged in the “*Drum* CAREERS” and “*Drum* ENTREPRENEURSHIP” columns, which encourage the

readers to enter into the formal financial economy and become trained in structured vocations and trades. Self-employment and professional vocations are strongly associated with bourgeois values and conduct. The employment of these discourses in a mass media product is another example of the system of the social appropriation of discourse (Foucault: 1981, pg. 125), which gives the bourgeois cultural repertoire of commodities an authority in the consumer and social behaviour of black South Africans.

In total, all of the discourses initially outlined from related theory were identified in *Drum*, although with varying degrees of prominence. There is an intention to circulate traditional, conservative African discourses and practices and an effort to uphold traditions of the Sophiatown legacy of *Drum*. There is also evidence of a willing bourgeois middle-class solidarity between the readerships, although sometimes only after a measure of educating and civilising has taken place through the didactic content. The controversial discourses of apartheid subordination were subtle but can be identified. There was little evidence of self-stylisation and excorporation in this edition of *Drum*, which is conducive to the general, mainstream nature of *YOU* and *Drum*.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The discourses posited by theory and then confirmed in the analysis of the inaugural “betterlife” lifestyle section of a 2010 edition of *Drum* magazine confirm a multifarious content thanks to “the polymorphous features of the emerging South African market and its unfolding black middle class” (Laden: 2003, pg. 211-212). Examples of discourses of the African traditional and conservative are featured side-by-side with contemporary, liberal and Western discourses; while the cultural repertoires of the bourgeois middle-class are presented beside the more modest commodities of the lower-income working class. Often this appears to be an attempt to cater for a broad range of incomes, educations, and dwelling locations which make up *Drum’s* readership. At other times it appears this may rather reflect a confusion or conflict on the actual lifestyles of the *Drum* reader, as the cultural repertoires of the bourgeois middle- and upper-class that produce the trio of magazines mix with the inherent stereotypes of the South African black emerging middle-class.

One of the overarching questions of the analysis was to suggest the readership boundaries between the *Drum* and *YOU* readerships from the analysis of these two corresponding texts. Since *YOU* is predominantly consumed by black South Africans, and both publications are printed in English, what demographic factors drive the separation of the content of these two publications, particularly in the lifestyle sections? From the results of the analysis and comparison of the two lifestyle sections in these editions, the dichotomy that emerged was the African-traditional-conservative on the one hand, and the Western-contemporary-liberal on the other. *Drum* “betterlife” reinforces, encourages and circulates discourses of the traditional and conservative African culture through the dedicated Pastor Dick column, focusing on spiritual, religious and cultural issues. This type of spiritual, religious and moral discourse is often a taboo subject in Western society, and is therefore not found in *YOU* magazine which is aimed at a Western cosmopolitan readership. The *ubuntu* values in the “*Drum* Money: Building a better life together” column again emphasises the influence of black South African values, customs and practices in *Drum*. This is in stark contrast to the

original intention of *Drum* in the 1950s, whose main readership was the rapidly urbanising black South African population which was to be “a symbol of the new African cut adrift from the tribal reserve – urbanised, eager, fast-talking, brash” (Samuelson: 2008, pg. 65). Clowes’ (2008, pg. 186) research on editions of *Drum* from 1951 to 1983 found that “*Drum* tended to take the side of the young and the urban against the rural and the old”, with rural, traditional and ethnic practices often ridiculed. The subsequent purchase of the magazine by Naspers/Media24 and the engagement with these traditional African discourses is one of the ways *Drum* separates itself from its sister English magazine, *YOU*, which portrays mostly liberal, Western and contemporary discourses in the two analysed corresponding editions.

In other areas, “betterlife” lives up to its name by wanting to ‘better’ the lives of its readers through educational and didactic content, predominantly based on Western ideology, such as the Western medical and health advice from Dr Fred. The entrepreneurship and careers columns, exclusive to *Drum*, is an invitation to the reader to join the working bourgeois middle-class through owning one’s own business or contributing to society in the working world after achieving a formal education or skill. The intention of *Drum* to function as an educator for its readership, more so than *YOU*, could be interpreted as condescending and patronising. Yet this intention simultaneously illustrates the desire to uplift and empower the readership, and is not sustaining apartheid ideology of subordination by limiting the middle-class to the white race. The one regression in the upliftment intentions of “betterlife” is in its recipe section, where the readers are not challenged to attempt the more complicated dishes with sophisticated ingredients, according to Western standards. While acknowledging the need to consider the resource capacities of rural readers of *Drum*, the recipes are divergent from the cultural repertoire of the bourgeois and middle-class which features in other commodity promoting sections of “betterlife”, such as in the clothing, beauty products and décor columns.

The African-traditional-conservative and the Western-contemporary-liberal discourses are able to co-exist in *Drum* without threatening each other for the

most part; yet there are areas where the African-traditional-conservative perspective is deliberately excluded, such as in relation to medical solutions. It is clear here that the “will to truth” influence on ordering discourse (Foucault: 1981, pg. 115), the quest for accurate and reliable knowledge, is based on the institutional support of scientific reason and Western beliefs. Even the source of the most ardent of African traditional beliefs in *Drum*’s “betterlife”, Pastor Dick, is still dominated and influenced by Western culture with his Christian title which gives him his authority, as well as his depiction in the accompanying photo in a formal suit (as opposed to traditional African attire). The African traditional discourse is ordered and controlled in such a way that it does not infringe on Western scientific reason and the capitalist commercial environment and intentions of the consumer magazine.

The height of the bourgeois cultural repertoire of commodities in *Drum* is displayed in the fashion, beauty and décor sections of “betterlife”. Although not identical to *YOU*, the commodities’ prices and origins are comparable and can be described as belonging to the high-end market. In these sections, the *Drum* reader is encouraged to be part of the consumer culture, which Laden (1997) calls “an aggregate of cultural repertoires”. The socio-economic playing field is levelled and the *Drum* reader is perceived as capable of adopting this lifestyle; or at least of aspiring to this lifestyle. There are, however, areas where this discourse is limited or excluded, such as in the recipes and money columns, when these discourses or cultural repertoires are not deemed appropriate for the reader. This is another area where the multifarious discourses appear to conflict with each other, as some declare the *Drum* reader as an already active participant of the bourgeois culture (fashion, decor, beauty), in others encourages the reader to attempt to join this class in the future after becoming civilised through education and hard work (entrepreneur, careers), while in others the repertoires seem to be unattainable (recipes, financial).

Drum’s status as a general interest magazine and title of a commercial media conglomerate does not allow for the inspiration of new trends or challenges to the status quo; for which the original *Drum* of its early years was known. Minor

examples of colloquial language and do-it-yourself sewing crafts are not significant enough examples to suggest these discourses are circulated or encouraged in *Drum*. The result is a lack of examples of self-stylisation through niche cultures or the acts of rebellion through excorporation. The readers are invited to passively imbibe the lifestyle options presented to them through the mass media. The discourses within “betterlife” are ordered by the systems and procedures of exclusion and inclusion according to Foucault’s order of discourse theory (1981, pg. 113-125), and the influence of the economically powerful who control discourse to maintain the status quo. The discourses which are taboo or sensitive are prohibited (racist, bigoted), as well as those that may be contradictory to scientific reason (African mysticism, superstition). The educational information which is included, acting as a catalyst for the social appropriation of discourse, offers the reader an explanation of the real nature of things from those qualified to advise (doctors, pastors). Alternatively, Laden (2003, pg. 194) proffers that the range of middle-class goods, lifestyles and cultural activities in black middle-class consumer magazines are not “simply opposed from above” by editorial teams, but are instead “discriminately filtered and ‘chosen’ by their proponents”. *Drum* magazine therefore becomes a site not of struggle, but of renegotiation and experimentation. It includes reviving or sustaining indigenous customs, values and beliefs while endorsing modern consumer practices and the global community.

Consumer tabloid magazines may not always receive recognition as credible tools of rich cultural information, yet they are credited as significant indicators of, and contributors to, the dynamic socio-economic change in South Africa throughout the post-apartheid years; creating an increasingly more integrated consumer culture. However, the separation of *YOU* “Lifestyle” and *Drum* “betterlife” in its content and themes will negate the integration efforts, with the same publishing house creating a distinction between the lifestyle needs and aspirations of the black middle-class and the hegemonic cosmopolitan South African middle-class. If African traditional culture is to be the distinction, it needs to be applied throughout the lifestyle mores and not restricted to certain areas.

Instead, the recurring “betterlife” columns act predominantly as social grooming tools to encourage the emerging black middle-class to become acceptable members of the global middle-class society which promotes consumerism, technology, formal higher education, and socially responsible behaviour. As long as the black readers continue purchasing this magazine, this ideology and its discourses will remain dominant in *Drum*, and the social grooming will continue to be the dominant function of “betterlife”.

Appendix

Table 1: Demographic comparison of *Drum* and *YOU* (AMPS 2009)

Percentage of readership

	Drum	YOU
Race		
Black	94%	43%
Coloured	5%	19%
Indian	1%	8%
Whites	1%	30%
Household Income		
Up to R799	4%	2%
R800-R1399	14%	5%
R1400-R2499	10%	5%
R2500-R4999	17%	13%
R5000-R7999	15%	20%
R8000-R10999	13%	15%
R11000-R19999	16%	18%
R20000+	11%	22%
Education		
No school	0%	0%
Some primary	1%	0%
Primary complete	2%	2%
Some high	40%	33%
Matric	43%	46%
Techn/Dipl/Degree	6%	8%
University degree	4%	5%
Other post matric	5%	7%
Community		
Metropolitan	41%	69%
Cities/Large towns	15%	15%
Villages/Small towns	14%	9%
Rural	31%	8%

* Shaded rows indicate a difference of 5% or less

Bibliography & References:

- Adorno, T.W. & Horkheimer M. 1944. The culture industry: enlightenment as mass deception. In *The Film Studies Reader*, Hollows J, Hutchings P, Jancovich M (eds.). London: Arnold.
- Althusser, L. 1969. Ideology and ideological state apparatuses (Notes towards an investigation. In *Mapping Ideology*, Zizek S (ed.). London: Verso.
- Botma**, G.J. 2008. Honing the tools of journalism research: Herman and Chomsky versus Bourdieu at Naspers. *ICA Conference* May 22-26, 2008 Montreal, Communicating for Social Impact.
- Clark, S. 2001. *Mere Christian community*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.rc.net/wcc/annivp13.htm> [6 December 2010].
- Clowes, L. 2008. Masculinity, matrimony and generation: Reconfiguring patriarchy in *Drum* 1951 – 1983. In *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34: 179-192.
- De Robillard, B. 2009. Something 'New' That's Been Here All Along: The Afropolitan Bridal Couple in the South African Bridal Magazine. In *Persons and Sexuality: Interdisciplinary Reflections*, Moore, A & Zuccarini, C (eds.). Oxford: Interdisciplinary Press.
- Fairclough, N & Wodak, R. 1997. Critical discourse analysis. In *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, van Dijk, T.A. (ed.). London: Sage.
- Fiske, J. 1989. *Understanding popular culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman
- Fiske, J. 1989. *Reading popular culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman
- Foucault, M. 1978. *The history of sexuality: Vol. 1*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. 1981. The order of discourse. In *Supplement to Post-structuralism*, Carusi, A (compiler). Pretoria: UNISA.
- Habermas, J. 1967. *Knowledge and Interest*. London: Heinemann.

- Hodge, R & Kress, G. 1988. *Social Semiotics*. London: Polity Press.
- Holland, D; Lachicotte, W; Skinner, D; Cain, C. 1998. *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Human Sciences and Research Council. 2002. *Nelson Mandela/HSRCS Study of HIV/AIDS*. [Online]. Available: http://www.journals.org/images/uploads/docs/ja_mirroredfiles_HSRC_Mandela_fullreport.pdf. [6 December 2010].
- Kearney, M. 2001. Class and identity. In *History in Person: Enduring Struggles, Contentious Practice, Intimate Identities*, Holland, D & Lave, J (eds.). Oxford: James Currey Ltd.
- Kendall, G & Wickham, G. 1999. *Using Foucault's Methods*. London: Sage.
- Laden, S. 1997. Middle-class matters, or, how to keep whites whiter, colours brighter, and blacks beautiful. In *Critical arts: A South-North Journal of Cultural & Media Studies*. 11(1/2): 120-141.
- Laden, S. 2003. Who's Afraid of the Black Bourgeoisie. In *Journal of Consumer Culture*. 3(2):191-216.
- Lerner, Daniel. 1958. *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernising the Middle East*. New York: The Free Press
- Louw, Dirk J. 1999. *Ubuntu: An African Assessment of the Religious Other*, [Online]. Available: <http://www.bu.edu/wcp/Papers/Afri/AfriLouw.htm> [28 November 2010].
- Lukhele, A.K. 1990. *Stokvels in South Africa: Informal Savings Schemes by Blacks for the Black Community*. Johannesburg: Amagi Books.
- Mail & Guardian Online*. 28 November 1997. *Other mother of the nation*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.mg.co.za/article/1997-11-28-other-mother-of-the-nation> [17 November 2010].
- Mbembe, A. 2004. Aesthetics of Superfluity. In *Public Culture: Society for Transnational Cultural Studies*. 16(3): 373-405.

- Nuttall, S. 2004. Stylizing the Self: The Y Generation in Rosebank, Johannesburg
 In *Public Culture: Society for Transnational Cultural Studies*. 16(3): 430-452.
- O'Malley, P. 2010. *The Apartheid State – the O'Malley Archives*. [Online].
 Available:
<http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01828.htm> [4 April 2010].
- Odhiambo, T. 2006. Inventing Africa in the Twentieth Century: Cultural Imagination, Politics and Transnationalism in *Drum Magazine*. In *African Studies*. 65(2): 157-173
- Oyewumi, O. 2001. Ties that (un)bind: Feminism, sisterhood and other foreign relations. In *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies*. 1(1).
 [Online]. Available: <http://www.uta.edu/faculty/mcosio/PDFs/Oyewumi.pdf> [6 December 2010].
- Rauwerda, A.M. 2007. Whitewashing *Drum Magazine* (1951 – 1959): Advertising Race and Gender. In *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*. 21(3): 393- 404.
- Reisigl, M. & Wodak, R. 2001. *Discourse and Discrimination*. London: Routledge.
- Sekano, P. 2001. *Liz Khumalo retires but Sis Dolly stays on*. [Online]. Available: <http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/citypress/2001/11/11/3/10.html>
 Accessed 17 November 2010.
- South African Advertising Research Foundation. 2009. *All Media and Products Survey 2009A*. Source: Media24.
- South African History Online. 2010. *Drum magazine*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/artsmediaculture/arts/media/drum.htm>
 [4 April 2010].
- Southern African Regional Poverty Network. 2008. *South Africa's Fertility Trends*. [Online]. Available:

- <http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0000104/page2.php>. [6 December 2010].
- Statistics South Africa. 2001. South African Census 2001. [Online]. Available: http://www.gcis.gov.za/resource_centre/sa_info/pocketguide/2009/004_sa_people.pdf [6 December 2010].
- Steyn, M. 2001. *Whiteness Just Isn't What it Used to Be*. New York: State University of New York.
- Van Leeuwen, T. 2005. *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London: Routledge.
- Wodak, R. 1995. Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis. In *Handbook of Pragmatics*, Verschueren, J., Ostman, J.O., Blommaert, J. (eds.). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Wodak, R. 2002. Aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis. In *ZfAL* (36): 5-31.