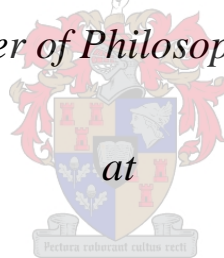


**A Narrative of Omission:
Oral history, exile and the media's untold stories –
A gender perspective**

by

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*Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Philosophy (Journalism)*



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A. Declaration

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B. Abstract

South Africa consists of a vast, culturally diverse population, entrenched in customary tribal influences which are essentially based on stringent patriarchal directives. These spilled over into other societal spheres, one of which is the media, which is part of an existing male hegemonic society. The rationale for this study is essentially to determine the role played by the media in their representation of women, before and shortly after the liberation of South Africa.

This study will establish whether the voices of women were represented, or not, in the media, in the period shortly after the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and affiliated organisations in 1990. By interviewing and recording the oral histories of a few female ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers, the need is evident to, through this oral tradition process, give a voice to these voiceless women.

The theoretical foundations for this study is firstly based on “womanism”. Womanism was born from the shortcomings of feminism (a largely Western concept) that was unable to address the issues unique to the situation of black women. A second theoretical point of departure is the Social Responsibility Theory, a media theory that could, based on research done for this study, play a profound role to the benefit of women.

The methodological investigation is based on a mixed method research approach where Content Analysis (CA) and Grounded Theory (GT) are triangulated with the literature review. The GT processes gave a voice to some unknown female MK soldiers by conducting interviews based on in-depth interview questions. The CA process led to the conclusion that the voices of women who contributed to the struggle were largely ignored by the media.

The researcher found that given the contributions and sacrifices women have made in democratising South Africa, acknowledgement of these efforts are sorely lacking, especially in the media. This study therefore seeks to contribute to the lost and repressed voices of women, and to redress a history of omission to a history of commission.

C. Opsomming

Suid-Afrika beskik oor 'n kultureel diverse bevolking met tradisionele stam-invloede wat essensieel gebaseer is op streng patriargale riglyne. Dit het oorgespoel na ander sosiale kontekste, waarvan een die media is, en wat deel uitmaak van 'n bestaande manlike hegemonese gemeenskap. Die rasionaal vir hierdie studie was om vas te stel watter rol die media gespeel het in die representasie van vroue kort ná die eerste stappe tot 'n bevryde Suid-Afrika.

Hierdie studie wou vasstel of die stemme van vroue verteenwoordig was, of nie, in die media, in die tydperk kort ná die ontbanning van die *African National Congress* (ANC) en ander geaffilieerde organisasies in 1990. Die veronderstelling is dat vrouestemme nie in die media waarneembaar was nie, en dat die situasie teengewerk kan word deur die toepassing van mondelinge geskiedenis. In hierdie geval is die verhale van 'n paar vroulike *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK)-soldate geboekstaaf om sodoende deur die mondelinge geskiedenis tradisie 'n stem te gee aan stemlose vroue.

Die teoretiese grondslag vir hierdie studie is eerstens gebaseer op “Womanism”. Dié teorie het ontstaan weens die tekortkominge van Feminisme (grootliks 'n Westerse konsep), wat nie in staat was om die kwessies wat uniek is aan die situasie van swart vroue aan te spreek nie. 'n Tweede teoretiese vertrekpunt is die Sosiale Verantwoordelikheidsteorie. Gebaseer op die navorsing vir hierdie studie, kan dit 'n groter rol in die media in die belang van vroue speel. Die metodologie is gebaseer op 'n gemengde metode-navorsingsbenadering waar Inhoudsanalise en *Grounded Theory* (GT) trianguleer met die literatuurstudie. Die GT-proses gee 'n stem aan 'n paar onbekende vroulike MK-soldate deur onderhoudvoering wat op in-diepte onderhoudvrae gebaseer is. Die inhoudsanalise proses het bevind dat vroue wat bygedra het tot die Vryheidstryd grootliks deur die media geïgnoreer is.

Gegewe die bydraes en opofferings wat vroue gemaak het in die demokratisering van Suid-Afrika, ontbreek erkenning van hul pogings in ons geskiedskrywing, en beslis so in die media. Hierdie studie was 'n poging om by te dra tot die omkeer van hierdie situasie, naamlik om 'n “geskiedenis van uitsluiting” te herstel na 'n “geskiedenis van insluiting”.

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This study owes a deep debt of gratitude to everyone who played a part in making it possible, especially the women in this study and the ones whose stories still remain “narratives of omission”.

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H. Abbreviations and terminology

Abbreviation	Terminology detail
ANC	African National Congress
ANCWL	African National Congress Women's League
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
BC	Black Consciousness
BMATT	British Military Advisory and Training Team
CA	Content Analysis
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DP	Democratic Party
FAPLA	<i>Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola</i> (People's Armed Forces for Liberation of Angola)
FRELIMO	<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> (Front for Liberation of Mozambique)
FXI	Freedom of Expression Institute
GMMP	Global Media Monitoring Project
GT	Grounded Theory
IFP	Inkhata Freedom Party
JSTOR	Journal Storage
LP	Labour Party
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MMA	Media Monitoring Africa
MPLA	Mozambican People's Liberation Army
MTCM	Marxist Theory of Capitalist Media

Abbreviation	Terminology detail
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NP	National Party
OMA	<i>Organização das Mulheres de Angola</i> Organisation of Angolan Women
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PLAN	People's Liberation Army of Namibia
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
QDA	Qualitative Data Analysis
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACG	South African Consulate General
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAHO	South African History Online
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SB	Special Branch
SRT	Social Responsibility Theory
SWAPO	South West Africa's People's Organisation
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TVBC	Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UN	United Nations
UNITA	<i>União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola</i> National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
USSR	United Soviet Socialist Republic/ Russia/ Soviet Union

Abbreviation	Terminology detail
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WMC	Women's Media Center
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZAPU	Zimbabwean African People's Union
ZIPRA	Zimbabwean Independent People's Revolutionary Army

I. List of Appendices

Appendix A: Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe

Appendix B: Consent form

Appendix C: Example of newspapers data capturing sheet

Appendix D: Memoing

Appendix E: Newspaper Articles: Women referred to as husbands' wives

Appendix F: Interview questions

Appendix G: Example of QDA Miner software programme

Appendix H: Categories and Codes

Appendix I: Categories and Codes: Sample

Appendix J: Umkhonto we Sizwe Military Code

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Problem statement and focus

In this study the researcher will investigate and attempt to establish whether the voices of women in exile were represented, or not, in the media in the period shortly after the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and affiliated organisations in 1990. The ANC was unbanned 2nd February 1990 and this study will review newspaper articles one day after the unbanning of the liberation movements up until 2nd March 1990. The hypothesis is that it is a “narrative of omission”. This study will therefore proceed to record the oral histories of a few specific female cadres who were in exile in an attempt to rectify this omission.

Women played an important role in the Struggle. They did not just keep the “home fires burning”, but were also active participants in the armed Struggle; on equal footing with their male counterparts (Sharma, 1989: 72, 101). Their voices often went unheard, however, and their roles were not acknowledged (Broch-Due, 2005: 217).

Considering that all liberation movements were unbanned on the 2nd of February 1990, one of the foci of this study is to analyse specific media reports for one month after the unbanning of specifically the ANC to establish whether the media included women as sources. The assumption is that women were not acknowledged in the media. The researcher will then proceed to record the oral histories (next foci) of a certain group of women to seek to repair this “narrative of omission” and to suggest ways of rectifying this bias and remnant of male hegemony within newsroom practice to the mainstream media.

1.2 Context

This chapter sets the scene by providing the context for this study, including a historic background of the origins of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). It provides insight into the inner echelons of the organisation. It also offers a general overview of what will be presented in following chapters later in this study.

When MK was created, it introduced a new dynamic in the politics of liberation in South Africa. MK's philosophy is clearly spelled out in the December 1961 Manifesto (See Appendix A). According to Lodge (1987: 1), exile is usually perceived as an experience that is inherently detrimental and problematic. Having to contend with much harsher realities than their male counterparts, this must have been quite a daunting experience for female recruits, as will be seen later in this study.

Rama (2007: 1) asserts that the media world has been male-dominated globally as well as nationally. She feels that women have the right to:

...have their views heard, and the right to see themselves portrayed in the media in ways that accurately represent the complexities of their lives.

Most studies of this nature were generally conducted by males. Studies were therefore seen, approached and experienced from a male perspective. This study will be different, as the oral histories of a select few female cadres will be examined to determine whether women during this period in our history, especially those who participated in the South African Struggle for liberation, were represented accurately and fairly by the media.

Hopefully this study will be an attempt to remedy this omission, if this is found to be the case.

Many women made inroads into many sectors of society without much fanfare from the media, who have been slow to recognise their gains (Rama, 2007: 1). Rama further states that even today, the patriarchal culture of societies is reflected in various media reports and presentations. One can therefore argue that the time has come for women to be acknowledged and to reveal their achievements.

1.3 Research question

In light of the above, this study will ask whether women's voices as sources were present in reportage of the ANC and its affiliated organisations in the period after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990. The research question, in other words, can be formulated as follows:

Were women's voices represented in specific media reports after the unbanning of the ANC, and if not, how can this be addressed?

In other words, the role the media played in reinforcing gender stereotyping, specifically with respect to the role of women in the ANC, will be investigated, and, if the statement proves to be correct, rectified by recording some of these voices of women in the ANC, and specifically women in MK, in order to do justice to the role women played in the Struggle.

1.4 Research goals and objectives

It is assumed that the role women played in the Struggle for liberation was to a large extent downplayed (even almost non-existent) in the media and history in general. This is merely an assumption at this point and will possibly be affirmed by the literature review and analysing the specific newspapers over the specific period of time.

The goal of this study is furthermore to use oral history as a method to record the role specific (ordinary) women played in the South African armed Struggle. It is accepted that many others similarly played an equal or an even more crucial role during this time in the history of South Africa, but which were similarly left unreported. Dyer (2002: 2) argues that history can never claim to be the last, definitive version or the 'absolute truth'. Vansina, Leydesdorff and Tonkin (2006: 14) agree that even in oral tradition, there is no thing such as 'absolute truth'. Inevitably there will be biases; as in all histories. We need to develop different approaches and create grass-roots history, "a history from below" (Dyer, 2002: 2), where the issue of oral research and the fact that we are not hearing the voices of the poor and the oppressed, especially women, can be dealt with. Du Plooy (1997: 91) believes that interpretation of data and explanations of past occurrences are at the heart of historical research.

1.5 Background

After centuries of colonial, racist and patriarchal governments, being denied basic human rights in literally every sphere of life as well as the vote, women have always

faced a myriad of challenges (Walker, 1991: 274). One particular hardship faced by black women was the fact that they were denied rights to own land and property (Frahm-Arp, 2010: 204). The effects of these constraints over centuries are still evident and are confirmed by Goldblatt in Rubio-Márin (2006: 50) when she states that:

[t]he historical legacy of centuries of racism, economic exploitation, and patriarchy is one of highly gendered patterns of poverty and inequality in South Africa today.

Given the aforementioned, one can therefore state that women's realities in South Africa are still determined by race, class and gender-based access to resources and opportunities (Kehler, 2000: 1). It is further asserted by Kehler (2000: 4) that prevailing cultural and social norms regard women as less "valuable" members of society, which is not only reflected in the attitudes and behaviours they experience daily, but also within policy-making and legislative structures.

In light of the above Buntman (2003: 3) believes in providing a clarification on racial terminology on studies dealing with South Africa. Therefore, in terms of people classified as Coloured, Indian and African, this researcher would like to adhere to the Black Consciousness (BC) usage of the term black where these "oppressed shared a common blackness, and were in that sense Black" (Buntman, 2003: 3). However where it is necessary to refer to whites, Coloureds, Indians, or Africans to distinguish between races, they will be duly referred to as such. As Buntman observes:

All the terms remain fundamentally problematic both morally and intellectually, although inevitable for the foreseeable future.

Despite these obstacles, it has always been accepted that women displayed a fighting spirit (Walker, 1991: 274). This is evident when, as early as 1913, as stated by Walker (1991: 27-28), African women launched a "fierce" campaign in opposition to the Pass Laws, the legislation that forced black people to carry identification with them at all times.

This was one of the earliest displays of discontent by black women in South Africa (Sheldon, 2005: xxxviii). In 1913, African women formed a Women's League to

oppose attempts by municipalities to require women to buy passes every month. These passes limited and regulated the independence of African and coloured women (Meintjes, 1998: 63). These disgruntled women launched petitions and demonstrations that ultimately caused the permit requirement to be withdrawn (Walker, 1991: 32; Rappaport, 2001: 432). It resulted in the formation of the Bantu Women's League, with Charlotte Maxeke as president. Arguably, due to the patriarchal way of thinking at the time, she did not enjoy an equal status within the liberation movement. When the ANC was established in Bloemfontein on the 8th of January 1912 (Mzabalazo, 2010: 1), as a woman she could not vote (Walker, 1991: 39). As Josie Mpama (cited in Ginwala, 2010: 8) stated in 1937:

We women can no longer remain in the background or concern ourselves only with domestic and sports affairs. The time has arrived for women to enter the political field and stand shoulder to shoulder with their men in the struggle.

With dedication and conviction women united on the 9th of August 1956, chanting their slogan "*Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodo*" (You touch the women, you touch the rock), as they marched to the Union Buildings, the official seat of the South African government (Creamer Media Reporter, 2006: 1). This is very different from the situation half a century before. In 1913, throughout South Africa, because of strong patriarchal entrenchment, government and politics were generally seen as the terrain of men, and all women, black and white, were denied the right to vote (Ginwala, 2010: 1; Walker, 1991: 25).

The ANC leadership were convinced that "any move to violence had to be controlled and directed by a centralised apparatus" that quickly had to acquire the techniques of an armed struggle (Turok, 2003: 126). Therefore, after fifty years of peaceful resistance by the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe/Spear of the Nation (MK) was formed in November 1961 and started operations on December 16, 1961 (Mandela, 1989: 170; SAHO, 2010a). This occurred after the realisation by the ANC that the South African apartheid government had no intention of alleviating further degradation of the country's black people through "various laws and severe repressive measures" (SAHO, 2010a). According to Barrell (cited in Le Roux, 1992: 115), MK was at its birth a joint venture of radical ANC leaders and the South African Communist Party

(SACP). Le Roux (1992: iv) further asserts that MK was specifically created as the military component of the ANC-SACP, whilst the ANC remained the main political instrument of the liberation movement.

By 1964 the “MK-in-exile” already consisted of hundreds of trained soldiers who were ready to be deployed in South Africa (Williams, 2000: 3, 5). According to Williams (2004: 2; 2006: 52), MK experienced a lot of “teething problems”. Some examples were:

- Detailed records were rarely kept, because of severe censorship and political restriction, characterising the period during which they operated as a guerrilla army;
- Unlike government armies they lacked, once deployed, the benefit of reliable resources;
- They lacked a fixed infrastructure;
- They lacked a capable administrative system;
- They lacked an institutionalised military-historical tradition; and
- They lacked resources currently required to mount a sustained study of MK since its inception.

An alliance formed with the Zimbabwean African People’s Union (ZAPU) and its military wing, the Zimbabwean Independent People’s Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), however proved to have both regional and political significance (Williams & Hackland, 1988: 324; Williams, 2000: 5). This allegiance assisted in alleviating some of the above-mentioned problems. Further alliances with the then South West Africa’s People’s Organisation (SWAPO) and Mozambique’s Front for Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) proved fruitful against the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), who allied with the (SADF) (George, 2005: 172). According to Le Roux (1992: 457) arms were supplied to the ANC by the Soviet Union and between 1966 and the early seventies, ANC cadres were trained in the training camps of ZAPU. In 1976 the first training camp to be opened by the ANC in Angola was Gabela Training Camp and was under the command of FAPLA (People’s Armed Forces for Liberation of Angola) and Cuban instructors. In 1977 it merged with Benguela Training Camp (TRC, 1997).

From the above it is clear that many countries were involved in their own liberation struggles. A few other national liberation movements and political parties have globally incorporated notions of gender equality to the extent that the ANC has done (Hassim, 2004a: 8). In comparison to other national liberation movements that did not include this principle, the ANC committed itself to gender equality as a principle of liberation before it came to power and had upheld this commitment into the democratic era (Hassim, 2004b: 433). In spite of these noble ideals, Thandi Modise (in Gaba, 1997: 2) felt that female MK combatants were marginalised to the extent that male freedom fighters had “a patronising attitude toward their female colleagues that pervaded all liberation movements”.

Despite this commitment of the ANC to promote gender equality, and because of a deep-rooted, entrenched mentality that women are inferior to men, a hegemonic male media were also not attuned to the predicament of women (Nkabinde, 1997: 136). The media did not fulfil its role of being the “voice of the voiceless” with regard to women and their plight (Gallagher, 2001: 139).

One example of how the media not only ignored women, but trivialised and marginalised women because of their gender, is that of the activist Marion Sparg. Ironically, she was also a journalist. According to Cock and Nathan (1989: 63) Sparg was the first white South African publicly known to have joined the ANC’s military wing. Her efforts were trivialised, disregarded and invalidated by the media after her arrest in 1986:

Several South African newspapers depicted Sparg as a failed woman – a lonely, overweight, unattractive female who had turned to revolutionary politics not out of commitment but out of a desire to belong (Cock & Nathan, 1989: 63).

According to Owen (2009: 6) media became detached in the sense that they generally neglected the issues of women and rarely offered a gender perspective in their stories or moved beyond the objectification of women. This is one of the issues that will be dealt with in greater detail in this study.

In terms of this study, the context will be the experience of women MK cadres in exile and their contribution to the Struggle and whether the media acknowledged women in terms of reportage immediately after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990.

1.6 Theoretical points of departure

Due to the nature of this study, the theoretical approach will predominantly be based on Grounded Theory (GT). To provide some background, several relevant media theories will first be discussed, after which this researcher will argue why Grounded Theory is the most appropriate key according to which the phenomenon can be investigated and, consequently, understood.

According to GT a qualitative approach to communication research is primarily based on inductive reasoning (Du Plooy, 2007: 32). This means it is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon (Babbie, Mouton, Vorster & Prozesky, 2001: 498). Babbie *et al.* (2001: 499) go further to assert that GT is an approach that allows one to study a relatively unknown social phenomenon around which no specified theory may yet exist.

Given the nature of this study and the period in our history it portrays, the Marxist theory of Capitalist Media should not be disregarded. According to McQuail (2005: 96) newer, more pragmatic versions of this theory (e.g. the ideas of Althusser, Gramsci and Marcuse) concentrated more on ideas than on material structures. This is reflected by McQuail (2005: 96) when he says that:

[t]hey emphasised the ideological effects of media in the interests of a ruling class, in ‘reproducing’ the essentially exploitative relationships and manipulation, and in legitimating the dominance of capitalism and the subordination of the working class.

1.7 Methodology

For the purposes of this study the relevant research methods for this investigation will be qualitative as well as quantitative.

After an extensive literature review, the data collection techniques to be used by the researcher will comprise of the following:

- Qualitative research methodology: GT that will include in-depth interviews and analysis.
- Quantitative research methodology: Content Analysis (CA) that will include descriptive statistics.

The purpose of the CA is to establish the absence of the voices of women, and then to redress this situation by including the oral histories of some MK women who were in exile through a GT process.

This research and interviews are conducted more than 25 years after the actual events. As such, the researcher has identified the need to ensure that the research results remain both reliable and valid. This risk to the research process will be reduced by means of triangulation.

Two local newspapers, *The Argus* and the *Cape Times*, will be analysed from cover to cover for one month, namely from 3 February 1990 to 2 March 1990 (in other words from one day after the unbanning of the ANC), to determine whether the voices of women in the Struggle were reported in daily news coverage during this important month in South Africa's history.

It is anticipated that women's voices in the ANC would have largely been ignored in this period. The purpose of the in-depth interviews that will be conducted with female MK ex-combatants is to address this "omission"; this oversight. There are masses of information relayed by men about their role in the Struggle, which in a sense negates or refutes the crucial contribution made by women who received the same military training, thus disempowering their role (Gasa, 2007: 246).

1.8 Significance of this study

By far not enough research has been done from a gender perspective in terms of the recording of South Africa's Struggle history. Hopefully conventional views that women did not play a crucial role in the Struggle for democracy will be challenged. Since its inception, the ANC was one of the few liberation movements that had women in its top structures, yet even the ANC Women's League took their direction from the imperatives identified by the male leadership (Hassim, 2004a: 7). Also, despite equality in our Constitution, women's voices are still not heard the way they should be. By means of different research methodologies (mixed methods) this study will investigate the role a specific few women played in the South African Struggle for liberation. This researcher is of the opinion that because this is a relatively ill-researched topic (SAHO, 2010b), the specific use of Grounded Theory methodology is appropriate.

1.9 Definitions

1.9.1 ANC

For the purpose of this study, all people belonging to, or representing the ANC and affiliated organisations are categorised under the ANC. This is partly due to the fact that many leaders and activists inside the country supported the ANC because it was a banned organisation they could not declare their allegiance.

1.9.2 Demobilisation

Cock and Mckenzie (1998: 182) define demobilisation as:

[t]he significant reduction of people employed by the military and their reintegration into civilian life.

Simplified by Soanes and Stevenson (2006: 462) they define demobilisation as taking (troops) out of active service, typically at the end of war.

1.9.3 Exile

For the purpose of this study “exile” shall be used as the state of being barred from one’s native country, typically for political reasons (Soanes & Stevenson, 2006: 607). This is best described by Kallaway (2002: 155) when he says that:

[b]y definition exile politics exist in a world of subterfuge, deception and secrecy. Political exiles have been forced to leave their native land because they are fleeing arrest, detention, or worse or because they cannot live comfortably at home. Political exiles do not normally explain their exile by economic benefits or improved life chances that they might hope to gain, and they may possibly live in worst material conditions than at home...they are implacable and sometimes dangerous foes since they define their very lives by the struggle against the oppressor. ... It is a world of pseudonyms, spies, *agents provocateurs*, loyalty, treachery, and intrigue.

The last sentence borders on romanticising the concept (Allatson & McCormack, 2008: 16). Cognisance should be taken of the fact that all of the above combined with the possibility and mental preparation of the fact that one may never return or ever see one’s loved ones again, dead or alive, constituted exile for most (Allatson & McCormack, 2008: 170-171).

1.9.4 Gender

According to Pankhurst (2000: 13) gender is a term used in contrast to sex; to draw attention to the social roles and interactions between women and men, rather than to their biological differences. She further argues that gender relations are social relations, which include the ways in which women and men relate to each other beyond that of personal interaction. This include the ways in which the social categories of female and male interact in every sphere of social activity, such as those that determine access to resources, power and participation in cultural and religious activities. Pankhurst maintains that gender also implies the social meanings of female and male; and what different societies regard as normal and appropriate behaviour, attitudes and attributes for women and men. Although the details vary from society to

society, and change over time, gender relations always include a strong element of inequality between women and men and are strongly influenced by ideology.

1.9.5 Media

Reference to media in this study will always be in the plural form. According to Wasserman and De Beer (as cited in Voltmer, 2006: 60) the mainstream media under apartheid were largely white and divided along ideological lines. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was almost under exclusive control by the apartheid state, as was the “largely subservient Afrikaner nationalist press”, while the English liberal press, who were tied to mining capital, were merely tolerated by the government (SACG, 2010: 2). On the other extreme were the alternative media, who operated under constant government threat.

1.9.6 Narrative

According to the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Soanes & Stevenson, 2006: 1169), a narrative is the spoken or written account of connected events; a story.

1.9.7 Omission

The *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Soanes & Stevenson, 2006: 1227) defines the word “omission” as someone or something that has been left out or excluded.

1.9.8 Oral history

A simplistic definition as provided by the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Soanes & Stevenson, 2006: 1237) defines oral history as the collection and study of historical information using tape recordings of interviews with people having personal knowledge of past events. Denis and Ntsimane (2008: 3) provide a more detailed version as they go further to describe it as the complex interaction between interviewer and interviewee about events of the past, which requires questioning, as well as listening, on the part of the interviewer. They are further of the view that this encounter shapes the story. The interview is audio-recorded and, when deemed necessary, transcribed for the use of the research community and the public at large.

Grele (cited in Denis & Ntsimane, 2008: 3) refers to it as a “conversational narrative”. A combination of these definitions will be used throughout this study.

1.9.9 Reinscribe

According to Merriam-Webster’s Online Dictionary (2010a), re-inscribe means to re-establish in a new and especially stronger form or context.

1.9.10 Struggle

For the purposes of this study, Struggle refers to a Struggle for liberation from racial domination; Struggle for democracy and a Struggle waged in the furtherance of claims centred on demands for a much greater measure of women’s emancipation and gender equality (Saul, 2009:6).

1.10 Outline of this study

This study will consist of seven chapters that will be presented as follows:

This introductory chapter, **Chapter 1**, will serve as a general introduction to the research problem and will provide an overview and some background on the research topic, as well as definition of terminology.

Chapter 2 will review the relevant literature to clarify the research problem, but also explore the existing vacuum and weaknesses that exist in this field.

In **Chapter 3** the media theories are examined, focusing on the Social Responsibility Theory (SRT) and the Marxist theory of Capitalist Media, to address this “narrative of omission”.

In **Chapter 4** the methodology of the research will be discussed in detail with specific reference to CA and GT.

In **Chapter 5** newspaper data will be analysed through a CA process.

In **Chapter 6** the interviews will be dissected by means of GT that includes transcription, coding, categorisation and the development of theory.

The conclusions will be summarised in **Chapter 7** and recommendations will be made.

1.11 Summary: Introduction

In this chapter the research topic was introduced and briefly indicated according to which theoretical points of departure the subject will be analysed and with which methodologies the phenomenon will be investigated. It also provided specific definitions which will be applied in this study.

The next chapter will discuss the relevant literature pertaining to the phenomenon.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The main purpose of a literature review is to gain insight and explore literature already developed around a project's research question (Mouton, 2008: 87). The researcher will attempt to give an overview of what is written; who the key writers are; what the prevailing theories and assumptions are; what questions are being asked; and what methods and methodologies are appropriate and useful (Deakin University Library, 2009; Mouton, 2008: 87). By highlighting the arguments in these relevant studies, the author attempts to demonstrate what has been studied in the field, and also where the weaknesses, gaps, or areas needing further study are (Hofstee, 2006: 91; Saint Mary's University, 2009). Hart (1998: 27) contributes the following additional reasons for reviewing literature on a given topic:

- distinguishing what has been done from what needs to be done;
- discovering important variables relevant to the topic;
- synthesising and gaining a new perspective;
- identifying relationships between ideas and practice;
- establishing the context of the topic or problem;
- rationalising the significance of the problem;
- enhancing and acquiring the subject vocabulary;
- understanding the structure of the subject;
- relating ideas and theory to applications;
- identifying the main methodologies and research techniques that have been used; and
- placing the research in a historical context to show familiarity with state-of-the-art developments.

Being a registered student at the University of Stellenbosch offered this author reasonably easy access to the University library's off-campus information resources. The Internet was the primary source that was utilised to access the primary databases,

journals and e-journals, which were: *Communitas*, *Ecquid Novi/African Journalism Studies*; Ebscohost; Emerald Insight; Journal Storage (JSTOR); SAGE and Springerlink Journals. Many of the reference books are from the researcher's personal collection, while some were made available by friends, the journalism department and the University library. The University library also has an excellent service called "Ask a Librarian", which offers speedy response to pressing questions about locating journals and other resource related queries. The archives located at the library also provide an invaluable service.

The following are the foci relevant to the central research question, with their primary literature review sources listed below each:

- Literature on how women are represented in the media. The primary sources for this section mainly consist of studies done by:

Byerly and Ross (2006); Freeman (2001); Gender Links (2010); The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP 2005, 2010); Lowe-Morna (2006); Rabe (2002, 2006); Tuchman, Kaplan Daniels and Benét (1978); Rush, Oukrop and Creedon (2004). Other relevant studies will also be discussed in 2.2.

- Literature on women in the MK movement. The primary sources for this section mainly consist of studies done by:

Cock (1991, 1992, 1994); Cock and Bernstein (2001); Cock and Mckenzie (1998); Cock and Nathan (1989); Geisler (2004); Goldblatt and Meintjes (1998); Hassim (2004a, 2004b, 2006); Kimble and Unterhalter (1982); Lyons (2004); Maloba (2007); Suttner (2002, 2003, 2004, 2005), Walker (1991).

- Literature on relevant oral history studies. The primary sources for this section mainly consist of studies done by:

Denis and Ntsimane (2008); Grele (2006); Muller (2008); Sommer and Quinlan (2009); Vansina (1985); Vansina, Leydesdorff and Tonkin (2006); Yow (2005).

Literature that deals with the aforementioned foci will now be discussed.

2.2 Voices of women in the media

2.2.1 Introduction

Because of the traditionally male-dominated media world, nationally as well as globally (Fourie, 2001: xxiv), Rama (2007) in her study *Feminist Perspectives in the Media* emphasised the fact that because men design and define media policies, priorities and agendas, including how women are portrayed and [re]presented, this bias in itself affects images of women in the media. This in turn has a negative effect on women's development.

Many researchers refer to the irony in the term "history": '*his story*'. History, as previously stated, has predominantly been male-dominated (Rabe, 2006: 169). According to Spicuglia (2009: 1) of the Women's Media Center (WMC), the term "herstory", coined by Robin Morgan in 1968, refers to the parts of "her story" which was left out of "his story". She is adamant when she says that:

"Herstory" was never intended to replace or be a synonym for "history", but it is used to "emphasize that women's lives, deeds, and participation in human affairs have been neglected or undervalued in standard histories.

2.2.2 Women and the media ("Symbolic Annihilation")

According to Coleman and Yochim in Donsbach (2008: 4922), the term "Symbolic Annihilation" was coined by George Gerbner in 1972 to describe the "absence, condemnation or trivialization of a particular group by the media". They view it as a concept

[g]enerally applied to women and racial and sexual minorities, symbolic annihilation points to the ways in which poor media treatment can contribute to social disempowerment and in which symbolic absence in the media can erase groups and individuals from public consciousness.

The aforementioned is clear when one scrutinises the statistics provided by Lowe-Morna (2006: 1), in an article called: *Still a man's world when it comes to the media*. According to her,

[a] global survey of the news carried out prior to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 found that women comprise 17% of news sources. Five years later, a similar survey found that the figure had gone up to 18%. For those who have mathematical minds, try doing a projection of how long it will take in these circumstances for women and men to have equalled voice in that most basic barometer of everyday lives: the news.

The previously mentioned statistics are based on research done by the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) over a period of 20 years with five year intervals. As can be ascertained from the tables below, the gross under-representation of women in all spheres is clear.

GMMP: An overview of the representation and portrayal of women as news subjects in four studies done over five-year intervals			
1995	2000	2005	2010
17%	18%	21%	24%

Table 1: Portrayal of women as news subjects in the media. (GMMP 2010: 8)

GMMP: This table shows that as newsmakers women were under-represented in professional categories such as law, business and politics		
Law	Business	Politics
18%	12%	12%

Table 2: Representation of women in professional categories. (GMMP 2010: 4)

Further analysis of the GMMP (2010) statistics shows the “overwhelming finding” of women’s continued near-invisibility in the news. According to the GMMP (2010: 4):

Overall, news stories were twice as likely to reinforce gender stereotypes rather than challenging them. News stories on gender (in)equality were almost non-existent.

This could possibly be contributed to the following reasons in another relevant study, namely that of Rush, Oukrop and Creedon (2004: 276). They identified the following as elements contributing to how women are represented in the media:

- Monolithic stereotyping;
- Blatant discrimination;
- Power;
- Patriarchy; and
- Exclusion.

In their study, Tuchman, Kaplan Daniels and Benét (1978: 17) argue that of the earlier means to problematise representations of women in the media were not only the ways in which they were stereotyped, but to routinely omit or “[s]ymbolically [a]nnihilate” them from the mass media.

Since then, it is clear that not much has changed, since more recent studies (Gallagher, 2001; Byerly & Ross, 2006) confirm that the overall perceptions and representations of women since the 1978 study have more or less remained the same.

Byerly and Ross (2006: 17) also established that these problems were by no means geographically unique. After an analysis of how women in the media are represented, Byerly and Ross (2006: 28) found that in both fictional and factual genres, there are still significant differences in the ways in which women are objectified “along highly codified lines in terms of ethnicity, age, sexuality, and disability”. They emphasised the fact that the ways in which women are represented in the media send important messages to the public viewing, listening, and reading about women’s place, roles and lives.

Rush *et al.* (2004: 277) believe that these “same gender-defined boundaries” or obstacles to women also existed 30 years ago. Another researcher believes more journalists and columnists of both sexes are needed to cover gender issues more thoroughly and to interpret them clearly and fairly (Freeman, 2001: 249).

Rabe (2002: 158) voices her concern that even greater cognisance should be taken of the role of black women, quoting the term the “near invisibility” of the black woman in the media. They were stripped of their rights by apartheid, patriarchy and capitalism (Mthala, 2000: 7). Media have the added responsibility of portraying black women in all their diversity, and so pave the way to a gender-sensitive media also in terms of race.

Based on the previously-mentioned Tuchman *et al.* study called *Hearth & Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*, for which the research was conducted in the 1970s, some of the findings made then, still apply today. According to Motloch (in Tuchman *et al.*, 1978: 185), for example, one of the reasons sex stereotypes are still perpetuated is that they serve the news needs of those who control, own and write the newspapers.

Faqir (2002: 1) believes that:

[i]n the collective imagination, however, women are the source of mediation and dialogue, guarantors of domestic tranquillity in a competitive world, bearers of life, rather than death. Women have for centuries been purveyors and custodians of the positive values of peace and meekness on behalf of society as a whole.

Could this be some of the reasons why the voices of women are still so under-represented in the media? The media is a powerful force that shape the way people think about things and perceive things (Anderson & Taylor, 2006: 70; Gender Links, 2010: 2). Therefore they have the power to transform gender relations in the sense that women should be made visible and powerful in and by the media, but that it still is not the case. This theory will probably be proven later in this study when the contents of two newspapers will be scrutinised and analysed for one month after the unbanning of the ANC to establish how women were represented during this crucial time in South African history.

The media, more specifically the news media, is supposed to provide a mirror on the world (McQuail, 2005: 83). In 2005 the GMMP (2005: 32) did their “Gender of news subjects in local, national and international stories” study. The world’s female

population stands at more than half, 52%, yet the day the study was made, men comprised 79% of news subjects (GMMP, 2005: 30).

2.2.3 Summary: Voices of women in the media

An important issue is the realisation and recognition that gender matters and should be taken seriously. It is clear from the foundational work of Tuchman *et al.* (1978) and the research done later by the GMMP (see Table 1 and 2) and other renowned authors that female stereotypes that emerged then, are still present in current media contexts.

It is evident that the view that the media mirror is currently reflecting, in terms of gender issues, indeed a very inaccurate and distorted picture, especially where issues of presentation and representation are concerned (Rayner, Wall & Kruger, 2003: 159).

There are many reasons, some of which are discussed in this chapter, for the under-representation of women in the media. No matter what the reason, this continued “Symbolic Annihilation” still conveys the impression that women are less important (Strinati, 2004: 168). Banjac (2010: 16) of the Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) describes this omission/ invisibility/ under-representation/ misrepresentation aptly as “gender fatigue of the media”. She questions the possibility of larger obstacles or challenges at play that may be contributing to this fatigue.

It is clear that there is a definite lack of equal representation of women in the media, a sensitive issue that needs to be addressed. In all spheres of life, women are still grossly under-represented, and this needs serious attention. Media is in a powerful position to change this. According to the SRT, media can and should play a more prominent and leading role in revolutionising the stereotype and effectively transform the image of women in the media (McQuail, 2002: 191).

It could be argued that from the literature reviewed in this section it is evident that much more need to be done in order to address the gaps that still needs to be filled in order to solve this challenge. Gender issues have always been “sensitive” topics and needs to be addressed accordingly. Women refuse to be depicted as “victims” in the news, as stated by Rabe (2002: 154):

“women [portrayed] as the victims of circumstances beyond their control – circumstances controlled by men”.

This study will now proceed with a literature review of the second focus under investigation, namely literature on women in MK.

2.3 Women in MK

2.3.1 Introduction

As was previously mentioned, when MK was formed, the organisation comprised mainly of males with Jacqueline Molefe amongst the earliest trainees (Suttner, 2004: 236). Even if women were not formally connected to the organisation in the beginning, they played a crucial role to ensure the success of various military operations (Suttner, 2004: 238-239) and they were involved in different types of underground activities (Suttner, 2003: 5).

As the Struggle became more protracted more women joined MK, so that by the time the struggle was suspended, women made up 20% of MK membership (Mashike, 2006: 4). Women had men under their command, which according to Modise (in Modise & Curnow, 2000: 37) was not an easy feat because “she had to protect herself – not just from the apartheid forces, but also from her own comrades”. All these issues are clearly spelled out in the studies done by Cock (1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995); Cock and Bernstein (2001); Cock and Mckenzie (1998); Cock and Nathan (1989); Hassim (2004a, 2004b, 2006); Geisler (2004); Goldblatt and Meintjes (2006), Kimble and Unterhalter (1982); Mashike (2006, 2007, 2008); Modise and Curnow (2000); Suttner (2002, 2003, 2004, 2005); Sachs (1990) and Walker (1991), which will be discussed in the following section.

2.3.2 A Zimbabwean comparison

After almost 17 years into our democracy, very few South African studies were done on the role women played in the Struggle, and therefore very few voices of women about their contribution to the Struggle for liberation were heard. Zimbabwe, which in all spheres has fewer resources than South Africa (Naidoo, 2008: 2), on the other

hand, has a mass of information about the contribution of former female combatants. Lyons (2004: 10) asserts that in Zimbabwe representations of female guerrilla fighters appear in a wide spectrum of mediums. These include “newspapers, magazines, novels, film, public monuments, and in language use”. This, Charamba (2010) argues, can be attributed to the fact that:

- Zimbabwe’s independence came much earlier (1980) than that of South Africa (1994) and they therefore had a head start in the production of literature in this genre; and that
- Story telling has been a form of therapy for the female ex-combatants.

Lyons’ research is a good example of the aforementioned. Lyons’ Zimbabwean study, *Guns and Guerilla Girls: Women in the Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle* (2004), is a study focusing on female guerilla fighters in the Zimbabwean National Liberation War (1964-1980). Lyon’s study focuses on views that were ignored and excluded about women’s actual experiences of guerrilla fighting from a gender perspective. Although Lyon’s research is from a Zimbabwean perspective, there are many similarities and comparisons to the roles of South African female freedom fighters; thus the importance of this research to this study.

According to Lyons (2004: 282) the focus and forum of her research was largely based on oral histories. It has enabled female ex-combatants to speak out about their experiences of the Struggle where “they could be heard above the din of stereotypes and negative images”. Lyons also established that women were always involved in wars, but “what they *do* in wartime is another matter” (Lyons, 2004: 283). She further argues when the war is over, these women must return to their former roles as if these war roles were “constructed as an extension of their natural feminine functions”. After the war these women were not known as heroines, but they were labelled as “prostitutes” and “murderers”, with the result that many “chose to silence their own voices and history” (Lyons, 2004: 291). They were portrayed as being too strong, unfeminine, and therefore unsuitable for marriage. As a result they did not share this information with anybody. Lyons describes the “reinscription” into society process of these women in detail:

Women’s military roles are reinscribed into domestic roles as mothers, which denies them the benefits of political independence and the benefits

granted to (male) citizens based on their military and political/nationalist roles. This reinscription occurred on many levels” (Lyons: 2004: 213).

From available literature, if a comparative study such as this one should be done on the same topic in South Africa, Zimbabwe will be at an advantage, as Zimbabwe has made massive strides in closure, healing and emotionally dealing with the problem, because talking about it is seen as a form of therapeutic intervention (Botha, 2007: 4; Charamba, 2010). In contrast, according to the National Peace Accord Trust (2010: 1) in a survey of 700 ex-combatants in South Africa, less than 5% received any kind of psycho-social support or counselling for trauma. Besides the trauma of exile, they had to contend with many other obstacles, e.g. lack of education, poverty, health problems and the reintegration into society.

As a liberation movement, the ANC has been responsible for creating conditions for women to take the initiative in contributing to the broader Struggle, specifically the African National Congress Women’s League (ANCWL) played an enormous role. Still, Cock and Mckenzie (1998: 197) assert that during wars women often take on new roles, yet they are expected, without acknowledgement of their sacrifices, to return to their previous traditional roles.

2.3.3 South African studies on women and MK

In South Africa an extensive search on various databases such as Ebscohost, Eric, JSTOR, Nexus and Springerlink, revealed that very few studies have been completed on the topic of women cadres during the Struggle and their representation in the media. In the ANC’s online archives, however, accessible via the Google search engine, the organisation has made some strides towards making historical resources available. South African History Online (SAHO), especially, makes a valuable and accurate contribution of historical events if one should make a comparison to what is provided by reputable authors in writing.

Another valuable contributor and respected author of various books and journal contributions that speaks to aspects of this study, is Jacklyn Cock. As Professor of Sociology at the University of Witwatersrand, together with colleagues Bernstein, Mckenzie and Nathan, she has written extensively on gender issues,

environmentalism and militarisation (Cock & Bernstein, 2001: 151). She provides insight into the connection between women and militarisation and the difficulties of integrating women from primarily liberation armies into national armies. In her book *Colonels & Cadres: War & Gender in South Africa*, Cock (1991) considers warfare from the perspective of the power relations between men and women, which is arguably one of the main obstacles the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) faced after liberation.

Another study, that of Maloba (2007: 36), states that the involvement of women in the Struggle must be seen against the background of apartheid. The Maloba study provides an in-depth and detailed analysis of the roles played by women in seven revolutionary movements in Africa, including South Africa.

Due to “cultural and ideological factors” during the formation of the ANC, women were granted “auxiliary membership”, which denied them the right to vote in the party (Maloba, 2007: 37). The “cultural” argument was based on the fact that the ANC leadership comprised of “conservative men, reared in a patriarchal tradition” and the “ideological” factors were based on the influence of “British liberal traditions”. Only in 1943 were women granted full membership positions. Madie Hall Xuma, the African American wife of the then president of the ANC (1940 – 1949), Dr. A.B. Xuma, became the first president of the ANCWL (Maloba, 2007: 38). This followed after the leadership of Maxeke, as mentioned in 1.5, in the previous chapter. These pioneer women paved the way for those who many years later joined the armed Struggle (Kimble & Unterhalter, 1982: 11).

Since its inception, MK’s strategy had been two-pronged. It was not only about the military seizure of power, but it mobilised and educated the people politically (Kimble & Unterhalter, 1982: 30). Kimble and Unterhalter assert that the Women’s Section of the external mission was weak, but after 1971 when the Women’s Section began publishing its own magazine, *Voice of Women*, the Women’s Section was greatly strengthened by the arrival of new recruits. The study by Kimble and Unterhalter (1982) provide insights into the early initiation processes of women in MK.

A study by Hassim (2006), a South African activist and feminist scholar, focuses on the tensions between feminism and nationalism which pose a disturbing problem for

women's movements globally. Hassim covers various topics concerning women in MK in her books and journal articles.

Also of relevance for this study, would be the Struggles of women within the exiled ANC. One example would be Curnow's interview with Thandi Modise, who revealed the sexual abuse and disrespect women had to endure at the hands of male comrades. Male MK officers, with honourable intents, made submissions to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), in effect implicated other senior male officers who were involved in serious sexual offences against women (Mngqibisa: 1993: 17).

According to Hassim (2006: 96), "the image of the female fighter – the MK guerrilla – became a popular mass image of the strong, liberated woman". Hassim admits that little is known about the actual numbers of soldiers in the South African liberation armies, and even more so, of women soldiers.

2.3.4 The importance of a gender perspective

According to Goldblatt and Meintjes (in Turshen & Twagiramariya, 1998: 34), the human suffering and psychological trauma endured by many women, bears testament to "how gender fed into this experience and added to the burden suffered" especially by black women. They go on to say that "factoring gender into the apartheid equation produces a more complete understanding of South African history". It can also be argued that those women who acted in support of their men who were active participants in the Struggle, should be seen as both victims and resisters in their own right (Goldblatt & Meintjes, 1998: 34). The many unknown women who were "directly active and were detained, tortured and killed because of their own effective opposition to the state", should not be discounted (Goldblatt & Meintjes, 1998: 37).

Another study showed that inside ANC camps there were gross abuses of human rights, including sexual abuse, which was in violation of the ANC Code of Conduct for young female cadres (Mngqibisa, 1993: 14). In his article Mngqibisa accuses some prominent ANC members of violating similar human rights.

According to Geisler (2004: 52), none of the other liberation armies admitted women into higher command structures. The Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) used menstruation

as their primary excuse, while FRELIMO's female soldiers were demoted to carry the weapons used by the men against the enemy (Geisler, 2004: 53-54). Within MK the only woman to ever be appointed as an officer was Jacqueline Molefe (Israel, Lyons & Mason, 2002: 202). She was appointed chief of communications in 1983. In her own words, as cited by Cock in Geisler (2004: 52), "I was the longest serving person in the communications department."

According to Chambers, Steiner and Fleming (2004: 123), women are almost always given "softer" portfolios and are ignored or overseen where more powerful positions are concerned. Women, in all spheres generally, are under-represented in positions of leadership and authority. In the media the gendered nature of the newsroom still persists where women are still given the softer beats (Chambers *et al.*, 2004: 123). In MK, according to Molefe as cited in (Israel *et al.*, 2002: 198; Cock, 1992: 3), although women were deployed in most sections, including those necessitating combat, they were more likely to be found in clerical and office positions. Also in the then SADF women were excluded from combat roles (Cock, 1992: 3).

A case in point would be Thandi Modise whose "independent spirit has led her to being passed over for more senior positions befitting her talents and intellect" (Naidoo, 2007: 1). Cock further maintains that where the two armies (the SADF and MK) differed, was that MK had always been open to females, the women received the exact same training as men and they were respected by their male counterparts. In the SADF, however, "military combat training uses woman-hating as part of its method to turn men into soldiers, a process in which the individual must learn to dehumanise other people and make them into targets" (Cock, 1992: 5). In an interview with SADF conscripts in 1990, these conscripts claimed that women were not respected and mostly referred to as "pieces of meat" (Cock, 1992: 5).

In another study (Cock, 1994: 156) the exclusion of women from combat roles was justified on the following grounds:

- Women are unsuited to killing. It's the task of women to give life and preserve it;
- Women's socialisation is inappropriate;

- Women are incapacitated through physiological functions such as menstruation;
- Women are less mentally agile, less well co-ordinated and accident prone during menstruation; and
- Male chivalry. Men would find it difficult to prevent themselves saying things like ‘after you’ or ‘I’ll take that, it’s too heavy for you’.

After her appointment as Deputy Minister in the Defence Force, Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge (2008: 89) asked one of the generals what the reaction had been to her appointment. He answered that the military did not mind that she was a committed pacifist and a “Quaker” (referring to her faith), but they certainly did mind that she was a woman. Her understanding of this was that the military was confident that they could still change her mind about being a pacifist, but they could do nothing about the fact that she was a woman (Madlala-Routledge, 2008: 88-89; Moix, 1999: 4).

2.3.5 Summary: Women and MK

At present, some inroads have been made in South Africa where the representation of women is concerned, but much more still needs to be done. Concerning their role in MK, women’s recent history remains largely unacknowledged in public discourse on the South African liberation Struggle. According to the literature reviewed, these women were subjected to a myriad of problems that included sexual harassment, discrimination and stereotyping.

In conclusion one can say that it is evident that the role of these women should be recognised in public discourse. They were recruited because they could make a difference – which, according to the literature, they did. They received the same training side-by-side to the males, under very difficult circumstances, and the fact that they were women with less physical power, made their task much harder, still they persevered (Suttner, 2004: 8). This shows that they deserve equal and unbiased representation.

This study will now proceed with a literature review of the third focus under investigation, namely literature on oral history, the media and MK.

2.4 Oral history, the media and MK

2.4.1 Introduction

According to de Rooij (2010: 2):

[c]ontemporary history is usually written by academics with access to the main protagonists, usually politicians or military commanders, inert archives, and press accounts.

He finds it rare for mainstream historians to listen to victims and he alleges that their accounts are seldom incorporated into the “victor’s” history.

Moyer (1999: 2) says that when oral history is accurately executed it gives one a sense of accomplishment. By this she means:

[c]ollecting oral history, we have a sense of catching and holding something valuable from the receding tide of the past.

This could be a great contribution that would allow future generations of researchers access to valuable material (Muller, 2008: 2). Curators, archivists and conservators will also benefit from this valuable source of evidence to have a better understanding of the experiences of a group within a certain historical period.

Ritchie (2003: 39) contemplates whether it is better to interview immediately after an event or wait until years later. He found that oral histories tend to be more extensive later, possibly because the interviewee would have had time for reflection “that better enable them to weigh the events and sort the significant from the trivial”. This study is conducted more than 25 years after the events actually occurred.

Not much has been written about female combatants’ experiences in war or their treatment since their participation (Lyons, 1997: 2). Lyons (2004: 9) asserts that in general, historical writing has diminished or excluded women’s lives and history, but when they are consulted, their stories provide valuable insights into history. Gluck (as cited in Charlton, Myers & Sharpless, 2006: 359) believes that:

[w]hat characterised the work in women's oral history from the beginning was the effort to bring forth women's voices – an effort shared by the new social historians who are seeking to make visible and give voice to those who had been rendered historically invisible and voiceless.

This is one of the intents of this study, namely to give a voice to the voiceless.

2.4.2 Oral history development

Although the fundamental meaning of what oral history is remains intrinsically the same, there are variations in perceptions. Denis and Ntsimane (2008: 1) argue that while valuable contributions were made by researchers such as Paul Thompson and Donald Ritchie, whose works were an inspiration to oral history practitioners, globally their works were scripted specifically for Western audiences. Still, considering South Africa's level of poverty – it being vastly rural with high illiteracy levels, etc. – much of their research is relevant and applicable to our situation in South Africa.

The Sinomlando (2010) Centre for Oral History and Memory Work, based in Pietermaritzburg under the direction of Professor Philippe Denis, made significant contributions in recovering the oral histories of indigenous peoples. Throughout this study, this centre's work and insight shall be utilised. According to Vansina (1985: 147) oral tradition consists of information that exists in memory and "remembering is an activity, a re-creation of what once was". As Baum (as cited in Sommer & Quinlan, 2009: 2) suggests, the goal of oral history is that it is a "good historical account, first-hand, preserved, and available".

The studies by Yow (2005) and Grele (2007) are also relevant, and will be referred to throughout this study. Yow (2005: 356) suggests that irrespective of the purpose of the interviews, "oral history should be conducted in the spirit of social responsibility and with recognition of the interactive and subjective nature of the enterprise". Grele (2007: 35) argues that personal interviews that are properly researched and processed and are filed in manuscript collections and archives can provide the basis for historical research and thus for publications of historians in the future.

One can thus conclude that oral history projects ensure that the voices of those women who fought in the Struggle will not be lost if they can participate in such oral history

projects. One can also argue that such projects allow women to have control over how they are represented (Lyons, 2004: 295).

In her address on the first year after the launch of the Gamohle/ National Archives Oral History Project, the then Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture, Ms Ntombazana Botha (2007: 4), voiced her concerns about the contribution women made to the history of our country, which should get the acknowledgement it deserved. She emphasised the need for this history to be recorded. With reference to past research that has been done, she said:

... it is clear that for centuries African women were pioneers when it came to resisting the wholesale contemptuous degradation ... of women in the social, cultural and political system. And I daresay that women made a significant contribution in the struggle for liberation and freedom.

It is therefore crucial that our history be rewritten to accurately reflect and record the contribution so selflessly made by women (Botha, 2007: 4).

2.4.3 Summary: Oral history, the media and MK

It is clear that oral history has the potential to redefine history, especially in the context of women. Oral history in the context of this study should provide a different perspective in the sense of providing a more realistic take of women's personal experiences, understanding, involvement, beliefs and commitment to the Struggle for liberation.

2.5 Summary: Literature Review

This chapter reviewed relevant literature concerning the main foci of this research study, namely the representation of women in the news media, women and their role in MK and the media, and lastly, oral history and women.

Hart's (1998: 27) reasons for reviewing the literature pertaining to theoretical applications and the identification of the main methodologies and research techniques mentioned in the introductory chapter of this study shall be dealt with in the chapters dealing with these topics. As in the above explanation, the goal of this research study

will be an attempt to fill the gaps pointed out by this literature review. One of the identified gaps in the literature for this specific study is that even though there is a wealth of information available about certain elements focused on in this study these studies are primarily from a male perspective. There cannot be one hegemonic history of any liberation war; there are thousands of stories to be told (Lyons, 2004: 295). Significant and invaluable studies where especially women in MK are concerned were made by Cock and Hassim and their works especially will be extensively referred to in this study.

Chapter 3 shall seek to examine the theoretical framework, specifically Marxist theory of Capitalist Media and others to seek answers to this “narrative of omission”.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Points of Departure

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the theories found to be most suitable for and applicable to the purposes of this study. Littlejohn and Foss (2003: 18) argue that theories are the academic foundation of every discipline. Littlejohn and Foss (2003: 18) believe that no single theory will ever reveal the whole truth, as some theories focus on certain things and ignore others, and this reveals the basic inadequacy of any theory, namely that theory “governs how we approach our worlds”.

According to Fourie (2007: 103), theory has scientific value in that it enables us how “to describe, interpret, understand, evaluate and predict a phenomenon”. The practical value of a theory he ascribes to the fact that it teaches us the skills of “describing, interpreting, and understanding, evaluating and predicting a phenomenon”.

Because this study is primarily a qualitative study with some secondary quantitative elements, Grounded Theory (GT) would be well suited because GT is primarily a powerful research method for collecting and analysing research data. According to Goulding (2002: 41), it may be argued, as is the case with many qualitative studies, that “the role of grounded theory was, and is, the careful and systematic study of the relationship of the individual’s experience to society and to history”. Therefore, this in-depth discussion of this theoretical application (GT) will fit well in **Chapter 4** where the methodology of the research project will be discussed in greater detail.

The researcher will concentrate on three foci of relevance to this study, namely:

Theories applicable to the media in this research study:

- The Marxist theory of capitalist media (MTCM);
- Marxist Theory influence on women;
- Critical political economy theory;
- Authoritarian theory;
- Libertarian theory;

- Social Responsibility Theory (SRT);
- Theories applicable to Women and MK;
- Gender and Womanist theories;
- Feminist theories;
- Liberal, Radical, Socialist and Marxist feminist theories; and
- Womanism in Africa

Theory having an effect on Oral Histories:

- Social Responsibility Theory.

3.2 Media theories

3.2.1 Introduction

The study of media (an aspect of communication) has led to the formulation of many theories which range from (Suresh, 2003: 1):

- Structural and functional theories that believe that social structures are real and function in ways that can be observed objectively;
- Cognitive and behavioural theories that tend to focus on psychology of individuals;
- Interactionist theories that regard social life as a process of interaction;
- Interpretive theories uncover the ways people actually understand their own experience; and
- Critical theories which are concerned with the conflict of interests in society and the way media perpetuates domination of one group over another.

The classical media theories that encompass all of the aforementioned will now be examined.

3.2.2 The Marxist theory of capitalist media (MTCM)

The MTCM can be applied successfully to this research subject because the tradition of Marxist analysis of the media in capitalist society is relevant. It analyses media

ownership and control (McQuail, 2005: 95). According to McQuail (2010: 96) Marxist theory suggests a direct link between economic ownership and the spreading of messages that affirm the legitimacy and the value of a class society. McQuail (2005: 96) identifies five points that highlight this theory:

- Mass media are owned by the ruling bourgeois;
- Media are operated in their class interest;
- Media promote working-class false consciousness;
- Media broadcasts an ideology supportive of the established order; and
- Media access is effectively denied to political opposition.

When one considers the timeframe that establishes the parameters for this study, the previously mentioned points could be posed as a fair assumption as to why the voices of women in the Struggle for liberation in South Africa were omitted. Also, why the Struggle as a whole did not receive the coverage it deserved (Sanders, 2000: 13). From a Marxist view, the mass media are owned by politically and economically powerful minority groups in a society and purposefully communicate tainted information in order to support their owners (Fourie, 2007: 312).

One can argue that in South Africa during the apartheid era this could have been the case. Because of this, freedom of expression was curtailed. According to Tomaselli, Teer-Tomaselli and Muller (1987: 98),

[a]ll the major laws curtailing the freedom of the press are also those which most effectively restrict the activities of black groups opposed to the government.

A hegemonic relationship existed in South Africa during apartheid, where one social grouping had dominance over other social groupings (Dines & Humez, 2003: 61). During the apartheid years the South African government imposed strict regulations controlling the content of newspapers, especially articles and commentary relating to activities against the apartheid system (South African Consulate General (SACG), 2010: 1) According to Gramsci's theory of ideological hegemony, as cited by Boggs (in Dines & Humez 2003: 62), this means that:

mass media are tools that ruling class elites use to perpetuate their power, wealth, and status [by popularising] their own philosophy, culture and morality.

As such, South African newspapers were not allowed to:

- Quote banned organisations;
- Report on conditions inside prisons;
- Mention the activities of the security forces; or
- Report on any demonstrations or activities against the apartheid government or any of its laws (SACG, 2010: 1-2).

During the 1980s when two states of emergency were declared, more activities were outlawed and the police were empowered to become a “law unto themselves” (TRC, 1996: 13). According to Tomaselli *et al.* (1987: 5-6) several journalists resigned or were fired from various newspapers because they were critical of those papers’ refusal of reporting on issues that were of importance, e.g., township unrest, labour issues and worker stay-aways. In his statement to the TRC, Professor Sampie Terreblanche mentioned that the SABC did not only act as the propaganda arm of the National Party (NP), but of consecutive NP administrations (The O’Malley Archives, 2010a).

This tendency of government interference can also be seen after the arrival of democracy, as in 2007 the SABC was accused of exercising self-censorship in excluding commentators critical of government and of attempting to suppress information deemed to be in the public interest (Patel, 2007: 65).

De Beer, as cited in Tomaselli (1994: 6), asserts that “coercion, coercive news evasion or ‘informal’ censorship has been characteristic of the South African experience for decades”.

Tomaselli (1994: 2) offers three basic kinds of violence to which this can be attributed.

- Individual violence: which emanated from left-wing sources, where the left blamed Third Force activity. These atrocities mainly targeted black people, included necklacing, homicide, throwing people off moving trains, etc.

- Institutional violence: “[d]uring the 1980s, institutional violence were evident in the application of the repeatedly refined states of emergency”.
- Structural violence: Inequities such as migrant labour that “occurred through the structural nature of the organized socio-political system of apartheid. It disrupted family life, had single sex hostels and depressed wages.”

3.2.2.1 MTCM’s influence on women

As Lovaas (2010: 1) points out, through a series of filters, market-driven newspapers still continue to “limit, shape and censor ideas for the benefit of the elite and private sectors”. This, Lovaas (2010: 5) argues, is “contrary to the very notions of journalism, freedom, and democracy”. A group seriously affected by these perceptions is women. Women play a key role in the economy and other spheres of South Africa, but they do not feature as such. Lovaas states that poverty in Africa “has a woman’s face”, as most of the agricultural work in Africa is done by women; in spite of the fact that in the drafting of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) no women were included. He states that:

“Women, like the poor and civil society, were denied a voice and decisions that affect their lives” (Lovaas, 2010: 3).

The Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI, 2007: 1) advocates that it is important that media transformation reflect the interests of the poor and the marginalised and that this will not be achieved through state control. The FXI also asserts that “the state has a role to play in promoting diversity, and possibly restricting media concentration through anti-trust measures”, but it should create a supporting environment for a diversity of views to be heard. It will amount to censorship, however, if the state should get into the business of deciding whose views should be heard once this diversity of media is achieved (FXI, 2007: 1)

Conboy (2004: 15) claims that since ancient times, concerns relating to the political and religious stability of a country sometimes prompted a ruler to authorise what should be printed and what not. People then were fearful of the consequences should they voice their concerns, because punishments were much harsher. The situation dictated that authority of the ruler was supreme. People are now much more aware of

the many rights and choices they have and are therefore less fearful in their attempt to challenge authorities.

3.2.3 Critical political economy theory

This theory, according to Fourie (2007: 135), has developed from Marxist-based social theory, and is interested in analysing media ownership and control. Because of this, the theory regards media as not only part of the economic system, but also closely linked to current political dynamics (McQuail, 2005: 99).

Curran (as cited in Boyd-Barrett & Newbold, 1995: 191) believes that political economy has always been critical, if perhaps not quite as critical, of public as well as privately controlled media. According to Boyd-Barrett and Newbold (1995: 189), political-economy theorists argued that the significance of media went much further than questions of individual effects, uses and gratifications, and had to do with the relationship of media to other social institutions, to the economy, and to the formation of social ideologies. As is the current situation in South Africa, critical political economic theory proponents argue that media markets are part of the capitalist economic system, which has close links to the political system in a country (Fourie, 2007: 136). The selection of news stories therefore seems to be influenced by capitalist needs, and as a result they may be silencing marginalised voices. Merret (1990: 19) asserts that during apartheid, censoring revealed the insecurity of the South African political economy and how it desperately needed “censorship to achieve optimum levels of conformity and intellectual repression and acceptance of official values”.

3.2.4 Authoritarian theory

According to Siebert (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1981: 9-10) the authoritarian theory has been the most pervasive, both historically and geographically. These authors refer to this theory as *the authoritarian theory of press control*. In this theory, the press as an institution, is controlled in its functions and operation by government, who subordinates the press to state power. Although South African mass media are not directly under government control, it was perceived as being an advocate of the state (Suresh, 2003: 1). South Africa, with its then authoritarian apartheid regime

(South African Government Information (SAGI), 2010), would be an example where special press laws and other discriminatory legislation have exposed editors to arrest and persecution and indiscriminatory censorship (Siebert *et al.*, 1981: 31). The NP exerted strong authoritarian control over the media, which meant that censorship rules had to be followed and authority had to be respected or stringent forms of punishment would be meted out (Morlan, 1970: 1; Siebert *et al.*, 1981: 3-14). Free access to information was denied, which also hampered the freedom of the press.

3.2.5 Libertarian theory

Fourie (2008: 34) argues that if one considers freedom of expression and the role of the media in South Africa, it is still based on libertarian theory. The libertarian theory, otherwise known as the Free Press theory, is based on the fundamental right of an individual to freedom of expression. This theory views humankind as rational and stable beings that are able to discern truth and falsehood and will therefore be equipped to distinguish between good and evil alternatives. The press should be free from state and government control and influence and there must be a free market for ideas and information (Fourie, 2008: 34).

According to Rama (2004: 5) the South African media are presently governed by a set of principles and beliefs that are rooted in a strong libertarian framework. Even though this is an enormous shift from the authoritarianism of the past, government still expects media support. According to the FXI (2007), the only freedom of expression available to communities and the poor is to take to the streets in protests, marches and other demonstrations to voice their dissent and discontent.

During the apartheid era the government, according to Fourie (2008: 37):

on the one hand pretended to subscribe to the libertarian theory about freedom of expression, yet at the same time it expected the media to be patriotic and thus subscribed to some of the points of departure of social responsibility and development theories – however, ‘social responsibility’ and ‘development’ as interpreted by the government.

The following are basic assumptions identified by McQuail, as cited in Fourie (2007: 34-35) of the libertarian theory:

- The media should be free from any external censorship;
- Publication and distribution should be accessible to any individual or group without a permit or licence;
- Editorial attacks on governments or political parties should not be punishable;
- There should be no force or intimidation to publish anything;
- No restrictions should be placed on the acquisition of information through legal channels; and
- There should be no restriction on the export and import of messages across national borders.

Fourie argues that while the freedom of the media should be embraced, the libertarian theory also makes way for the social responsibility theory.

3.2.6 Social responsibility theory (SRT)

3.2.6.1 Introduction

Even if the SRT was already developed in the 1940s by Robert Maynard Hutchins, it still serves as a guiding principle for the media today (Pitner, 2009: 1). According to Scribd (2002: 1), as the name dictates, this theory has an ethical responsibility to society. Scribd continues to explain that this responsibility can be negative, the “resistance stance”, where it is a responsibility to refrain from acting, or it can be positive, as a “proactive stance” where there is a responsibility to act.

3.2.6.2 General relevance of SRT

In terms of the media, the Hutchins Commission’s report, (as cited in Baker 1998: 349), identified five responsibilities, the fulfilment of which could serve as a measure of press performance:

The press should:

- Provide “a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day’s events in a context which gives them meaning” in an objective way;
- Be “a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism”;
- Project “a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society”;
- “Present and clarify the goals and values of the society”; and
- Provide “full access to the day’s intelligence”, thus serving the public’s right to be informed.

Three tasks which are central to the political role/ responsibility of the press were added, namely:

- To provide information;
- To enlighten the public so that it is capable of self-government; and
- To serve as a watchdog on government.

According to the SRT, from a media perspective, the media should serve the public (proactive stance), and in order to do so, should remain free of government interference (Pitner, 2009: 1). Pitner argues that advocates of this theory had strong faith in the public’s ability to distinguish between right and wrong, and take appropriate action to preserve the public good when necessary. Proponents of this theory attempt to reconcile the ideas of the libertarian theory of freedom and independence with responsibility towards society (Fourie, 2008: 35). According to Perse (2008: 228), the SRT of the media argues that media should make room to express ideas and present content for underserved groups in society.

3.2.6.3 Summary: The relevance of social responsibility to this study

The premise this theory is based upon, if Hutchins’ five responsibilities are adhered to, is the ideal approach for the media to conduct business. Pitner (2009: 2) claims that since the SRT was introduced, many journalists are advocates for the public and social issues and reform, which is one of the premises for this study.

3.2.7 Summary: Media related theories

The media theories as discussed above are but a few of many that are applicable to the media before the unbanning of the ANC and thereafter. Even if all of these media theories are applicable, the best suited would be the SRT. The reasons for this choice are simply the fact that both gender and oral histories as applied in this study are both social responsibility concerns that require reform.

3.3 Theories applicable to women and MK

3.3.1 Introduction

The emphasis on gender theories in this study will mainly inform the under-representation and stereotyping of women in the media. Gender issues however go beyond this, as is evident in McQuail (2005: 121) where he refers to “gender-blindness”. McQuail (2005: 122) also believes that “feminist perspectives on mass communication open up numerous lines of analysis, often largely neglected in the past”.

As has been ascertained from the previous chapters, gender disparities in the South African media are rife. McQuail (2005: 124) lists the following gender and media issues in general that are also relevant to this study:

- Media have marginalised women in the public sphere;
- Media purvey stereotypical sex roles;
- Production and content of media are gendered;
- Reception of media is gendered;
- Female alternative offers alternative criteria of quality (which means differences of gender lead to alternative modes of taking meaning from media); and
- The “personal is political”.

It is not the purpose of this study to discuss the above in detail, despite their obvious merit. One can summarise and state that due to gender biases, women have always had fewer opportunities than men. So far these disparities in gender are not only

evident in the media as such, but it is a general trend in all societies and, according to a United Nations (UN) report, it also shows women are facing more hardship than men in all walks of life (Rizvi, 2005: 1).

For the purposes of this study it will be enlightening to discuss some gender theories in brief, as well as a school of thought on specific gender theory that surfaced especially in Africa, namely that of Womanist theory.

3.3.2 Gender and womanist theories

Enns (2004) and Vogel (1995) list and describe an overwhelming variety of feminisms and in effect feminist theories, which range from liberal, radical and social feminisms, with quite a number of lesser classifications in between. Within this spectrum the concept of womanism has also evolved. For the purpose of this study, an overview shall be given of the feminisms that can be of value to this study, but greater concentration shall be on womanism, as this study will be dealing with women specifically in Africa.

3.3.3 Overview of gender and womanist theories

Littlejohn and Foss (2003: 49) argue that feminist investigation is much more than a study of gender. For a long time the voices of women needed to be heard above the din of the many ways in which their plight was ignored. One of these was patriarchy. Sachs (1990: 1) says that “it is a sad fact that one of the few profoundly non-racial institutions in South Africa is patriarchy”, which cuts across cultural divides.

Even if patriarchy is embedded in the African social fabric, and African women are in a sense in a better position to take some of the harsher stances displayed by radical feminists, womanism is a “gentler”, more individualistic theory (Bijapurkar, 2007: 174), according to which African women are taking an active stance in realising the importance of their roles, their worth, education and to have their voices heard. Womanism also subscribes to the triple oppression of Black women that are racial, classist and sexist oppression, whereas feminism’s main concern is sexist oppression (Ebunoluwa, 2009: 230).

This study will now proceed to first discuss some feminist theories, followed by a discussion of womanism.

3.4 Feminist theories

3.4.1 Liberal, Radical, Socialist and Marxist Feminism: An Overview

Women needed an outlet, a vehicle to speak for their interests (Hayward, 2010: 2). According to Haslanger and Tuana (2004: 1), there is disagreement about what it means to be a man or a woman and what social and political implications gender has or could have, which lead to many versions of feminisms.

Some of these are, according to Gimenez (1998: 1):

- Liberal feminism, which is concerned with attaining economic equality within the context of capitalism;
- Radical feminism, which focuses on men and patriarchy as the main causes of oppression of women;
- Socialist feminism, which is critical of capitalism and Marxism, to the extent that “avoidance of Marxism’s alleged reductionisms resulted in dual systems theories postulating various forms of interaction between capitalism and patriarchy”; and
- Marxist Feminism, which is also relevant to this study, a theoretical position which seeks to develop the potential of Marxist theory to understand the capitalist sources of the oppression of women. According to Hartman (2003: 206), Marxism and feminism can be compared to a common-law marriage: “Marxism and feminism are one, and that one is Marxism”. Hartman (2003: 230) is adamant that capitalist market forces and employment, which are based on imperialist exploitation, cannot liberate women from patriarchal exploitation.

When one observes feminism generally, irrespective of the type, the Struggle against the extension of pass laws to women in the 1950s (discussed in 1.5), comes to mind. Hassim (1991: 69) argues that South African women were seen “as part of a popular front, rather than within the history of black women”. If one looks at the role women played within the ANC, it is obvious that men and women have played different political roles that were based on a patriarchal definition of “women’s sphere” (Hassim, 1991: 79-80). As was previously mentioned in 1.5, women were held to be

equal members of the party, yet they did not have the same access to decision-making as men. Bearing the aforementioned in mind, Hassim says that gender politics should “go beyond women’s political actions and encompass struggles between men and women”. Women discovered through this action that not all women have identical political interests, and this leads to the emergence of more than one form of feminism (Hassim, 1991: 73). In Africa, specifically, womanism developed from feminist theory.

3.4.2 Womanism in Africa

Rejection of feminism and the discontent of Africans to sympathise with feminist ideas led to the conceptualisation of alternatives to feminism (Arndt, 2000: 711).

According to Arndt (2000: 710) one of the reasons many Africans display anti-feminist notions are because feminism is:

“often equated with radical feminism and with hatred of men, penis envy, non-acceptance of African traditions, a fundamental rejection of marriage and motherhood, a favoring of lesbian love and an endeavour to invert the power relationship of the genders”.

The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary (2010b) defines womanism as a form of feminism focused especially on the conditions and concerns of black women. This is therefore not a rejection of feminism. The concept has been shaped and refined by the works of many women, and according to Dove (1998: 535), their unique circumstances should be recognised and taken into consideration mainly due to the fact that they have been silenced and suppressed by colonialism and patriarchy, and had to force their voices into “existing male and Western feminist discourse” (Kolawole, 1997: 6-7).

The concept womanism was coined by Alice Walker in 1983 (Stephen, 2009: 9). According to Koyana (2001: 65), womanism “concerns itself as much with the black political and economic powerlessness as with the black gender power struggle”. According to Saulnier (1996: 118), womanism is a philosophy and consciousness in which all aspects of personhood are discounted “so that neither race, nor sex, nor class are hidden or discounted”.

Ogunyemi (as cited in Arndt 2000: 712) coined the term womanism at about the same time as Walker, but it is argued that Ogunyemi's term is "more complex and theoretically founded" than that of Walker in the sense that she stresses that an African womanist

will recognise that, along with her consciousness of sexual issues, she must incorporate racial, cultural, national, economic, and political considerations into her philosophy.

Thus far it was proven that women have systematically played a prominent role in South African history. Fourie (2001: 407) claims that because feminism is largely a Western concept, many South African black women were sceptical or suspicious of it, as they see their Struggle as a racial, rather than a gender one. He further asserts that even though black women were unwilling to adopt a feminist position, they have realised that this is not about a political, racial affiliation or ideological position, but it is instead about being a woman. Kolawole (2002: 93) asserts that the negative reception of feminism by African scholars is linked to the failure of feminism to address the many specific African historical and cultural contexts. At present, black women prefer to call themselves "womanists" (Fourie, 2001: 407). Kolawole (1997: 30) gives a fitting description of why theorists should be careful to apply theory to African women when she says:

[t]heir unique courage and struggle against oppression show the hollowness in any theory that presents African women as passive, suffering victims.

Womanism, according to Abrahams (2001: 71), like Marxism, is:

a body of theory which must be tested in practice. In epistemological terms, we may say that its ultimate truth test lies in revolutionary practice. Womanist ideas may look great on paper ... The worth of womanist theories will only be seen in the ability of womanists to change the world.

Sesanti (2009: 215) points out that not all womanists reject feminism. It is essential for black women to define themselves in terms of being a womanist or a feminist. It is their prerogative to choose the term they are most comfortable with.

3.4.2.1 Is womanism an apology for patriarchy?

Can patriarchy and feminism coexist? According to Hooks (2006: 1), a radical feminist views patriarchy as “the single most life-threatening social disease assaulting the male body and spirit in our nation”. Whereas some radical feminists advocate a renovation of patriarchy and patriarchal symbols, “many African women recognise the way patriarchy has been manipulated to put them down and they are struggling against these forms of subjugation” (Kolawole, 1997: 13). The difference between these two perspectives is clear. Kolawole acknowledges the need for women to unite with men “to reject racist and imperialist subjugation”. Kolawole (2002: 96) concedes that womanism is not a “man-hating” gender ideology. Ebunoluwa (2009: 230) maintains that “it is indisputable that womanism is very relevant to all Black women’s situation around the world”.

3.4.2.2 Summary: Gender and womanism theories

The feminism and womanism theories discussed above are relevant to this study. Because of the role women played in MK, and the fact that they were primarily black and from predominantly similar socio-economic backgrounds where patriarchal views are fundamental, this researcher decided to use the womanist theory as an appropriate choice of theory for this study.

3.5 Oral history theory and social responsibility

3.5.1 Introduction

Because of the prescriptive nature of SRT (Biagi, 2006: 340), it can be used as a tool to advocate government oversight for media that do not act in society’s best interest.

Also crucial to this study would be the social responsibility of government towards a nation, specifically a young democracy like that of South Africa. It is said that this situation may be alleviated with oral history dialogue. Field (2006: 31) argues that:

[o]ral history will neither heal nor cure but offers subtle support to interviewees’ efforts to recompose their sense of self and regenerate agency.

After having interviewed a sample of New Zealand Second World War veterans, Parr (2007: 61) affirms Field's assertion that after disclosing traumatic memories in interviews, they reported a sense of relief after talking about their trauma during an oral history interview. Parr (2007: 62), as Charamba acknowledged in 2.3.2, is adamant that there is evidence of telling the story of traumatic events in a therapeutic environment can be positive and beneficial. As she says:

[t]he veteran is someone who has been traumatised and has developed a narrative about his traumatic experience, someone who needs to talk about the experience in order to deal with the memories.

When one considers the context of this study, one should take heed of Bédarida's (1994: 110) beliefs that

“[a]t a time when the past have come to haunt many societies, the question of the social responsibility of the scientist and scholar, and of the historian in particular, has become a topical one”.

One can for that reason argue that the media should also consider a paradigm shift and should change the way women are represented in the media. The importance of the contribution of women through the ages, therefore in effect in history – “her-story” – may “shape and legitimise today's historical consciousness and tomorrow's memory” (Bédarida, 1994: 3).

Bennett (1983: 15) states that recognising “humanistic oral history would entail a change in what many people mean by *oral history*”. The researcher adds that we need new pictures and definitions of a “human being” and that oral history can provide new moral categories – and that oral history should perhaps be called “moral history”.

Like the oral history voices of survivors of Auschwitz, Hiroshima, and Vietnam, the voices in all oral histories seem faint amid the ghastly noises we hear through them. But those voices are not silent. They are heard. And as long as they survive, they will protect and define our humanity (Bennett, 1983: 15).

Bennett (1983: 2) believes that oral histories are able to communicate across social barriers and can open up new concepts and interpretations of a subject that can be used to change attitudes towards stigmatised and outcast groups. It is therefore important that archivists and librarians be knowledgeable about research trends on oral histories so that they can provide invaluable insight into historical research and record-keeping needs and practices (Swain, 2003: 158).

Fourie (2008: 398) refers to oral history as “folk media” and Grele (as cited in Denis & Ntsimane, 2008: 3) as mentioned in 1.9.8 refers to it as a “conversational narrative”. Fourie (2001: 255) believes it was not only used to communicate entertainment but also news. He asserts that in some illiterate societies “where there are little or no modern mass media, oral public communication is still dominant”. These beliefs are verbally passed forward from one generation to the next and, according to Fourie, there are still many tribal societies in existence today in which the oral tradition is dominant.

According to Welburn (1986: 79):

[o]ral history is *history* first, provided subjectively by an individual who experienced a historical period first-hand, a reminiscence guided by a sympathetic student of history to be preserved through sound reproduction and storage and ultimately to be transcribed in order to preserve the raw material of the history as its goal.

This study is conducted in the spirit of social responsibility. As stated by Lanman and Wending (2006: 174):

[o]ral history offers a unique view of the past: it is history that begins and ends with personal experience.

3.6 Summary: Theoretical points of departure

In this chapter various relevant theories that could be applicable to the thesis’ three main foci, namely media and representation of women during a specific period, women in MK, and oral history were discussed.

It is never a simple exercise to decide which of many applicable and relevant theories one should apply, even if Littlejohn and Foss make it seem relatively straightforward.

The Marxist, social responsibility and gender theories/ womanism were deemed the most applicable and will thus be applied to the study.

In Chapter 4 the methodology of the research will be discussed in detail.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, Content Analysis (CA) and Grounded Theory (GT) have been identified as the primary methodological research application for this study. As will be demonstrated later in this chapter, the CA and the GT will be triangulated with the literature review.

4.2 Qualitative content analysis: Newspapers

4.2.1 Introduction

Holsti (in Gottschalk, Winget & Gleser, 1969: 2) defines CA as “any technique for systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages”. This definition will later in this study be enhanced, expanded and refined by further investigation into Krippendorfs’ view of CA.

CA has a long history in research, where it was initially used as either a qualitative or a quantitative analytic technique (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005: 1278; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006: 279). According to Krippendorf (2007: 8) CA first became part of larger conceptual and methodological research efforts “under the new umbrella term *content analysis*” in a 1948 text authored by Bernard Berelson and Paul Lazarsfeld called *The Analysis of Communication Content*. Ole Holsti, who features a great deal in Krippendorfs’ research (Voight & Stanfield, 1990: 105) wrote the book *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* in 1969. These authors warn that the book is out of print and that the “careful researcher should consult more recent sources in order to be state-of-the-art”. They recommend Krippendorf. This suggestion is commendable as Krippendorf (2007: 13) sought to fill in the gaps which existed within the theory. His efforts led to the six questions (see Table 3) that were crucial in assisting in the success of the methodology in the form it is widely applied at present (Stemler, 2001: 1).

Although there are many different approaches, CA is a widely used qualitative research method (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005: 1277). They assert that the major

differences between approaches “are coding schemes, origins of codes, and threats to trustworthiness. Lazar, Feng and Hochheiser (2010: 285) state that although many people think content analysis is a qualitative research method, both quantitative and qualitative techniques can be used in the process of content analysis. Klenke (2008: 90) lists some expert opinions on the use of content analysis as a qualitative research tool. According to Klenke content analysis covers a wide range of approaches and techniques, ranging from “purely qualitative to highly quantitative”. According to Mayring (in Klenke, 2008: 90) qualitative content analysis tries to “overcome the shortcomings of quantitative content analysis such as providing answers to how categories were derived by applying systematic, theory-guided approach to text analysis”. Boyatsis (in Klenke, 2008: 90) developed a set of procedures for qualitative content “known as thematic coding”. This is used by researchers to proceed from manifest to latent coding.

Stemler (2001: 1) argues that CA enables researchers to sift through large volumes of data with relative ease in a systematic way. The researcher will in this study use the CA according to this process to provide an empirical analysis of the voices of ANC women in the media immediately after the unbanning of the ANC.

4.2.2 Krippendorff’s interpretation of CA

Krippendorff’s definition is a broad, all-inclusive description that takes into account issues neglected by Holsti, Berelson and Lazarsfeld (Stemler, 2001: 1). Krippendorff (2007: 18) defines CA as follows:

... a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use. As a technique, content analysis provide new insights, increases a researcher’s understanding of particular phenomena, or informs practical actions. Content analysis is a scientific tool.

Cognisance should be taken with reference to the term *text* in aforementioned definition. It is not intended to restrict content analysis to written material, which means “other meaningful matter”. These may include works of art, images, maps,

sounds, etc., (Krippendorf, 2007: 19). Babbie *et al.* (2001: 388) confirms this when they say that CA methods may be applied to any form of communication.

Krippendorf (as cited in Stemler 2001: 2) identifies six crucial questions that are of importance in every CA. In Table 3 below these questions with a synopsis of how they will be dealt with in the study are presented.

No	Krippendorf's six crucial questions	How Krippendorf's questions will be dealt with in this study
1	Which data are analysed?	Analysis of newspaper articles.
2	How are they defined?	These articles are firstly defined as political and non-political. Then as reporting on the ANC.
3	What is the population from which they are drawn?	<i>The Argus</i> and <i>Cape Times</i> for period 3 February 1990 to 2 March 1990.
4	What is the context relative to which the data are analysed?	Reporting on ANC operatives and gender.
5	What are the boundaries of the analysis?	Reporting on ANC operatives in the month after the unbanning of the ANC: 3 February 1990 to 2 March 1990.
6	What is the target of the inferences?	To determine reporting in the media on female ANC leaders compared to their male counterparts.

Table 3: CA for study based on Krippendorf's six questions

In this case the researcher wishes to study two local Cape Town newspapers, the *Cape Times* and *The Argus*, that will be analysed from cover to cover for one month, namely from 3 February 1990 to 2 March 1990 (in other words, from one day after the unbanning of the ANC), to determine whether the voices of women in the media were reported in daily news coverage during this important month in South Africa's history.

4.2.3 Methodology applied in this research concerning CA

The following is a brief outline of the methodology that will be followed in the CA process:

- First of all the articles must be identified and it must be determined whether they are political or not political.
- By looking at the heading and certain key words using (e.g. armed Struggle, Struggle, exile, cadres, women, weapons, ban/ ned (banning), MK/ Umkhonto we Sizwe, ANC camps, NP, Mandela) determine whether the article is political.
- The items in the story that refer specifically to the ANC or affiliated organisations or members of the ANC will be filtered.
- The ANC male and ANC female voices in the stories are coded.
- An analysis of the voices of ANC men versus ANC women will be done.
- The researcher will report on the results of the aforementioned.
- The table similar to the one below will be developed in Excel and populated using the methodology above.

No	Page	Newspaper	Day of the month	Headline	Organisation	Organisation Sub-category	ANC members	Person noted in article	As quoted or reported on	Position	Comment	Male / Female	Week of article

Table 4: Content Analysis Capturing Table
(Developed by the researcher for this study)

The intent of this content analysis is that the researcher wants to establish a reliable measure of what news and information are appearing in these two newspapers about the reporting on the contribution to the Struggle of female ANC operatives in comparison to males.

4.2.4 Coding in content analysis

CA is essentially a coding operation (Babbie *et al.* 2001: 388). Stemler (2001: 3) suggests two kinds of coding when dealing with CA, namely emergent and *a priori* coding. Emergent theory was applied in the GT methodology and *a priori* theory is suitable to use with CA. According to Stemler (2001: 3), when dealing with *a priori*

or *pre-set* coding, the categories are established prior to the analysis. According to Neuendorf (2002: 194) both human and computer coding may be applied to the analysis. Because this study requires only two newspapers over a one month span, the human, thus manual coding approach, would suffice, but the coding and analysis will be recorded in Excel.

4.2.5 Summary: Content analysis

When correctly applied, content analysis is a powerful data reduction tool. This researcher agrees with Stemler (2001: 8) when he notes that the major benefits of CA stems from the fact that it is a “systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding”. This is exactly how CA will be applied in this study.

The results of this CA process will be used to triangulate (See section 4.5) the feedback received from the GT interview process. This will be the validation process built into the research design, and in this study validation takes the form of triangulation.

Although this research project will rely on qualitative research methodology, some quantitative elements will be used. The number of male and female sources in reports relating to the unbanning of the ANC and other relevant reports will be counted in order to establish whether female sources were used and how this will compare with the number of male sources used.

4.3 Grounded Theory (GT)

4.3.1 Introduction

This theory was founded in 1967 by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss and the formal approach was first described in their book, *Discovery of Grounded Theory*, which was published in 1967 (Locke, 2001: 1). According to Gustavsson (2007: 66), this method “emerged as a reaction against positivistic currents within sociology based on logic and rational principles”. These were not sufficiently grounded in data. Crooks, as cited in Gustavsson (2007: 66), believes that

many ideas and components in the method have their roots in symbolic interactionism, which focuses on the meanings and symbols essential to the expression of thought and action.

The GT method is also described as a “hypothesis-generating” method, and the theory created through the method is made operational and tested with hypothesis-testing methods (Gustavsson, 2007: 68). In GT findings are reported in terms of explanations about what the researcher thinks is a workable hypothesis (Morse, Stern, Corbin, Bowers, Charmaz & Clarke, 2009: 68). This researcher therefore came to the same conclusion as Gustavsson (2007: 69) when he says the most important principle of GT is that “one learns Grounded Theory by doing it”.

Creswell (1998: 56) states that the intent of a grounded theory study is to discover or generate a theory, an abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon that relates to a particular situation.

An important feature of GT is that it represents a systematic method that may be applied to a research problem (Barker, Jones, Britton & Messer, 2002: 1). These authors claim that this theory is inductively derived from the phenomenon it represents. This therefore differentiates GT from many other research methods in that it is explicitly emergent from the data (Charmaz, 2006: 10). Theory thus surfaces from the systematic examination of the data. It does not test a hypothesis; it rather, as Glaser puts it, discovers the theory implicit in the data (Woodside & Martin, 2008: 64). According to Barker *et al.* (2002: 4) GT should meet the following four central criteria:

- Fit: which entails that the theory fits the substantive data;
- Understanding: which necessitates that the theory be comprehensible to all involved in the area of study;
- Generality: which means that the theory is applicable in a variety of contexts; and
- Control: which implies that the theory should provide control with regard to action toward the phenomenon.

The above are used to “ground” the theory or relate it to the reality of the phenomenon under consideration. As is the case in this study, Suddaby (2006: 634) suggests it is appropriate to use GT “when you seek to make knowledge claims about how individuals interpret reality”. Suddaby cautions that GT should not be used as an excuse to ignore the existing literature and to justify ignoring prior research. This is based on the misconception that GT requires the researcher to enter the field without any knowledge of prior research in this field.

According to Auerbach and Silverstein (2003: 8) GT method uses two basic principles:

- questioning rather than measuring; and
- generating hypotheses using theoretical coding.

This means that this methodology is grounded in data that is systematically gathered and analysed, and it allows the researcher to develop hypotheses by listening to what the research participants say. It is also referred to as “hypothesis-generating research rather than hypothesis-testing research” (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003: 7). Data will thus be gathered and compared, and remain open to all possible understandings thereof. Tentative interpretations of the data will be developed through codes and emerging categories (Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2007: 241).

As is evident from the literature, there is not only one specific methodology to be followed in the GT process (Howcraft & Moore Trauth, 2005: 113). Murray and Chamberlain (1999: 190) also state that although centred on a set of similar practices, GT methods are varied. It is more important that the researcher ensures that the methodology applied is appropriate for the research topic.

McNabb (2002: 307) presented the following seven-stage model (Figure 1) of how the GT process can be applied:

- **Stage 1:** Identify a topic of interest and select the grounded theory research approach.
- **Stage 2:** Determine purpose(s) for the research.
- **Stage 3:** Select a group or sample to study.

- **Stage 4:** Collect research data.
 - Personal interviews
 - Naturalistic observations
 - Document analysis
- **Stage 5:** Open (preliminary) coding of data as it is collected.
 - Strauss and Corbin's axial coding process
- **Stage 6:** Theoretical coding for theory development.
- **Stage 7:** Develop theory.

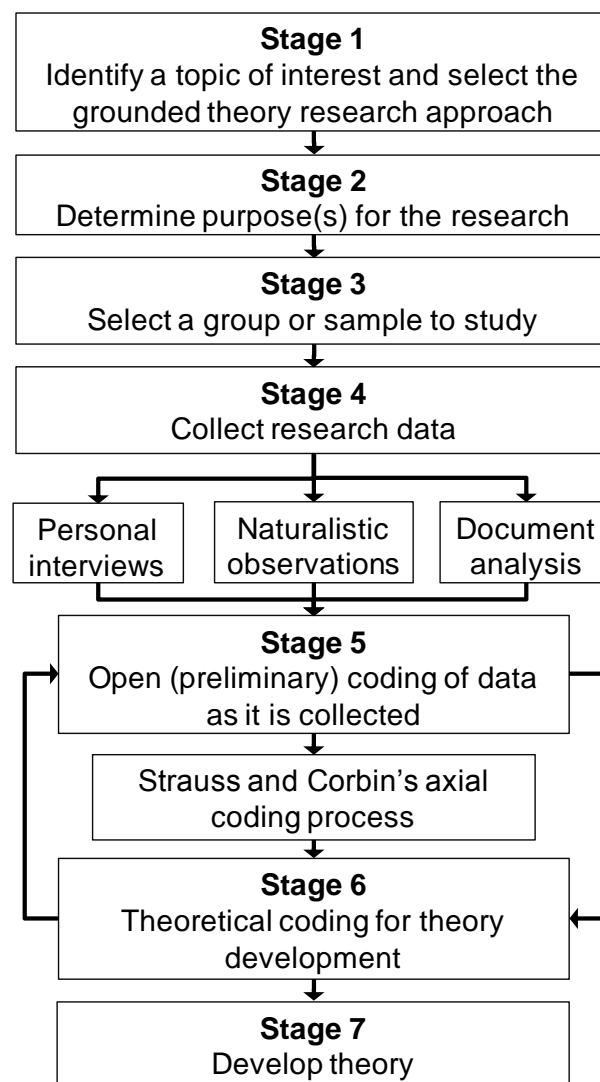


Figure 1: McNabb's model of GT (McNabb, 2002: 307).

A model (Figure 2 on page 58) based on McNabb’s seven-stage model has been developed specifically for this study. It will be applied to analyse and code the interviews.

4.4 GT methodology as applied in this study

4.4.1 Introduction

In this section, the application of the GT methodology will be described and demonstrated in detail. A graphic (See Figure 2) along with a detailed description have been developed specifically for this study to display the application of the methodology.

4.4.2 Conceptual model of GT process

This researcher has developed the following conceptual model (See Figure 2) specifically for the application of the GT process to this study. Below is a detailed description of the model.

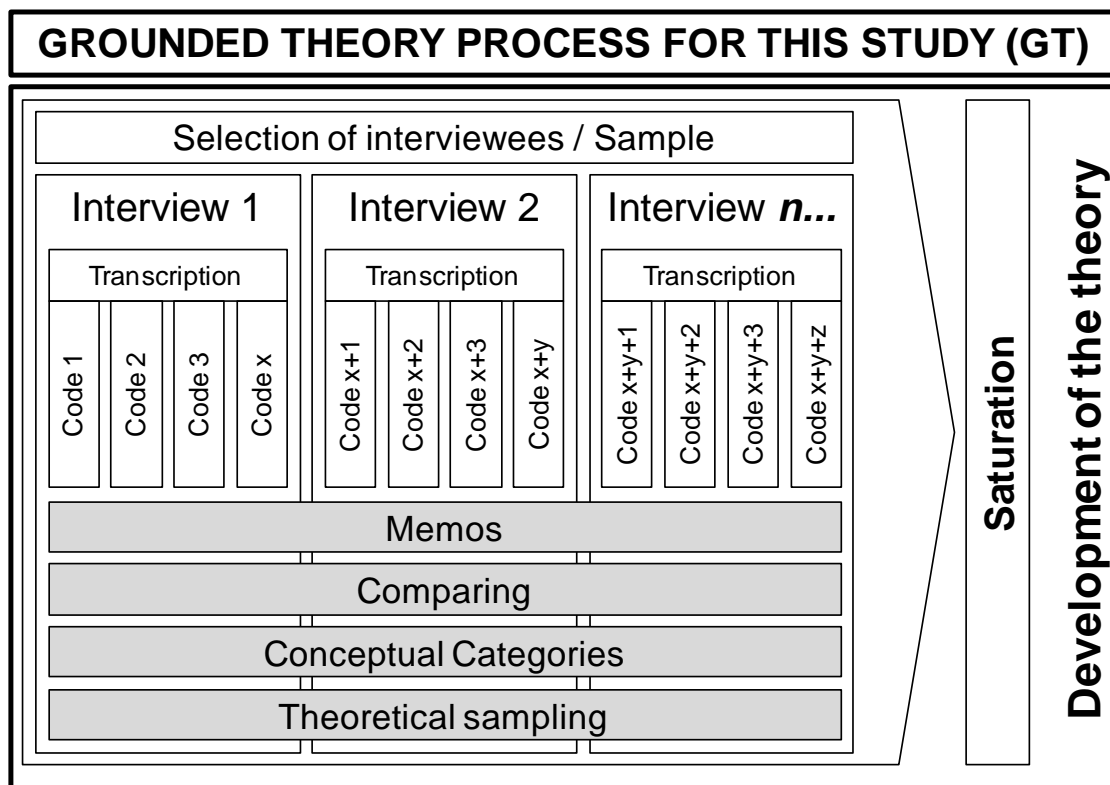


Figure 2: Grounded Theory methodology for this study.

After interviewees are selected, they are interviewed. Interviews are audio recorded and in some cases also video-recorded. After the first interviewee is interviewed, the interview is transcribed. During the interview, transcription and coding process, memos are kept. The coding process is clearly outlined in 4.4.8 whereas Appendix D 9.4 provides examples of some of the memo's that were kept. Through a constant comparison process, conceptual categories are created and theoretical sampling (outlined in 4.4.12) conducted. All this is done for interviewee 1.

Insights gained during the first interview process are fed into the second interview process allowing for a richer engagement with subsequent interviewees. Once the entire process is concluded for interview 1, the second interview and subsequent interviews are conducted following the same methodology until saturation is achieved. Saturation is achieved when no substantial new codes or categories are created. The data analysis process and the development/ surfacing of the theory are then initiated.

4.4.3 Selection of interviewees

Participants who belong to the population of interest, in this case female MK cadres who were trained in ANC camps in exile, will be interviewed about their experiences. The period of exile covered will stretch from 1976 to 1990, because this was the period that saw the greatest influx of young people joining the ranks of MK (South African Democracy Education Trust, 2006: 336).

The interviewees are selected on the basis of their willingness to participate in the study. The potential candidates were selected on the basis that they had to have been female ex-combatants who were stationed at any of the ANC camps during the stipulated period of 1976 to 1990. This was a difficult task, as a reluctance to participate was based on mistrust even if anonymity was ensured. E-mails were sent to contacts that the researcher obtained from the ANC Veteran's office in Cape Town. These e-mails contained a brief outline of the purpose of the study; what the interview process entails; a brief background of the researcher, including her MK name; and contact details (See 4.4.4 below). From informal conversations it was evident that this reluctance, for some, stem from adverse experiences that happened while in exile. Even though five candidates were interviewed, only three fell within the stipulated time frame. Two candidates joined the movement after 1990.

4.4.4 Personal interest of researcher

In December 1985, immediately after getting married, the researcher and her husband left South Africa legally (with passports, under the guise of going on honeymoon) for exile; to join Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Stationed at Pango in northern Angola, the couple received intensive military training. There were six female cadres, including the researcher, and about seventy males, in Pango at the time. In an effort to locate fellow cadres for this study it was discovered that one of the women passed away, and another was murdered. This murder may have been linked to her ANC/ MK activities. One of the interviewees in this study was based at the same training facility, and the other two based at the same training facility could not be located. This was a challenging process as there are no records and for safety reasons, every cadre was given a *nom de guerre* and no-one knew actual names. One of the participants' husbands was the 'handler' of the researcher and her husband in Botswana. This interviewee and her husband currently have senior positions in the SANDF and assisted in locating some potential candidates to interview. Despite their positions and rank in the army, even they had difficulty in convincing some of these potential interviewees who are now in the SANDF to participate in this study.

4.4.5 The interviews

4.4.5.1 Introduction

An interview is a verbal (oral) recollection of the past that is told by the interviewee (Warr, 2005: 1). This “conversational narrative” (Denis & Ntsimane, 2008: 3) will provide essential proof of the experiences of female cadres.

4.4.5.2 What is an in-depth interview?

According to Boyce and Neale (2006: 3):

In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation.

Rubin and Rubin (2005) use their books' title discerningly by referring to these interviews as: *Qualitative interviewing: the art of hearing data*. These interviews offer the opportunity to obtain detailed information and can therefore be used to provide context to other data. Participants may feel more comfortable having a conversation as this kind of setting may provide for a much more relaxed ambience in which to collect information (Boyce & Neale, 2006: 3). By using qualitative interviews, researchers can delve into issues and the researcher can gently guide a conversational partner in an extended discussion (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 4). Rubin and Rubin further assert that the researcher can in fact extract depth and detail about the research topic by following up on answers given by the interviewee during the discussion.

Boyce and Neale (2006: 3) point out a few limitations and pitfalls concerning in-depth interviews which interviewers should guard against. They are:

- Interviews may be prone to bias;
- They can be time-intensive;
- Interviewers must be appropriately trained in interviewing techniques;
and
- Generalisations about results are usually not able to be made.

4.4.5.3 Summary: Interviews

It is evident that there are many technical aspects which need to be considered even before the interview can be conducted. A clear structure is therefore of the essence, as emphasised by Rubin and Rubin (2005: 4) and Walters (2010:1).

4.4.6 Transcriptions

The recorded interviews will be transcribed and imported into software to assist with the coding and analysis process. Normand Péladeau, who was formerly a software programme evaluator, believed that software should be created to facilitate the analysis of numerical and textual data within one programme (Lewins & Silver, 2007: 257). Péladeau proposed that graphical and statistical tools are mixed with the features that are characteristic of qualitative software. QDA Miner is a Computer Assisted

Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) qualitative tool. There are approximately seven CAQDAS packages. The programmes used for this study will now be discussed very briefly.

4.4.7 QDA Miner

QDA is the abbreviation for Qualitative Data Analysis and is a computer-assisted text analysis software. In light of the kind of research conducted in this research project, the data analysis would mainly entail the filing and analysing of the content of the field notes, recorded, transcribing and coding interviews. The researcher will use QDA Miner to code, categorise and analyse the data (Faherty, 2010: 49; Provalis Research, 2010).

4.4.8 Coding

In GT, coding refers to the process of examining the data for possible theoretical importance. For many theorists the first step is coding. There are many different coding strategies, namely word-by-word, line-by-line, segment-by-segment and incident-by-incident, etc. Using line-by-line for the purposes of this study enabled the analyst to generate categories quickly and to develop suitable codes (Locke, 2001: 47). According to Locke (2001: 50), when coding in-depth interview data, you gain a close look at what participants say and struggle with. Charmaz (2006: 50) identifies the following strategies to assist with coding:

- Breaking up the data into their component parts or properties;
- Defining the actions on which they rest;
- Looking for tacit assumptions;
- Explicating implicit actions and meanings;
- Crystallising the significance of points;
- Comparing data with data; and
- Identifying gaps in the data.

All GT studies use a data coding scheme. This is how Glaser (as cited in Charmaz & Bryant, 2010: 274), describes the value of coding:

In grounded theory the analyst humbly allows the data to control as much as humbly possible, by writing a theory for only what emerges through his skilled induction. The integration of his substantive theory as it emerges through coding and sorting is his verification that the hypotheses and concepts fit and work and are relevant enough to suggest. They are not proven; they are theory.

Coding, therefore, is a way of sorting, sifting and synthesising data (Charmaz, 2006: 71). Charmaz (2006: 46) also describes coding as the “pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data”. She maintains that coding allows one to define what is occurring in the data and the possible meaning(s) thereof. This is the first analytic step in the process of defining what the data are about. According to Charmaz (2006: 43):

[c]oding means naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes, and accounts for each piece of data. Coding is the first step in moving beyond concrete statement in the data to making analytic interpretations... Our codes show how we select, separate, and sort data to begin analytic accounting of them.

Locke (2001: 65) calls these codes “heuristic devices” or simply “templates”, which support researchers’ efforts to convey the character of their theory and “to place their theoretical categories in analytic relationship to each other”. Coding defines and designates what the data are about and what the data indicate (Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2007: 242).

Gustavsson (2007: 72) asserts that coding is the most central aspect of the GT method and it is a “creative process where concepts are attributed to tendencies in data”. A concept is defined as:

an idea or mental image which correspond to some distinct entity or class of entities, or to its essential features, or determines the application of a term, and thus plays a part in the use of reason or language (Soanes & Stevenson, 2006: 358).

As discussed previously, after the data are collected, it should be analysed concurrently by looking for all possible interpretations, which involves utilising specific coding procedures. These are:

- Open coding;
- Axial coding; and
- Focussed coding, also called selective or theoretical coding.

A detailed discussion of each of these stages follows.

4.4.8.1 Open coding

This is the initial stage in data acquisition and it is the process of selecting, naming and categorising phenomena according to their properties. It also seeks to determine how categories vary dimensionally (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 143). McNabb (2002: 311) defines open coding as:

[t]he process of applying some conceptually meaningful set of identifiers to the concepts, categories and characteristics. The key things to remember about open coding are that it is always the initial step in data analysis and that its purpose is to establish (or discover) categories and their properties.

This Charmaz (2006: 47) refers to as the stage where we remain “open” to exploring theoretical possibilities we can discern in the data. The crucial questions we need to ask here are, according to Glaser & Strauss as cited in Charmaz (2006: 47):

- What is this data a study of?
- What does the data suggest?
- From whose point of view?
- What theoretical category does this specific data indicate?

4.4.8.2 Axial coding

Axial coding is the process of relating codes to each other (Woodside & Martin, 2008: 342). In short, it connects the categories. It also assists in clarifying the analytic power

of emerging ideas (Charmaz, 2006: 63). Willig and Stainton-Rogers (2007: 244) suggest that axial coding serves as a means of “reintegrating the fractured data into a coherent whole after taking it apart during initial coding”.

4.4.8.3 Focused coding, also called selective or theoretical coding

In this third and final coding process one category is chosen to be the core category, relating all other categories to that category. Here the fundamental idea is to develop a single storyline around which everything else is draped. Selective coding is about finding the driver that propels the story forward. McNabb (2002: 385) views the purpose of focused coding as the beginning of the integration of the final categories into a coherent whole that addresses the central issue or issues of the study.

4.4.8.4 Summary: Coding

In short, coding involves taking text data and putting these into categories and labelling these categories with a term (code). It guides the data into an analytic direction, as discoveries are made and a deeper understanding of the empirical world is gained. Charmaz (2006: 46) is adamant in her assertion that:

[c]areful attention to coding furthers our attempts to understand acts and accounts, scenes and sentiments, stories and silences from our research participants’ view. Hence, we try to understand our participants’ standpoints and situations, as well as their actions within the setting.

4.4.9 Memo writing

Willig and Stainton-Rogers (2007: 243) observe that memoing encourages analysts to stop and think about their data, codes, and/ or emerging theory and prompts them to develop their ideas about their codes. It is important throughout the research process to raise the analytic level of the emerging theory; identify tentative categories and their properties; define gaps in data collection; and delineate relationships between categories. Memos become increasingly theoretical as the analysis proceeds.

4.4.10 Comparing

Comparing occurs concurrently with coding/ naming and is crucial to create conceptual categories. It assists researchers to develop a common name or category for multiple observations or incidents in the data, and helps the researcher to create more general conceptual categories (Locke, 2001: 47). It also supports the act of naming conceptual categories by helping to sharpen and to clarify what is perceived in the data. A constant comparative method of analysis is employed that requires the researcher to take one piece of data (e.g., one interview, one statement or theme) and compare it to all other existing pieces of data (codes and classifications), either different or similar, until no more variation occurs (Jupp, 2004: 38; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007: 493). The researcher can thereafter begin to examine the data critically and to draw meaning from the data.

4.4.11 Conceptual categories

When doing line-by-line coding, categories, their properties and relationships emerge. This automatically takes us beyond description and puts us in a “conceptual mode of analysis” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 66). Coding is the process of integrating, developing and refining categories through a process of constant comparison. Here categories are organised around a central explanatory concept. These conceptual categories will form the basis of the emerging theory.

4.4.12 Theoretical sampling

Theoretical sampling means seeking and collecting pertinent data to develop emerging theory. The main purpose is to elaborate and refine the categories that constitute the theory (Charmaz, 2006: 96). As data collection and data analysis are interwoven, this procedure should allow for theory to germinate and grow by continually moving backwards and forwards between ideas and data (Seale, 2004: 84). Willig and Stainton-Rogers (2007: 243) assert that theoretical sampling is a strategy which keeps the analysis grounded and makes it fit the studied phenomenon. This allows for clarity and precision as it is done until saturation is achieved.

4.4.13 Saturation

Saturation occurs when the gathering of more data reveals no new properties of a theoretical category, nor yields further insights about the emerging grounded data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 143; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2007: 243). When this occurs, one ceases coding for that category, and one therefore no longer needs to add to categories or their properties.

4.4.14 Theory development

Because GT is an “emergent theory”, it does not test a hypothesis. This researcher rather used observation, conversation and interviews to surface the emergent theory. This is done by means of interviews, transcription thereof, coding, categorisation, memoing, etc. Theory emerges through comparison, referred to as the constant comparative method, in this case, from interview to interview. Core categories that appears central to the study will eventually emerge.

The process as explained above is repeated until no more significant new codes and categories are added. At this point “saturation” is reached, and for example, further interviews will not add any further value.

During the final stage, the data analysis stage, the theory is presented and validated.

4.5 Triangulation

This research project, and therefore the interviews, is conducted more than 25 years after the actual events. As such, the researcher has identified the need to ensure that the research results remain both reliable and valid. This risk to the research process will be reduced by means of triangulation. Olsen (2004: 3) defines triangulation as the mixing of data methods so that varied viewpoints shed better light on a topic. Both qualitative and quantitative data are collected simultaneously so that the investigator can converge the data to make comparisons between contextualised qualitative data and the normative quantitative data (Creswell & Creswell, 2005 :6). In the case of this study by mixing three methodologies, namely GT (interviews), with CA, and the literature review, is a more insightful form of triangulation. Where GT is used inductively as an emerging theory, the quantitative content analysis is a deductive

methodology, where the theory is tested or verified rather than developed (Creswell, 2003: 125). Here the results are tested to confirm or disconfirm the theory. Creswell proposes, as is done in this study, that this quantitative data is done in a separate section so as to provide a complete explication thereof. The outcome is that this two-phase approach blends well, and complements each other as different perspectives can be gained from the different types of data.

According to Du Plooy (2007: 38-39) the main reasons for wanting to apply triangulation would be to test theoretical assumptions in more than one way and to increase the reliability and validity of observations, analyses and findings. Triangulation will occur by triangulating the oral history with the literature review and the content analysis findings. In simple terms, it is the use of several different research methods and sources to test the same finding (Du Plooy, 1997: 111). Erlandson, Harris, Skipper and Allen as cited in Stemler (2001: 7), propose that:

[t]riangulation lends credibility to the findings by incorporating multiple sources of data, methods, investigators, or theories.

Data gathered from the individual interviews will be validated and compared with background information gathered via the literature review as well as the information gathered via the study of the newspaper articles.

Figure 3 (below) shows how triangulation will be conducted in order to improve the reliability and validity of the study. The GT graphic has already been described in section 4.4.2. Insights gained from the GT process, the CA process and the literature review are then triangulated as demonstrated by the arrows.

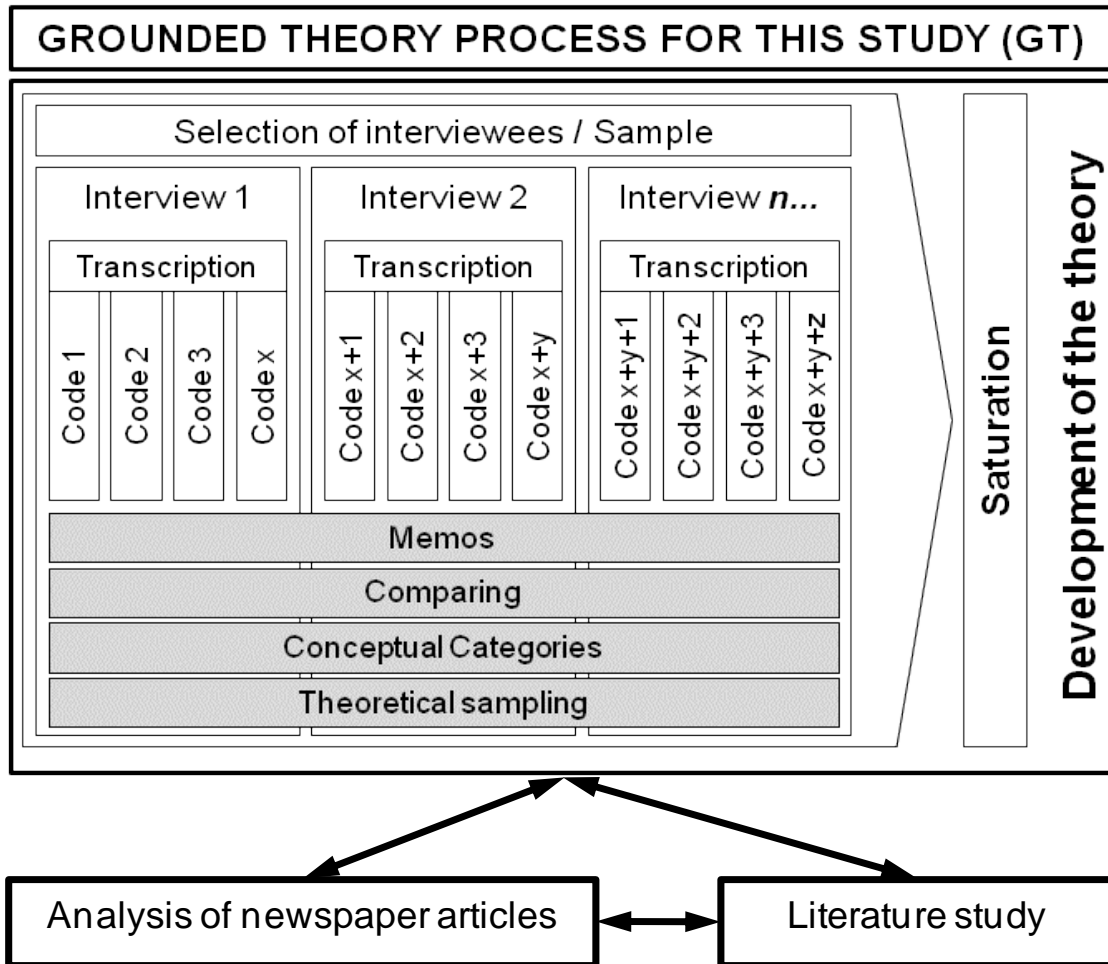


Figure 3: Triangulation (developed by the researcher for this study).

4.6 Ethical issues

Informed consent (See Appendix B for the consent form) and privacy are ethical considerations that are very important aspects and apply to each of the participants in this study. This personal, psychological and emotional journey for many demanded utmost respect, thoughtfulness and sensitivity.

All of the participants in the interviews were given the questions beforehand and were assured that their participation is voluntary. Even if the questions are not very

invasive, they were informed that they are not obliged to answer any of the questions they are uncomfortable with.

After e-mail correspondence with Ms Charamba (2010) as referred to in 2.3.2, this researcher overestimated the willingness of participants in the sense that it would be good or therapeutic for the participants to talk about their experiences. This was the experience in Zimbabwe, where the women ex-combatants endured much more suffering than their South African counterparts. Some South African women still find it painful to talk about that part of their history (Suttner, 2004: 3).

The participants signed consent forms that were approved and cleared by the University's ethics board to give the researcher permission that their recorded and transcribed conversations may be used in this study.

4.7 Summary: Methodology

Charmaz and Bryant (2010: 164) caution that many researchers misunderstand the constant comparative process, and that for many the term GT refers simply attaching codes to data. In the review of the literature this method was found to be a valuable tool for discovering and developing a grounded theory. Figure 2 and Figure 3 can be considered as summaries of the complete GT theory processes as conducted in this study. This different, pragmatic methodology allows for "imaginative engagement with data" and is about "developing grounded theories" (Charmaz & Bryant, 2010: 25). Triangulation will be used to validate the outcomes of the GT and CA process.

This chapter provided extensive insights into the methodologies to be applied in this study. The GT methodology and the CA of the newspapers form a good partnership as they are not two entirely dissimilar methodologies. The triangulation with the literature review will lend credibility to the findings. The essence of the ethical clearance was outlined.

In **Chapter 5** the newspapers will be analysed by applying the CA process as described in this chapter.

Chapter 5: Newspaper Analysis (CA process)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a brief general background, as context, of what the print media was about before and shortly after the unbanning of the ANC. This will offer some perspective and understanding of the analysis of the newspapers later in this chapter. The analysis and comparison of the two newspapers, *The Cape Argus*, previously *The Argus*, at the period of investigation, and the *Cape Times*, will then commence. The period under investigation is from 3 February, 1990 until 2 March, 1990. The 3rd of February 1990, is the day after the highly publicised unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations.

5.2 Background of the media before and shortly after apartheid

Press Reference (2010: 6) asserts that the recent media history of South Africa can be divided into two phases,

- during apartheid and
- after apartheid.

They view these two categories as defining the fundamental changes that have reshaped South Africa since it was reaccepted into the international community of nations.

South Africa has a long and varied history of human suffering, as phrased by Posel (2008: 1):

[b]efore 1994, the apartheid system was a global sign of the brutalization and degradation that accrued from a toxic politics of radicalized difference and exclusion.

Within this system of apartheid, where black people were denied citizenship, South Africa was divided into separate and unequal social structures that infiltrated all spheres of life. The ultimate purpose was to create a white dominated country in which black people had no part (Press Reference, 2010: 4).

McEachern (2002: 8) highlights the fact that media of all kinds, with few exceptions, were deeply implicated in apartheid rule, legitimating it and silencing those who were committed to wanting the public to know the truth. During the apartheid years, alternative means of communication had to be found to circumvent the media forms that were pro-government. According to Bosch, (2006: 250), “alternative press acted as a catalyst for political changes such as the unbanning of ... the ANC in 1990, and the release of ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, in 1990”. Security measures had to be taken and suggestions for security would become characteristic of underground publications over the years (Suttner, 2003: 12), one of which suggested:

[w]e shall continue to work Underground until the unjust and immoral ban suppressing the ANC has been repealed. This bulletin, ‘Congress Voice’, will be issued from time to time. Read it. Study it. Pass it on. But do not be caught with it, or tell anyone where you got it.

During the states of emergencies after 1976 and during the 1980s, South African newspapers were routinely subjected to banning and censoring. A diversity of opinion was not tolerated by the government, therefore certain issues, e.g., the death sentence, was a challenge “to the media to report in a fashion that encourages tolerance of a diversity of opinion” (Duncan & Seleokane, 1998: 86). One can therefore, according to Duncan & Seleokane (1998: 86), argue that the broader South African media could easily have fanned “the flames of prejudice and intolerance with potentially dangerous consequences”. During the apartheid period freedom of expression was seriously curtailed and media censorship and government interference and intolerance were at its height (Duncan & Seleokane, 1998: 13). Gilbert (as cited in Duncan & Seleokane, 1998: 107) views freedom of expression as one of the “greatest casualties” of apartheid.

5.3 ANC media initiatives

The ANC had to devise their own media initiatives and campaigns because, as a banned organisation this was a challenging endeavour. They therefore had to focus more on international exposure. These were their strategies:

5.3.1 Radio Freedom

Radio Freedom started life as a clandestine station operating from inside its target country, where it had regular broadcasts in an ANC hideout in Johannesburg in 1963 (Mosia, Riddle & Zaffiro, 1994: 7).

When *Radio Freedom* started out, the station had no formal funding (Mosia *et al.*, 1994: 8). Financial assistance was mainly from empathisers from abroad, particularly the Netherlands and most of the Eastern Bloc countries. Mosia *et al.* (1994: 8), assert that non-governmental groups were prepared to give open moral, political and material support to the freedom struggle. At a later stage, a Dutch organisation, *Omroep Voor Radio Freedom*, was established which provided the ANC with broadcasting equipment.

According to Mosia *et al.* (1994: 3) radio was used to denounce exploitation, discrimination and minority rule that came with colonialism. This was achieved through political education which mobilised the masses to unite and stand up against minority rule.

5.3.2 The alternative press

According to Harber (2004: 86) alternative press has always “played an unusually important role”. Switzer (1997: 1) however, views this as “a largely unrecognised role in the making of modern South Africa”. This press was termed “alternative” (Afolayan, 2004: 113) because

- They did not belong to the mainstream press, they presented a new approach in covering social and political news;
- They were “uncompromisingly outspoken about the apartheid state”; and
- They brought a black perspective to the covering of news in white-dominated South Africa, which brought inequities to the fore and “provided a medium of expression” to marginalised, and alienated groups and individuals.

These papers were essentially non-commercial and -profit driven; therefore restricted in terms of funding and news coverage and therefore, in effect, short-lived

(Henrichsen, 1997: 23). They concentrated on getting the message out rather than making a profit. During 1983 to 1985, there were a variety of alternative papers in circulation, servicing certain target areas and specific target audiences with specific goals. For example, Seekings (as cited in Switzer & Adhikari, 2000: 45) asserts that the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliates used the media to mobilise, recruit, organise and conscientise the masses.

According to Switzer and Adhikari (2000: 33, 253) the tone of these newspapers ranged from being guardedly sympathetic, relatively moderate to being outright militant. As Merret and Saunders (as cited in Switzer & Adhikari, 2000: 67) say about the contribution of the *Weekly Mail*: they “not only worked for a new democratic order; it helped, in a small way, to bring it about”. Afolayan (2004: 113) is adamant that they contributed to the revival of national consciousness that eventually ensured the demise of apartheid and the apartheid state. What led to the demise of these papers in the 1980s was arguably stringent censorship. Journalists were intimidated, arrested, fined, banned and even murdered (Horwitz, 2001: 55). Merret (1995: 88-89) gives a detailed account of these atrocities. These will not be discussed here, as it falls outside the scope of this work.

One should include and acknowledge the highly successful poster and pamphleteering campaigns which the ANC, UDF and other such organisations launched in order to educate the masses and inform them of meetings, etc. These also created awareness in people who did not have access to radio, as it informed them of events, marches, etc. Gerhart (1979: viii) informs that pamphleteering used to be the nearly exclusive domain of white South Africans, but after the Second World War it became a widespread means of political communication among the black population as well.

5.4 How SRT can assist in changing media perspectives

As stated in 3.2.6, the SRT is a useful theoretical application to this study. According to Richards (2005: 8), in this theory the responsibilities of the press and the broadcast news media must be emphasised over its freedoms and the press are subjected to moral and ethical restrictions. The media have a critical role to play in social cohesion, as, according to Jupp, Nieuwenhuysen and Dawson (2007: 159), they are the “primary machinery in the promotion of both social cohesion and conflict”. This

has not happened and this is where the application of the Hutchins Commissions' recommendations (see 3.2.6.2) can arguably play a constructive role. Critics accused the SRT of being a laissez-faire media system, yet "the recommendations of the Commission have become mainstays of the workplace culture of journalists" (McQuail, 2002: 184).

Often both government and the media default in their social responsibility (Hiebert & Gibbons, 2000: 47). For the purposes of this study, one can state that it is generally accepted that the duty of both these instruments is to raise consciousness, especially of gender sensitive issues, e.g., HIV/AIDS, equality, inequality and equity issues. Sesanti (2009: 215) argues that the media is one of the platforms which were identified by women's rights activists to fight their case. Okello-Orlale (as cited in Sesanti, 2009: 215) believes that media have "the power to change perceptions and attitudes and might be a useful instrument for advancing the status of women and fostering equality between men and women".

5.5 Analysis of the newspapers

5.5.1 Introduction

As mentioned previously, women had always played an important role in South African society, and in effect in our history. They were the loyal matriarchs, the protectors of their communities and guardians of activist children and were held in high esteem in the ANC and MK. As Oliver Tambo (McClintock, 2010: 13) in his 1987 speech declared:

The mothers of the nation, the womenfolk as a whole are the titans of our struggle.

Patriarchal influences however played a major role in male perceptions. The ANC, that was essentially a patriarchal force, cannot alone be blamed for the neglect of acknowledgement in general, of women's efforts. Through this Content Analysis, the researcher wants to establish whether the specific newspapers acknowledged the role of women in the struggle by using them as sources directly after the unbanning of the ANC.

5.5.2 The data analysis process

This section of the study will be based on quantitative analysis. Quantitative research methodology is supported by the positivist or scientific model, which regards the world as made up of “observable, measurable facts” (Golafshani, 2003: 598). Golafshani continues by stating that because of the quantifiable nature of the data, which is based on numeric data sources, relationships are expressed using statistical tools.

The process commenced by retrieving the back copies of the *Cape Times* and *The Argus*, at the Stellenbosch University library archives. Either photographs were taken or photocopies were made of all of the articles containing the specific key words (See section 4.2.3). This was done consecutively from the 3rd of February, 1990 up until the 2nd of March 1990. The newspapers were carefully scrutinised so as to not miss any articles containing information of or including the names of ANC members or operatives or their affiliates, male or female.

5.5.2.1 Newspaper reports analysis

By analysing the newspapers, it was important to gain insight and report on how the media treated women compared to men in their reports. Below are ways (including examples) in which a person could be noted in an article:

a) Reported on

The reporter would comment on a situation and in the process will mention the name of a person. In the example below, Nelson Mandela will be viewed as “reported on” (See Table 5), meaning that he was not quoted in the article but his name appeared in a report.

“Mr Nelson Mandela will visit Tanzania later this month for talks with government leaders and a tour of African National Congress training camps...” (*Cape Times*: 14 February 1990: 2).

b) As quoted

In other situations the reporter will either quote a person directly or will rephrase what a person said. In the example below, Mr Sisulu will be viewed “as quoted” (See Table 5), meaning he was either quoted directly or what he said was rephrased by the journalist. Mr Kathrada, Mr Mandela and Ms Mandela, however are viewed as “reported on”.

“Mr Sisulu said today only Mr Kathrada would go to Sweden with Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie” (*The Argus*: 20 February 2001: 3).

The above distinction assisted in the analysis process by allowing the researcher to determine whether males and females were treated differently by the media not only in terms of the number of times their names appeared in newspaper reports but also with respect to being “quoted” or being “reported on”.

5.5.2.2 Data analysis instrument

The researcher constructed an instrument in which to capture the data from the CA process. These were filed/ logged on an Excel spreadsheet consecutively by day and by newspaper for analysis. In Table 5 below the headings with a description of the spreadsheet are provided (See also Appendix C for an example of the newspaper data as captured in excel). This data was the primary source of the analysis and allowed the researcher to determine how females were represented in comparison to males during that month in South Africa’s history. This method was arduous, but proved to be the most accurate.

Field	Description
No	Row number in the Excel spreadsheet.
Page	The page of the newspaper where the article was found.
Newspaper	The newspaper name: <i>The Argus</i> or <i>Cape Times</i> .
Day of the month	The date of the month the article appeared.
Headline	The headline of the article.
Organisation	Main category of organisation the person quoted or reported on belongs to.
Organisation Sub-category	The sub-category of the organisation that the person quoted or reported on belongs to.

Field	Description
ANC members	Identification of all people identified that belongs to the ANC or affiliated organisations.
Person noted in the article	The person quoted or reported on (as defined above) in the article.
As quoted or reported on	Identification whether the person was quoted in the article or only reported on (as defined above).
Position	The position of the person in the organisation or a description of the role the person played.
Comment	Comment that may be relevant.
Male/ Female	Sex of the person quoted or reported on .
Week of article	The week in which the article appeared.

Table 5: The fields in the databases used for this analysis.

5.5.3 Articles reviewed

Through the CA process, a total of 527 articles were found that either reported on or quoted people and organisations that opposed the National Party (NP) Government.

Newspaper	Number of articles
<i>Cape Times</i>	325
<i>The Argus</i>	202
Total	527

Table 6: Articles reviewed.

5.5.4 Identification of organisations and people

In the process of extracting the information from the newspapers, only South African people and organisations who opposed the apartheid system were included. Those opposing the NP can be divided into the following categories:

- ANC and affiliated organisations: In the case of the ANC and its affiliated organisations such as the UDF, Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU), SACP, etc., it became a complex process to link individuals to the ANC. The reason for this is due to the fact that many activists and leaders working inside the country could, prior to 2 February 1990, not declare their allegiance to the ANC. For the purpose of this study, all people belonging to, or representing the ANC and affiliated organisations were categorised under the ANC.
- Opposition parties that played some role in the internal South African political landscape such as the Labour Party (LP), Inkhata Freedom Party (IFP) and Homeland leaders.

- Opposition parties to the left of the NP such as the Democratic Party (DP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).
- The NP and organisations to its right such as the Conservative Party, were excluded from the analysis process.

The pie chart below (Figure 3) provides a view of how the organisations were categorised. A total of 1094 cases were found where people belonging to organisations opposing the NP were either quoted or were reported on.

A total of 20 organisations or groupings were originally identified. In many cases it was found that a particular organisation was only reported on once or twice. In these cases the organisation was grouped under the category “other organisations”. This process led to the eight groupings below. In the vast majority of cases, 825 in fact, people from the ANC were quoted or reported on, followed by the DP with 61 cases.

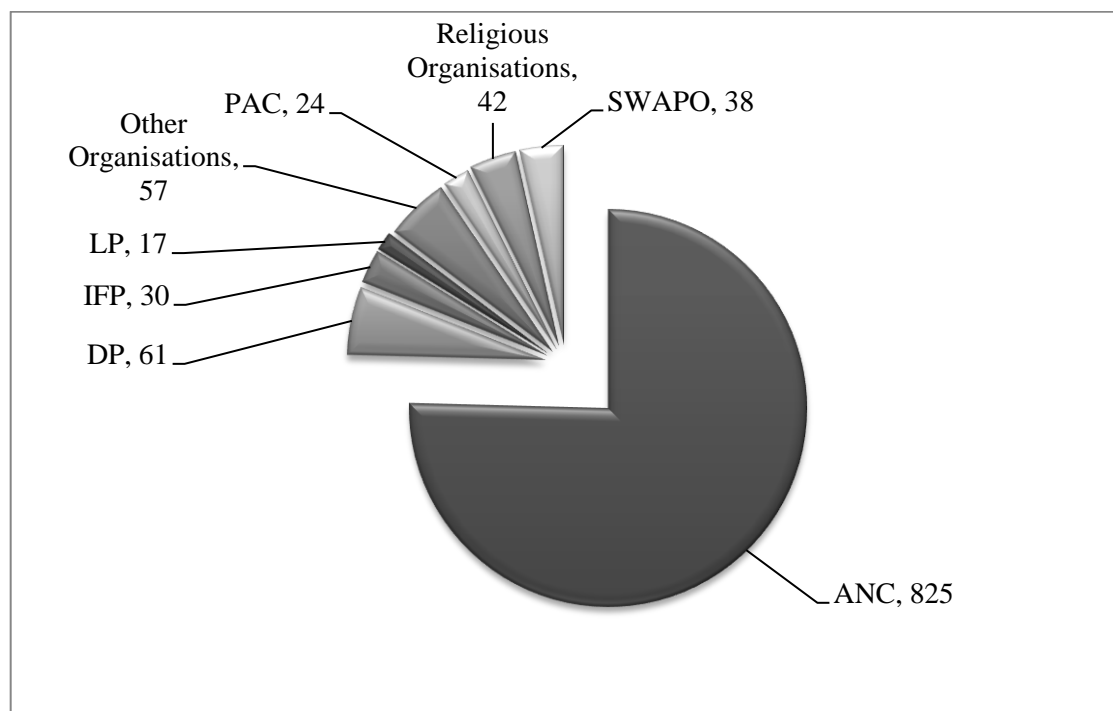


Figure 3: Organisations represented in newspaper articles.

What is clear from Table 7 below is that in the vast majority of cases, the ANC or its affiliated organisations (as defined above) were reported on or quoted in articles. They were reported on in 444 articles and quoted or reported on 825 times.

While the CA process, from a gender perspective, has taken into account all men and women noted in these articles, the focus of the further analysis process concentrated on the reports on females in the ANC and its affiliated organisations.

Organisation	Number of times a person of the organisation is quoted or reported on:	Number of articles in which the organisation is quoted or reported on:
ANC	825	444
DP	61	51
IFP	30	27
LP	17	10
Other Organisations	57	40
PAC	24	19
Religious Organisations	42	34
SWAPO	38	35
Grand Total	1094	660

Table 7: Categories of organisations and people quoted and articles reviewed.

From the review of the *Cape Times* and *The Argus*, a total of 1094 quotes or reports on people for the period 3 February 1990 to 2 March 1990 were logged. More reports were found in the *Cape Times* (665) compared to the *Argus* (429). As can be seen in Table 8 below, most reports were found in the first two weeks in both newspapers.

Newspaper	Week of article	No of Articles
Total		665
<i>Cape Times</i>	Week 1	260
	Week 2	242
	Week 3	103
	Week 4	60
Total		429
<i>The Argus</i>	Week 1	135
	Week 2	125
	Week 3	73
	Week 4	96
Grand Total		1094

Table 8: Newspapers by week and articles.

5.5.5 Reports by gender

Out of the 1094 reports, a total of 987 were reports on males, while only 107 were reports on women. A deeper analysis (Table 9) also shows that males are quoted more than females. In 248 (89.2%) cases males were quoted, compared to only 30 (10.8%) cases where females were quoted. The same pattern is apparent with respect to reports on male versus female. In only 77 (9.4%) cases females were reported on compared to 739 (90.6%) reports on males.

Gender	As quoted (No)	Reported on (No)	Grand Total (No)	As quoted (%)	Reported on (%)
Female	30	77	107	10.8%	9.4%
Male	248	739	987	89.2%	90.6%
Total	278	816	1094	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9: Report by gender.

5.5.6 Reports on ANC women by gender

Table 10 below reflects the number of males and females represented by the ANC (as defined above) and other organisations. As can be seen, most of the women reported on were from the ANC, namely 84 compared to only 23 cases representing all other organisations.

Organisation	Female	Male	Total
ANC	84	741	825
Other	23	246	269
Total	107	987	1094

Table 10: Reports on ANC and other organisations by gender.

Of the 825 ANC cases extracted from the newspapers, only 84 (10.18%) were reports on females while a total of 741 (89.82%) were reports on males (See Table 11 below). While males were quoted in 17.7% of the total cases in which the ANC were quoted, females were quoted only 2.67% in cases where ANC people were quoted.

ANC			
Male / Female	As quoted or reported on	Number of items	% of total items
Total Female		84	10.18%
Female	As quoted	22	2.67%
	Reported on	62	7.52%
Total Male		741	89.82%
Male	As quoted	146	17.70%
	Reported on	595	72.12%
Grand Total		825	100.00%

Table 11: ANC quoted and reported on by gender.

5.5.7 Reports on ANC women

Table 12 below shows all the women in ANC or affiliated organisations that were quoted or reported on. In only 22 cases were women quoted, while they were reported on in 62 cases. What is interesting to note is that of the 22 cases where women were quoted, only four women, namely Winnie Madikizela Mandela, Makaziwe Mandela, Eveline Mandela and Frene Ginwala were quoted more than once. All other women were quoted only once over the identified period. With respect to reports on women, the situation is not better. In only nine cases were women reported on more than once, with Winnie Madikizela Mandela topping the list by being reported on 23 times.

Women in ANC or affiliated organisations		
Quoted or reported on	Women quoted or reported on	Number of times women were quoted or reported on
Total Female quoted		22
As quoted	Winnie Madikizela Mandela	8
	Makaziwe Mandela	3
	Eveline Mandela	2
	Frene Ginwala	2
	Farieda Omar	1
	Fatima Meer	1
	Lumka Yengeni	1
	Maggi Resha	1
	Mamphela Ramphele	1
	Miriam Makeba	1
	Zindzi Mandela	1
Total Female reported on		62
Reported on	Winnie Madikizela Mandela	23

Women in ANC or affiliated organisations		
Quoted or reported on	Women quoted or reported on	Number of times women were quoted or reported on
	Fatima Meer	5
	Zindzi Mandela	4
	Albertina Sisulu	4
	Lumka Yengeni	3
	Zenani Mandela	2
	Cheryl Carolus	2
	Colleen Lombard	2
	Zuraya Abass	2
	Jenny Schreiner	1
	Ellen Khuzwayo	1
	Maggie Friedman	1
	Erica Elk	1
	Hilda Ndude	1
	Barbara Masekela	1
	Eleanor Daniels	1
	Dideka Mhlaba	1
	Ruth First	1
	Ela Ramgobin	1
	Gertrude Fester	1
	Caroline Motsoaledi	1
	Farieda Omar	1
	Audrey Coleman	1
	Eveline Mandela	1
Grand Total		84

Table 12: ANC women quoted and reported on.

5.5.7.1 Reports on women as wives of their husbands

While women were reported on rarely (compared to their male counterparts), as can be observed from the analysis reported thus far, a further disturbing trend has been observed. Klenke (1996: 118) maintains, that “a systematic study of the way mass media depict women leaders would show that the typical presentation of female leaders as exceptions may actually discourage rather than promote, any role identification by stressing the exceptionality of women in leadership roles”. Women who in their own right can be viewed as leaders, anti-apartheid activists and even political elders were often found to be reported on as the wives of their husbands (Klenke, 1996: 120). These women were powerful participants in the Struggle in their own right. Women are subjective beings with their own thoughts, histories, and

emotions (Rockler-Gladen, 2008: 1). Yet, in these articles these women are not featured or quoted, but merely mentioned as the wives of their husbands.

As so many others, Albertina Sisulu, for example, was an active leader in the anti-apartheid movement while her husband was in jail and in exile. In the foreword to the book written by their daughter-in-law, Elinor Sisulu (2003: 6), Nelson Mandela says:

Albertina is one of those women who suffered immensely and who struggled heroically without ever flinching. In the dark days after the Rivonia Trial, she was one of the key links between the internal and external movement, and kept the embers of resistance alive.

This speaks volumes, especially coming from someone of Mandela's stature. As a couple, the Sisulus were together nearly 59 years; 26 of which Walter Sisulu was on Robben Island. In her own capacity, Albertina Sisulu had to fend for herself and her children as well as working for the ANC, where "her role as mother cannot be narrowly confined to that of caregiver or whatever other conventional notions attach to motherhood" (Suttner, 2004: 249). In this case, therefore, the "harmonisation between personal and political needs" was possible, despite great stresses (Suttner, 2004: 249).

In many articles it was found that male leaders with similar or even lesser political profiles than Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Madikizela Mandela were more often featured, reported on and quoted in the media. In the case of these and other women like them, however, their opinions were rarely heard and they were often reported on as the wives of their husbands, as already stated and as can be seen in the examples below (see Appendix D for the relevant newspaper articles):

Examples of newspaper reports follow, where the “wives” who are leaders in their own capacity, are disregarded by the newspapers:

Winnie Mandela:

Report: “Mr Mandela will be accompanied by his wife Winnie”

Headline: Mandela to visit ANC’s camps in Tanzania

Newspaper: *Cape Times*

Date: 9 February 1990

Page: 7

Report: “He (Mandela), his wife Winnie and his daughter Zindzi with two other smaller children then went into their home”.

Headline: Home at last for the Mandela’s

Newspaper: *Cape Times*

Date: 14 February 1990

Page: 2

Report: “Mr Mandela will be accompanied by his wife Winnie”

Headline: Mandela to visit ANC's camps in Tanzania

Newspaper: *Cape Times*

Date: 14 February 1990

Page: 2

Report: “Mr Kathrada would go to Sweden with Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie”. Mrs Mhlaba and Mrs Motsoaledi are mentioned in the same capacity.

Headline: Senior ANC seven to fly with Mandela

Newspaper: *The Argus*

Date: 20 February 1990

Page: 3

Albertina Sisulu:

Report: “... walked straight into a brief meeting with ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu, his wife Albertina, Dr Allan Boesak and the SACC general-secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane.

Headline: Jesse Jackson here “to unite all SA blacks”

Newspaper: *Cape Times*

Date: 8 February 1990

Page: 3

Report: “... Mr Jackson was met by recently released ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife Albertina ...”

Headline: FW "could save SA" - Jackson

Newspaper: *Cape Times*

Date: 9 February 1990

Page: 7

In a similar comparative study, Byerly and Ross (2006: 47) came to similar conclusions. In the study they refer to, it was found that of the 1126 studies which were coded, 20% of named sources were women. Gallagher, as cited in Byerly and Ross (2006: 47), similarly found that of the 1236 “stories that were analysed over a composite week”, a mere 16% were women.

Gallagher (in Byerly & Ross, 2006: 190) regards the unequal gender balance of power and resources as “primordial, something that is embedded in all other inequalities (for example, ethnic, political).” She believes that policies must be put in place to assure that the media meet their responsibility to redress these imbalances.

5.6 Summary: Newspaper analysis

Media in a democracy, as Lovaas (2010: 5) sees it, should be healthy and free and it should promote a wide range of ideas about contemporary issues and problems that should include female issues.

This CA established that the media reinforced gender stereotypes and did not give equal voice to women ANC sources. This is evident with respect to the role of women

in the ANC as they very rarely featured in these newspapers. From the analysis it is evident that the media were predictable in its representation of females.

At the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, a platform for action was developed where strategies and action plans were put in place. One of the many topics under discussion was Women and the Media. Actions that should be taken by governments, national and international media systems, non-governmental organisations and media professional associations, mass media and advertising organisations, etc., were discussed in an effort to empower the media and its affiliates to better deal with this serious and sensitive matter.

According to studies based on research done on the presentation and representation of women by the media, as shown in the literature review for this study, the outcome of the newspaper analysis, should also be seen against the light of the many adverse factors which played a role in why the roles of women were to a large extent downplayed or ignored by the media. Therefore, in terms of this study, the experience of women MK cadres in exile, their contribution to the Struggle, and the fact that the media in effect ignored their contribution should also be weighed against the fact that censorship was inherently linked to the apartheid system. Yet, in the case of women, their voices were always hardly audible. Even reportage straight after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, as established by this CA, made no change to the fact that they were not newsworthy. This is a clear indication of the stereotypes that remain undisputed in the hegemonic male media systems.

Chapter 6: Interview Analysis

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the interviews with certain selected female ANC cadres. The transcribed and coded field notes of the data collected in the interviews will be analysed. The stories that unfold from the interviews will be described in terms of the categories and the codes generated by the relevant qualitative analysis. This will also be linked to the literature review.

6.2 Background

Historical research, according to Gawronski, Leedy and Sanderlin (as cited in Du Plooy, 1997: 90) involves “reading the messages and understanding the significant communication of people in past societies”. The underlying purpose of this, oral history research study, as Powell (cited in Cana, 2003: 1) suggests, also boils down to “true historical research”. Powell further claims that

[h]istoriography or intellectual history is concerned with analysing and interpreting the meaning of historical events within their context.

The value of oral history also lies in its important social purpose, namely that it helps society to understand how the political system under which it lives came about and how conflict has played and continues to play a role in that process (Du Bruyn, 2003: 2). Linked to this process, Du Plooy (1997: 91) states that

[a]ll our information about events in the past is indirect and is available to us only through a reconstructed account of past events, or stories that people tell to explain the past.

6.3 The data collection process

The information was collected by conducting in-depth conversational interviews at a venue of the interviewees' choice. These venues were mainly their homes. With the interviewees' permission, these interviews were recorded. At the insistence of the first interviewee the conversation was also video-recorded. When this was mentioned to

the following two participants, they agreed to have their interviews video-recorded as well. This was done purely as a keepsake for the participant, but with the express and generous permission that it may be used as part of this study.

Even if the interviewees gave written permission that their identities may be revealed in this study, the researcher chose to keep their identities undisclosed, by referring to them as interviewees A, B and C.

6.3.1 Memoing

Rubin and Babbie (2009: 307) define memoing as:

[a] qualitative data analysis technique used at several stages of data processing to capture code meanings, theoretical ideas, preliminary conclusions, and other thoughts that will be useful during analysis.

According to Rubin and Babbie (2009: 307) this process in the GT method is not just about simply categorising large amounts of text. As the data is coded, the technique of memoing – writing notes to yourself and being mindful and sensitive to the research you are involved in, is used. Babbie (2009: 405) states that we always think of writing as a linear process, where you start at the beginning and move to the conclusion. Memoing on the other hand is very different in the sense that it “might be characterised as a process of creating chaos and then finding order within it”. This was done throughout the interview as well as the coding process as the research unfolds. Insights obtained through the memoing process are incorporated throughout the interview analysis process leading to follow-up questions that may broaden the scope of the research. Appendix E contains a few examples of memo’s made in this study.

6.3.2 Interviews and transcriptions

The interviews were recorded on an Olympus recorder, which comes with software that allows for recordings to be downloaded onto a computer. This software has a function that permits slowing down, and speeding up the recording, which assisted significantly in the speed of the transcribing process.

The researcher included a general variety of open-ended questions (See Appendix F for the complete questionnaire on which the interviews were based) that could be divided into the following categories, with a few added questions overlapping and augmenting these. These questions dealt with:

- Family;
- Motivation in the sense of joining a banned organisation;
- Gender issues – with specific reference to media;
- Military training;
- Purpose – the drive and determination behind sacrifices made by joining;
- Personal – e.g. issues around counselling received upon return; and
- Issues around legal/ illegal exiting and entry into the country.

According to the extensive answers acquired from the detailed in-depth interviews that were conducted by using open-ended questions, the researcher was able to, in a non-threatening environment, obtain valuable information.

6.3.3 Coding

Line-by-line coding enabled fast and efficient generation of codes and the development of categories. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2008: 164) suggest that line-by-line coding is an excellent heuristic device for coding interviews and certain types of narrative data. An excerpt (word, line or paragraph) is identified in the transcript and a word is consequently identified to describe this incident or occurrence; these are then sorted and categorised into main- and sub-categories. Categories may be taken directly from the respondents' discourse or it may represent the researchers' "theoretical or substantive definition" of what is happening in the data (Smith, Harré & Van Langenhove, 1995: 41). The coding process is likely to lead to changes in the categories as renewed thinking about the analysis develops.

The coding process itself is detailed extensively in 4.4.8.

6.3.4 The coding software

The researcher familiarised herself with QDA Miner software by transcribing the first interview and coding it using the software. The software was found to be user-friendly and appropriate to use in the application of the GT methodology. After the transcribing of the interviews into MS Word, these transcribed documents were imported into the QDA Miner software for coding and categorisation. Appendix G provides a screendump of the QDA Miner Software screen, showing some of its unique features. This unique and powerful tool allows the researcher a quick way to do flexible, innovative and in-depth analysis whilst staying close to the data, without losing track (Provalis Research, 2010).

The following methodology was followed during the coding process:

- The first interview was conducted and transcribed and the results were coded and categorised by using QDA Miner. Memos were made during the coding and categorising process (See section 4.4.9 for a detailed explanation of the purpose of writing memos).
- The oral history (6.4) that came out of the interview was then written up.
- The next interview was conducted, transcribed and coded following the same procedures as before, but adding to the existing codes and categories. The already written oral history was then reviewed and added to, based on the new information obtained during the second interview process. Memos were once again noted.
- The same process was done for the third interview. During this process it was found no significant codes and categories further developed. Saturation was thus reached.

Because quite extensive detail was acquired from the interview process, not all the data is of equal value to the study. Namey, Guest, Thairu and Johnson (2007: 138) therefore suggest that the elimination of data not relevant to the analysis at hand is usually the first and arguably the simplest form of data reduction. This is clearly spelt out by Miles and Huberman (as cited in Namey *et al.*, 2007: 138) when he says that:

[d]ata reduction is something not separate from analysis. It is part of analysis. The researcher's decisions – which data chunks to code and which to pull out, which evolving story to tell – are all analytic choices.

Data reduction is a form of analysis that sharpens, sorts, focuses, discards, and organizes data in such a way that “final” conclusions can be drawn and verified.

After the interviews were coded, there were 25 categories which the researcher, with the data reduction technique, reduced to 18. This was done largely with variables that are irrelevant to the study and would in effect clutter the findings. In Table 13 below, the 18 categories and the number of codes in each category is shown. Also see Appendix H for a full list of all the categories and their codes.

No	Core Categories	Number of Codes
1	Abuse	7
2	After return from exile	9
3	ANC	3
4	Camps	7
5	Deployment	3
6	Exile	11
7	Family	8
8	Gender	11
9	Language and culture	3
10	Media	2
11	MK	4
12	Personal	11
13	Political	8
14	Relationship with spouse	5
15	Relationships	5
16	Sacrifices made	2
17	Separation issues	2
18	Training	10
Grand Total		111

Table 13: Codes and Categories.

The concepts of coding and categorising were dealt with in **Chapter 4: Methodology** (see 4.4). Codes are created by what is seen in the data. Codes emerge as data is scrutinised and meanings in it is defined. One should just be mindful because Charmaz (2006: 47) warns that:

[t]hrough this active coding, you interact with your data again and again and ask many different questions of them. As a result, coding may take you into unforeseen areas and new research questions.

The afore-mentioned can send one off course if one is not careful.

Once all interviews were conducted and the data coded and categorised, the data was exported from QDA Miner into Excel using the export facility (See Appendix I for a sample of the data exported to Excel). In Excel, the data was sorted by category and this export was used as the basis of the analysis and the writing of the stories below. As part of the triangulation process, these stories were considered against the available literature on the subject.

6.4 The story unfolds

According to Field (2006: 35) oral historians have, since the late 1970s, “established the significance of storytelling and the idea that all memories are selective social constructions.” With the insights provided by the participants an idea of their experiences will be given.

6.4.1 Introduction

Suttner (2002: 5) depicts exile as “a vast and complex phenomenon extending over three decades embracing a variety of experiences”. Lodge (1987: 1) concedes that because of the accompanying environmental hazards, such as loneliness, frustration, ideological dissent, etc., exile is “perceived as an experience which is inherently detrimental and problematic”.

Listening to the stories of these women, the aforementioned comes through clearly. Nevertheless, as is evident from their stories, and as will be seen later, these women handled themselves and their situation remarkably well. Hassim (2006) in her Chapter 3 titled *The ANC in Exile: Challenging the Role of Women in National Liberation*, paints a rather bleak picture of the issues concerning women in the ANC, and especially MK, from an early stage. These will be discussed in conjunction with the analysis of the interviews in the appropriate categories below. Hassim (2006: 100) highlights the limits of “rhetorical commitments to equality” in MK and “a slowness to respond to concerns about gender equality”. Gender discrimination was rife in the sense that women were often better shots than men. They were however not allowed to participate in sniper training. They were also excluded from combat roles. Some

exiles experienced the psychological burdens as so intolerable that “in 1984 the Women’s Secretariat reported an increase in the number of women with mental illness” (Hassim: 2006: 88). Hassim reports that MK women were forbidden to fall pregnant. Irrespective of this prohibition, the inevitable happened. Social welfare problems also escalated rapidly after 1976 as noted by Hassim (2006: 88-100). These included:

- An increase in teenage pregnancies;
- Inadequately stocked and staffed health facilities in camps; and
- Widespread violence against women.

Where some people view the ANC’s resorting to an armed Struggle as a setback for women, others see these “developments within MK as the beginning of a new process of opening opportunities for women within the ANC as the movement began to recognize women’s contribution” (Hassim: 2006: 96).

The women interviewed for this study range from having left just after 1976, in the early 1980s and mid-1980s, and they were all in different camps in Angola. These included Pango, Nova Catengue, Viana and Quibaxe. Evidence that emerged from the interviews made it clear that despite the hardships endured by these women, before and after joining MK, they remained optimistic about and loyal to the ANC. They have absolutely no regrets about the choices they have made.

6.4.2 On family and the exodus

Many of the autobiographies, including one written by Jama Matakata (2004), *Hills of Hope*, outline and give accurate accounts of exactly what the life of a political refugee/exile is like. Many of these stories are similar in various respects. The interviewees gave accounts of their upbringing in the townships of Heideveld, Langa and Gugulethu respectively. Apart from cultural discrepancies, all of the interviewees had similar political beliefs and fairly similar socio-economic backgrounds. They were all brought up in families with strong political convictions. The influences of elders in their areas also had a significant impact on the formation of their political opinions and beliefs.

The religious backgrounds were quite dissimilar in the sense that interviewee **B**, who grew up in Langa, was part of the Muslim faith when she was growing up and her father later became an Imam. In a typically traditional patriarchal setting, they were subtly introduced to politics, without really being aware that they were actually indiscernibly politically conscientised. She recalled her father as being very influential, and that they were unaware of the fact that he was teaching the family about politics. She was amused when explaining that whatever her father said was “right” and her mother was “wrong” (Interviewee **B**, 18 July, 2010).

Interviewee **A** also grew up in a Muslim family and **C** in a Christian family. The family dynamics were similar as they are all from working class families and **C** and her brother were raised by an aunt. Though she had contact with her biological mother, she had an excellent relationship with her adoptive parents and had a happy and loving childhood.

All the participants were in their early twenties when they left for exile. Interviewee **A** left the country legally with a passport. Matakata (2004: 27-28) explains their exit as **A** left with his group. The other two, **B** and **C**, left illegally by “jumping the wire”, meaning to cross the border illegally. They all left quietly without informing their families about their plans. This was a precautionary measure to protect those who remained behind. This, however, was like fuel to the Special Branch (SB), who in many instances would now zoom in and harass these families.

Even if these women did not encounter any problems from the SB whilst exiting, it should be noted though, that exiles that left illegally had to face many obstacles such as the crossing of hostile borders and sometimes facing arrest and interrogation in numerous countries just to get to MK or exiled ANC structures (Suttner, 2002: 6).

6.4.3 Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), “Spear of the Nation”, was the active military wing of the ANC. Its objectives are clearly spelt out in its Military Code (See Appendix J). On the 16th December 1961, MK was born. This was home to many cadres, male and female. Where the aspects around MK are concerned, the interviewees focused on were the following:

- Gender;
- Personal;
- Demobilisation;
- Oral histories;
- Camps and Military Training; and
- Language and culture.

6.4.3.1 Gender issues in MK

How were women joining the ranks of MK perceived by males in the organisation? Many females left for exile with their husbands/ boyfriends, some for the wrong reasons, whereas others had their own noble intentions. Even with the increasing role and visibility of females during the 1980s, the male cadres dominated (Hassim, 2004b: 444).

Even if Hassim (2006: 99) refers to MK's "rhetorical commitments to equality", all the interviewees were in agreement that there was no gender division in the camps, at least not at the respective times the respondents had their training. According to interviewee **C**, no matter if it was guard duty at 2am (referred to in the camp as "break-my-heart-hour") in the morning, or kitchen duty, no-one was ever spared because of gender, and everybody was treated equally. As interviewee **B** says:

...the best place to go was MK. We [males and females] were treated equally. If there is roster on the wall for cooking, or for cleaning, we are doing the same job. People used to say our [females] place is in the kitchen, we felt that our place is in the Struggle.

It should however be considered that women have not been directly involved in combat situations with the enemy. As asserted by Cock (1991: 165):

Women have not generally been used in combat roles, as that is conventionally defined to mean direct, hand-to-hand fighting in confrontation with the enemy. As a guerrilla army, MK has not engaged in much of this kind of conventional combat, but the exclusion of women

from combat may be significant given the experience and tradition of actual combat with the enemy is an important ingredient in MK's prestige.

Jacqueline Molefe (Cock, 1991: 162; Cock, 1994: 155) who was appointed as commander of the new MK headquarters in 1983, felt that more women should have been appointed at the top echelons of the organisation. Still, most top positions are even now occupied by men (Cock, 2004: 4). Despite this, the participants felt that MK had a more honourable practice where gender was concerned. Two of the women interviewed, **A** and **B**, are both in the SANDF and they feel that the gender equality in the SANDF is still skewed. According to Interviewee **B**, only three years ago female generals were appointed, whereas in MK some of them had good ranks. Interviewee **A** feels that there are still too many women who are under-ranked.

This is confirmed by Cock (1994: 162) when she says that between 1976 and 1989 there were dramatic increases in women soldiers in both the SADF and MK. Now, long after the merging of the two armies, women are still under-represented in positions of leadership and authority. Cock (1995: 106) notes that at the time when about 250 former MK soldiers were selected to start new careers in the South African Navy, with 11 of them officers-in-training, none of these selectees were women.

In the ANC training camps there was no preferential treatment for the women. The only benefit women had was where their toiletry rations were concerned. Interviewee **C** was amused when she recalled having to get certain women's supplies at the *medico* (Cuban term for doctor), and how the men felt the women were treated differently.

The next section will reflect on personal sentiments and opinions of interviewees.

6.4.3.2 On a personal note

All of the respondents left the country in their early twenties and all of them offer similar motivations and sentiments for joining the movement.

Interviewee A:

I think everybody in South Africa needed a change. Not in the apartheid system only. In our culture, in our economy, all the spheres in South Africa needed a change, so the best place to go was MK ...

Interviewee C:

... the decision to leave the country itself came as the result of the kinds of detentions, the arrests, the harassment by the police. I was left with no option to, immediately after my release from detention in 1985 from section 29; I just had to leave the country. ... if I had [gone back to prison] there was no guarantee that I [would have] come back alive, and I thought it was important that I contribute to my country by all means and I had chosen the route of taking up arms and joining the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These women have strong personalities, endured personal hardships in exile and upon their return, yet they persevered. Fortunately, everyone in this study received counselling at some stage. Upon their return, with the assistance of the counselling services offered by the ANC they had no problem reintegrating back into society.

Interviewee C recalls:

I did receive counselling, in Woodstock. ... There is a trauma centre in Chaplain Street. It used to be a place where people who were going to Robben Island, families who were visiting Robben Island, it was the place where they used to sleep to go to Robben Island. It was converted then to receive the exiles, but it also [offered] trauma counselling.

Interviewee A, after her release from prison for the first time, became involved with the University of Cape Town (UCT), Red Cross and the University of the Western Cape (UWC) who formed a group offering counselling to exiled returnees. Counsellors used to come to her house on a regular basis to check on her and her son. She took her son to Red Cross once a month to see if he was adjusting. She said that a

service was available at Cowley House at the time. Even now, when she has a need for psychological assistance, she goes for counselling.

Separation issues also contributed to the problems experienced in “exile marriages” that spilled over into those relationships of MK ex-combatants who were absorbed into the SANDF. Interviewee **A** found herself in a similar situation as the one in exile. Both herself and her husband are in the employ of the SANDF and have to attend courses, often for months, in different provinces. This proves to be problematic for their relationship. The fact that there are now children involved makes the situation more cumbersome. More often than not, one spouse is deployed to a different province.

She says:

... either the family remains behind or they have to [accompany the spouse, resulting in one being unemployed]. [This] caused lots of disruption in family life and today it is evident. Broken families, split up families, problematic families. Other couples [such as interviewee **A** and her husband] are both in the security system so both of them have to maybe leave home at the same time, leaving the kids behind with family members which is also problematic.... [When] the kids were small [we had] to ask the neighbours to cook. The one [would] cook every Monday, the Tuesday another neighbour [would cook], Wednesday another neighbour. So it would go until the weekend. If you don't have some kind of support structure it becomes complicated.

Under the next caption the issue of demobilisation will be examined.

6.4.3.3 Demobilisation

Despite some personal hardships and also some tragedies, all the participants remain loyal to the ANC. Interviewee **B** was concerned that upon return they were told there was no place for them as MK members. Her concern still lies with the MK veterans.

As you can see most of the MK comrades [veterans] are drunkards, they are not working [and] they are involved in robberies because they have nothing to do. I don't want to dwell [too] deep into that ...

These issues are outlined in detail in Mashike's (2006) *The Socio-Economic Conditions of Former APLA and MK Soldiers in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. His 2007 study done for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV), called *Former Combatants' Involvement in Crime and Crime Prevention* also provides valuable insights.

On the other hand, interviewee **A** feels that:

many people were just given a big rank, inexperienced, maybe unskilled, unsure, coming from [exile, after] many years, having to cope [with] a very stressful environment and working with a variety of people, [having to deal with various] problems, different cultural groups ... different armies [the merging of SADF, MK, APLA and the TVBC forces] that have to come together and the management and the policies of this organisation [SANDF] and at times and I found lots of them could not manage.

Interviewee **A** further says:

... when we left [for exile], people didn't think about education, they were still at school, they were young, they had to leave [possibly because of imminent arrests, police harassment, etc.], they spent most of their lives in the military camps ... many of them didn't finish their formal schooling. [Therefore], many of those people still have very low ranks.

In a survey conducted by Cock (1993: 2-3) of 180 male and female MK returnees, it was found that all of them had suffered some disruption to their education and only 50 of them had matric.

Gear (2002: 4) says that many of these "former fighters" who have decades of military experience had to find alternative means of supporting themselves in a hostile environment where high levels of unemployment and poverty are realities, a fate

many of them were ill-equipped for. Cock and Mckenzie (1998: 196) echo this in their statement that ex-combatants have educational, employment, psychological and social needs that have not been adequately addressed. Gear (2002: 6) admits that her research constitutes a crucial gap because of the absence of the voices of ex-MK women particularly.

The impression given by interviewees **A** and **B** are that ranks were given on a rather *ad hoc* basis. In Cock and Mckenzie (1998: 191) MK veterans echo this sentiment. They feel that the people who did the ranking did not know them, even if they did not have the educational background, they received “serious, good training” in the Soviet Union. For reintegration into the SANDF, the ranks of former guerrilla commanders were determined by MK and the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (APLA) on the basis of six inter-related criteria which were: command experience, operational experience, seniority, educational qualifications, military training and military qualifications, and length of service within the organisation (Williams, 2000: 14). They were assisted by the British Military Advisory and Training Team (BMATT), who served as neutral arbitrator during the ranking and placement process (Cock & Mckenzie, 1998: 192; Williams, 2000: 14).

Interviewee **A** on the other hand is adamant that the ANC did not make any promises; that many people feel that the ANC owes them something, yet they joined the movement voluntarily, with no strings attached. A former MK soldier and retiree from the SANDF supports this view when he said: “We did not get into the struggle to get something. We got into the struggle to fight for freedom. It was voluntary; no one was forced” (Mashike, 2006: 249).

Despite some setbacks and disappointments for some, all of the participants remain positive and optimistic about the ANC. Interviewee **B** said:

I remain an MK member, whether politicians change day by day, the fact remains that I am an MK member.

In terms of the aforesaid, all of the respondents remain loyal in their commitment to the organisation.

Nevertheless, insufficient demobilisation measures were in place to accommodate those individuals who were unable to be absorbed by the army. Considering extensive evidence regarding this issue, Williams' (2000: 14) claim that many MK members failed to report for enlistment within the new national defence force because many have obtained better jobs in both the public and the private sectors can be questioned.

Cock and Mckenzie (1998: 181) concede that if demobilisation is properly planned and managed, rebuilding of post-conflict societies is much easier. If this complex process which involves social, material and psychological aspects of demobilisation fails to provide for reintegration, Cock and Mckenzie (1998: 181, 183) predict the following realities:

- It poses a potential threat to society through increased political and social tension and instability; and
- The danger is clear that unemployed ex-combatants may fall back on what is often the only skill they have – the use of weapons – resulting in increased crime and possible revolt.

Cock and Mckenzie (1998: 181) believe that in the South African context

[d]emobilisation has been poorly planned, badly executed and wholly inadequate in meeting the needs of ex-combatants. It has failed to take into account some of the lessons learnt from demobilisation processes in other developing countries and, in fact, repeated some of the more obvious mistakes.

In a recent paper, Mashike (2008: 440-450) holds that the same sentiments concerning demobilisation made by Cock in the mid to late 1990s are still valid today. Cock and Mckenzie (1998: 203) are adamant that the process of demobilisation is far from over. They emphasised the focus on education and training programmes to allow for military skills to be converted to civilian purposes and that financial remuneration should not have consisted solely of once-off cash payments. Mashike (2008: 445) concedes that demobilisation gratuities should have been accompanied by training in financial management and financial skills. Continuous psychological support should have been offered. Proper investment into this demobilisation process will have resulted in “increased security, peace and development”.

Williams (2005: 114) admits the problems associated with failed demobilisation programmes include: “disaffection, substance abuse, demoralisation etc. – manifest themselves in the short to medium term (five to ten years) after demobilisation, the real problems (land invasions, increases in the levels of crime, severe psychological problems) occur over a longer period”.

6.4.3.4 Participants’ views on the recording of oral histories

All three interviewees feel strongly about the voices of women being heard in society. Participant **C** says that there is much to be told and that the beauty should also be celebrated, because leaving the country was not about death. The stories of women should be praised as there are many women who were in the camps who are generals today; many are today captains of industry; many are in government. Even women who were at home and assisted in the Struggle, all their stories deserve to be told.

Participants **A** and **B** also believe that the stories of women need attention, because these histories are fading, and one-sided histories should not be the norm. Talking about these issues or writing it out of your system would be an excellent form of therapy; to also leave some form of legacy for your children. One of the respondents mentioned in her interview that one only hears the stories of famous people, or people who have high-profile positions, but the stories of the people on the ground are non-existent. They have no regrets and all interviewees indicated that they would do it again, yet they feel strongly that there are many issues that need to be addressed and redressed. One of the issues they feel strongly about is that comrades who are experiencing difficulties need to be taken better care of. They sacrificed their youth and in many cases their education for the democracy South Africa has today.

6.4.3.5 Camps and training

Basic training of MK cadres lasted about six months and mainly took place in military camps in Angola, even though Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia also had some camps (Cock, 1991: 158-159). The participants in this study were stationed amongst others in Pango, Viana and Caxito in Angola. Nova Catengue, also referred to as the University of the ANC, was the initial camp and was situated in the south of Angola. Basic training included instruction in firearms, explosives and engineering, tactics,

topography, military tactics and revolutionary politics (Cock, 1991: 159; Ellis & Sechaba, 1992: 87; Lodge & Nasson, 1991: 178-9; Lodge, 1987: 8; Ngculu, 2003: 244).

There was a general dislike amongst participants to the physical part of the training. Interviewee **B**'s retort to the question: Which part of the training did you dislike, and why?

Obstacles (*laughs aloud*). I did not like obstacles at all! Even now I don't like that. I don't like it ... [otherwise] the whole training in general was very good.

According to Motumi (1994: 3) obstacles entailed a combination of training in tactics and dealt mainly with fitness and crossing of obstacles on a simulated battle course. This demanded a decent level of fitness and stamina. Women were forced on many levels to discover new capacities within themselves (Hassim, 2006: 96).

Women were also allowed to do military training in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR), other Eastern Bloc countries and Cuba. As interviewee **C** mentioned:

The beauty about the training that we have had in Russia, at the time Soviet Union, was the fact that it also included training of people from other countries, e.g., while we were there we trained with Chile, we trained also with comrades from the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), so it encompass other countries, so you learn more in terms of the training and it is exciting. It's difficult, but it is exciting.

According to Leach (1986: 223) the most promising recruits were sent to the USSR and East Germany for further specialised training. Leach identifies at least a few camps in the USSR and East Germany. These were the Privolnye military camp near Simpeforel in the Ukraine; one in Odessa and Centre 26 near Moscow; and others in Teterow near Rostock in East Germany. When Joe Modise took over from Wilton Mkwayi as MK commander in 1964, he established training programmes in Cuba, Algeria, Egypt and Ethiopia (The O'Malley Archives, 2010b). Here intensive training was given in guerrilla tactics, platoon commanding and infantry and artillery warfare.

Judging by the enthusiasm concerning the training, especially the training experienced abroad, interviewee **B** and **C** found this training taught them valuable skills. Except for the physical intensity of the tactics, all three interviewees valued the training. **A** enjoyed explosives (engineering) most, whereas **B**, except for the obstacles, enjoyed the training as a whole, and **C** loved the mock attacks and the training in the Eastern Bloc.

6.4.3.6 Language and culture

Interviewee **B** recalls the different cultural backgrounds and the variety of languages spoken by the comrades. She remembers Venda, Sotho, Zulu, Tswana and Pedi. In the end their camp collectively decided that they should speak Portuguese, because the language of their peasant neighbours around the camp was Portuguese. This would be a good disguise in case of an enemy attack, where they could then act as if they were locals.

Interviewee **A** found it difficult to establish relationships with the comrades in her camp. Coming from a “coloured Malay area”, the differing cultural backgrounds and languages were hard for her to embrace. This was exacerbated by the fact that she was the only female in her camp for a long time.

6.4.4 Media

Lodge and Nasson (1991: 88) claim that during the 1980s the states of emergencies that were declared by the government at the time “inhibited press reporting even when it did not legally restrain it”. This could have had an effect on the non-reportage of women at the time.

All three participants admitted that the media played a non-existent role in reporting on the involvement of women in MK. Even during the TRC proceeding Zegeye and Harris (2003: 124) admitted reluctance in the sense that:

[j]ournalists involved in reporting on the TRC acknowledge that they had to choose between “150, say 200, statements” when filing a report and it was thus their own choice whether to include or exclude women or not...

the media often disregard women as individuals, not groups; victims, not heroines; sexual figures, not thinkers!”

Graybill (2001: 4) confirms that women’s roles were eroded because both the Commission and the media portrayed them as “secondary victims”:

[o]ne journalist explains that some of her colleagues wanted to publish serious stories on gender issues but were prevented by their male editors, because gender issues were seen as unimportant. When the media covered women witnesses, the focus was on what they wore. Even their tears went unreported; it was the image of men weeping that made legitimized the suffering and made headlines.

6.4.5 Sexual harassment

The male to female ratios in the camps were skewed in favour of the men. In Nova Katenge where interviewee **B** was, there were 23 women and 500 men. In interviewee **C**’s camp they were six females and about 70 males. In the case of interviewee **A**, she was the only woman to 50 men in her camp. She was married, but she and her husband were placed in different camps. This placed intolerable strain on their marriage.

... I was the only lady at the camp and every second guy will make advances or would want to talk [to me], I also picked up lots of problems when my husband arrived, because people will [pass unwarranted gossip to him]...

Suttner (2004: 241) confirms this in his interviews with Dipuo Mvelase and Faith Radebe that camp life was particularly strenuous on marital relationships, especially when husband and wife were stationed at different training facilities.

The women interviewed for this study had no knowledge (self or other) of sexual harassment while they were in their respective camps. Interviewee **C**, who was a commissar in the Women’s Section in Pango during 1986 says that reports of harassment had to be filed with her. This is then submitted as a special report. Regular camp meetings were also held where critique could be presented on

individual treatment, causes of unhappiness, etc. If comrades felt intimidated, matters could be dealt with privately.

These practices were in place as Interviewee **B** confirms. Her commander was one of the elders, and did not encourage ill-treatment of women.

The literature, Cock (1991, 1992, 1994, 1995); Cock and Mckenzie (1989); Goldblatt (2006); Hassim (2006); Suttner (2004, 2005) however, depicts an entirely different story, to the extent that Thandi Modise who was at the forefront and a commander in MK, “believes that ex-women soldiers and prisoners are still being marginalised within the ANC” (Modise & Curnow, 2000: 40). She was one of six women with 100 men, and from the beginning she knew she had to protect herself against sexual onslaughts from male comrades (Modise & Curnow, 2000: 37).

The then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, when he presented the ANC report to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, acknowledged that men in the camps had committed “gender-specific offences against woman comrades”. He said that the perpetrators had been punished, but did not describe either the offences or the punishment in any detail. On this, Commissioner Hlengiwe Mkhize remarked that “the submission fail(ed) women” (TRC, 1998: 297).

According to Modise and Curnow (2000: 135), some former high ranking female MK soldiers have confirmed incidences of “gender-specific” violence in camps. She concedes that even if the perpetrators were apparently dealt with, “most of the victims have never had adequate counselling or rehabilitation.” Suttner (2004: 242) claims the extent of the problem where sexual harassment is concerned is not “quantifiable in the information currently available”. In Ericson (2007: 21), Cock says she remembers growing up in Sweden when the ANC was portrayed as the “good guys fighting the evil and absurd apartheid system”. It is therefore not her wish to maintain the generalised stereotype that black men is inherently violent, but as long as those individual men who committed these abuses do not come forward, “many innocent men” might remain part of the “suspected collective”.

6.5 Summary

The above is an account gathered from the interviews and was balanced and triangulated with the literature review. Some issues were highlighted that even now, after almost seventeen years into democracy, require serious attention. The main concerns requiring attention and redress would be the acknowledgement of women in general but more especially in the media, the demobilisation process, patriarchy and the need for the histories of women to be recorded to give a balanced portrayal of historical events.

Oral histories should play an integral role in the recording of historical events. It is imperative that we keep improving our knowledge of the past and keep gaining insight as new sources come to light.

The lack of research into the extent of the adjustment faced by ex-combatants, include alienation, marginalisation, unemployment and poverty. Because of the lack of research, the scope of these problems is unclear (Cock, 1993: 10).

By extensively interviewing only three candidates, these findings are not closely representative, even if the results that emanated from the questions can be symptomatic and therefore not entirely dissimilar to the range of concerns experienced by the majority of MK ex-combatants.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will seek to summarise the main findings and draw out their implications in order to address the research questions posed and the objectives of the study, as outlined in the first chapter.

Chapter 1 provided an overview of what the study is about. It outlined the research problem and offered some background to the research.

Chapter 2 presented a comprehensive literature review which comprised of studies done on the research topic, but it also highlighted the voids that exist within the existing body of knowledge and these were also pointed out in the following chapters. It was found that very few in-depth studies were done specifically concerning women in MK camps. Also, Zimbabwean studies reviewed for this study offers insight into how many existing South African problems should be dealt with.

Chapter 3 offered a detailed examination of the theories which were applicable to this study, while **Chapter 4** included a comprehensive discussion of what the methodology to be applied in this research entails.

In **Chapter 5** newspapers were analysed for one month (3 February to March 2 1990) to determine whether the voices of women were represented in the press equally to those of their male counterparts. This was done in an effort to contextualise the literature review findings that the media placed much more emphasis on male representation than on female representation.

In **Chapter 6** interviews were analysed to address the issue of whether the voices of MK women should be represented by way of recording oral histories and in this way acknowledge women in historical discourse.

7.2 The outcomes of the research questions

The outcomes of the two main foci of this study as outlined in 1.3 will now be discussed.

The research question:

- **Were women’s voices represented in specific media reports after the unbanning of the ANC, and if not, how can this be adequately addressed?**

Chapter 5 presented findings that can be corroborated with recent research. It was found that the role women played in the Struggle for liberation was to a large extent downplayed (even almost non-existent) in the media and history in general. Even leading and prominent ANC women are merely mentioned or made reference as “the wife of” so and so. This CA established that the media reinforced gender stereotypes by not giving an equal voice to women ANC sources. Yet the voices of unknown male activists are audible and they receive media recognition. These gender stereotypes that are perpetuated by the media are indicative of the public male hegemonic power play of the media.

How can this “omission” best be addressed?

- **Recording of oral histories to seek to “repair” this “narrative of omission”**

The three women interviewed in this study are three ordinary women. They are not famous, but ordinary citizens who wanted to make a difference by joining the armed Struggle because they thought it was the “right thing” to do. It was evident from the interviews that there is a need for people to want their stories to be heard. As previously stated, “*her story*” needs to be told and “her” voice needs to be heard above those of male voices next to whom she stood side-by-side to bring about democracy in South Africa.

Their histories must be recorded to ensure a balanced view of history. These kinds of oral history projects will allow women to have control over how

they are represented in history and not as shown by the CA referred to as merely the wife of someone.

This study covered and uncovered more than what was proposed by the research question. This could arguably have been expected as this diverse and complex investigation needed attention and clarification on different disciplines, as it covers sociological, historical, oral historical and media spheres, which are all vast fields. Even if, within this study, a genuine coherent relationship existed between all these fields, there are some tensions that need to be addressed.

One of the main societal ills is patriarchy, which is an ingrained cultural reality in the fabric of our society. Because of arguably largely patriarchal demands, women are regarded as less valuable members of society. To challenge this would be to dispute the idea that men are the dominant figures in the family and society. This will not be seen as a fight against male privilege but it will be regarded as an attempt to “destroy African tradition, or subvert Afrikaner ideals or undermine civilised and decent British values” (Sachs, 1990: 1). Gender issues will therefore remain a bone of contention for a long time to come.

Two surprise issues that surfaced from the interview analysis were demobilisation and the gender issues surrounding army reintegration. This study found that the demobilisation programme as it was implemented was flawed and needs serious revision and redress. Obvious mistakes made by other developing countries were ignored and repeated here.

7.3 Limitations of this study

7.3.1 Literature limitations

The literature study re-established that much more needs to be done to create a better public awareness concerning women’s issues, especially where their historic contribution to our democracy is concerned. There are very few detailed studies about women in MK.

7.3.2 Locating interviewees

It was difficult to locate potential interviewees (see 4.4.3). While the researcher had good contacts with ex-MK women, they were found to be dispersed across the country. A further complication that arose was that MK soldiers were only known by their *nom de guerre* which made it extremely difficult to contact cadres known to the researcher.

7.3.3 Psychological issues

In chapter 2, mention is made of the advantages of talking about these experiences within the Zimbabwean situation. Zimbabwe has made great strides to assist their women soldiers in this regard. There are groups and associations in existence that are beneficial to the psychological well-being of these women.

MK women were hardly exposed to combat situations (Cock, 2004: 165-166) unlike their Zimbabwean counterparts. These women were in the thick of combat and were verbally and psychologically demeaned, exposed to rape and sexual abuse. Considering what Cock and Hassim detailed about abuses that occurred in MK training camps, this could arguably play a role in MK women's reluctance to talk about their experiences, as many of them had relationships that ended up in them having had children during that period.

7.4 Summary of findings

The large-scale global research, as conducted by the GMMP (2005; 2010), which provided salient results arguably seem not worthy to be further investigated and should be rectified by the media. Guided by the results of the studies GMMP as recently as this year (2010), with five year intervals since 1995 over a period of 20 years, showed a marginal increase of presentation of women as news subjects of 3% every 5 years. This puts the global media presentation of women as news subjects at only 24%. The same elements identified by Rush *et al.* (2004: 276) in 2.2.2, stereotyping, discrimination, power, patriarchy and exclusion, can still be seen as the main contributors to this invisibility of women in the news. Even the “symbolic

annihilation” (routine omission) Tuchman *et al.* (1978) subscribe to is still valid today in 2010, after the initial coining of the term in 1978.

As mentioned, to date not much has changed where this representation is concerned. There is much rhetoric to address this issue, yet no practical, realistic and sustainable interventions have to date been established. This author is in agreement with Tady (2010: 1), campaign coordinator and writer for Free Press, and implores journalists to take a similar stance. She is unwavering in her beliefs when she says that:

[w]omen must get involved and fight for a better media system. Taking the media in our hands means claiming our power as women, and taking ownership over our viewpoints.

The roles of women in news reporting may end up reinforcing the status quo and cultural stereotypes. In the context of this study, this is confirmed by the CA, which proved that after the unbanning of the ANC, prominent women (e.g., Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Madikizela Mandela, who had respected “matriarchal roles” in the Struggle, were denied this status by undignified media representation. Greater efforts to gender equality and gender awareness should be cultivated in the media and the SRT can play a major role in attaining this.

The need for many women to make a positive contribution to the Struggle was a worthwhile sacrifice in exchange for the harshness of the conditions MK females in the camps were exposed to. This is a clear indication of their keen dedication for wanting to play a part in the Struggle. The media at the time abused this fact by demeaning particularly white women (the case of Marion Sparg in 1.5), instead of portraying them as heroes for defying the system and joining the then banned liberation movement. Often the government and the media default in their social responsibility. It is generally accepted that the duty of both these instruments is to raise consciousness, especially of gender sensitive issues, e.g., HIV/AIDS, equality, inequality and equity issues.

7.5 Suggestions for future research

As emphasised in 1.4, it is not too late to give these women the credit they deserve. This is possible by giving them a voice through oral history. It was determined by the interviews that were categorised and coded in the GT process that the stories of these women must be told. This is not just to avoid having a one-sided “*his-story*” of what happened in exile, but having a balanced view of this history. Having these histories recorded, will give women the respect and acknowledgement they deserve. As Morgan says in 2.2.1 in this case “herstory” was left out of “history” as women’s lives, deeds and participation in the Struggle for liberation in South Africa have really been neglected and undervalued in standard histories.

Even if it has its limitations, the theory of womanism can be furthered by being utilised more effectively to educate women about the manipulative effects of patriarchal subjugation. Womanism is subtle in its address of gender issues in that it does not attack black men, and is therefore arguably a culturally more “acceptable” ideology. This relatively unknown philosophy should enjoy more prominence in the sense that much more investigation into this theory should be done.

The statistics in Chapter 5 reveal a rather bleak impression that women are not important enough to command articles on their own, in the sense that they do not seem to be existing without men at their sides. Here the concept of Symbolic Annihilation is discernible, where poor media treatment renders women symbolically absent/invisible in the media and thus from public consciousness.

7.6 Conclusion

In this study the researcher investigated whether the voices of women were represented in the media in the period before and shortly after the unbanning of the ANC. By doing an in-depth CA on the two newspapers for one month after the unbanning of the ANC, it was found that gender stereotyping in the media is still being reinforced, and this analysis also proved the predictability of the media’s representation of women.

This study proved that the increased complexity of media's task came to the fore because of their added responsibility towards black women, in the sense that they have to be gender-sensitive, but also be sensitive in terms of race. With the SRT of the media it is envisaged in this study that the media can contribute meaningfully by revolutionising the stereotype and for all intents and purposes transform the portrayal of women in the media. Society needs a paradigm shift where women are in the position to contribute to and empower themselves by practising womanist ideology and where an intensive revision of the concept patriarchy is needed.

It was found that after more than 25 years, the women in this study are still experiencing pain. This can be indicative of the situation of hundreds of unknown MK women. With the use of the GT methodology it was found that a need exists for an oral history project whereby oral histories of women can be recorded and be integrated and used in historical discourse. In this way women's contribution to the South African Struggle for liberation will be documented, acknowledged and preserved. If these oral histories are recorded, women will have the choice of how they are portrayed and give an accurate representation of the complexities of their lives. This will address the issue of non-visibility and "symbolic annihilation" from history.

To conclude, it needs to be pointed out that South Africa has a powerful female force, capable of great things. This needs to be acknowledged and nurtured. As Elshtain has also argued in Lyons (2004: 24), this study is proof "that women are indeed mainly absent from the war story, from definitions of war, in fiction and history". This study established that the means exist to reverse this omission, namely by finding the lost voices of MK female ex-combatants and to record their contributions as women to the liberation Struggle of South Africa.

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9. Appendices

9.1 Appendix A: Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe

Leaflet issued by the Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 16th December 1961

Units of Umkhonto we Sizwe today carried out planned attacks against government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is a new, independent body, formed by Africans, It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races It is not connected in any way with a so-called 'Committee for National Liberation' whose existence has been announced in the press. Umkhonto we Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organisations. Umkhonto we Sizwe fully supports the national liberation movement, and our members jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement.

It is, however, well known that the main national liberation organisations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peaceably at all times, regardless of government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all government inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom. The government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the people's non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without any fear of reprisals. The methods of Umkhonto we Sizwe mark a break with that past.

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist government which has rejected ever peaceable demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered ever such demand with force and yet more force! Twice in the past 18 months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down peaceful, non-violent strike action of the people in support of their rights. It is now preparing its forces - enlarging and rearming its armed forces and drawing the white civilian population into commandos and pistol clubs - for full-scale military actions against the people. The Nationalist government has chosen the course of force and massacre, now, deliberately, as it did at Sharpeville.

Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation! Let the government, its supporters who put it into power, and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps it in power, take note of where the Nationalist government is leading the country!

We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought -as the liberation movement has sought - to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash. We do so still. We hope - even at this late hour – that our first actions will awaken everyone to a realisation of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both the government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate state of civil war. We believe our actions to be a blow against the Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule.

In these actions, we are working in the best interests of all the people of this country - black, brown and white - whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist government, the abolition of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country.

We appeal for the support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people of this country.

Afrika Mayibuye!

9.2 Appendix B: Consent form



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jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

CONSENT FORM

My name is Hebresia Present and I am an MPhil (Journalism) student at the University of Stellenbosch. The research you are requested to participate in, relates to master's studies.

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled:

A Narrative of Omission:

Oral history, exile and the media's untold stories – a gender perspective

This research is seeking information on the participation of women in Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and whether the voices of women in exile were represented, or not, in the media. If you need further clarification on this research project, please feel free to ask me.

Please note the following with respect to the interview process and the protection of your rights:

- Your participation in this research is voluntary, and you are only asked to answer those questions which you are comfortable with.
- The information that you are kindly providing will be held in strict confidence and only discussed with my supervisor.
- If you wish, in the final research document you will be cited only in such a way so as to guarantee your anonymity.
- You are free to withdraw from the interview for whatever reason at any time.

Departement Joernalistiek • Department of Journalism
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 | Matieland | 7602 | Suid-Afrika/South Africa
Tel +27 21 808 3488 | Faks/Fax +27 21 808 4695
E-pos/E-mail crozier@sun.ac.za



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- If you do withdraw during the course of the interview and you wish to remove either part or all of your statements, you have that right and the data will be destroyed.
- Please note that all the interview data, including yours, will be stored until no longer required and you can be assured that your information and identity will not be revealed to any third party.
- This interview may be voice recorded with your consent. Otherwise extensive notes will be taken. A video recording of the proceedings is entirely voluntary. If so requested the participant will have access to the interview data.

Please feel free to contact me at any time after the interview if you have any concerns.

My details are:

- Name: Hebresia Present
- Phone number: 021 903 5469
- Email: presentbibi@gmail.com
- Fax: 086 692 5139

You may also contact University of Stellenbosch to confirm that this research project is legitimately registered at that institution.

Contact person:

- Prof. L. Rabe: Dept. of Journalism.
- Email: lrabe@sun.ac.za



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PLEASE SELECT **OPTION 1**, OR **OPTION 2** OR **OPTION 3** BY MARKING THE APPROPRIATE BOX WITH AN “X”.

ALSO SIGN AND DATE THE DOCUMENT.

No	Item	Option
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• I have read and understood the information provided above.• I consent to participate in this research on the understanding that I can withdraw my consent at any time.• A copy of this consent form has been provided to me for my records.• I give my consent that to be identified in the study.	
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• I have read and understood the information provided above.• I consent to participate in this research on the understanding that I can withdraw my consent at any time.• A copy of this consent form has been provided to me for my records.• I request that I NOT be identified in any way in the study and that my identity be withhold from any published documentation.	
3.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• I have read and understood the information provided above.• I do NOT consent to participate in this research.	

Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact Phone Number (optional): _____

Researcher: HF Present

Signature of Researcher: _____

9.3 Appendix C: Example of newspapers data capturing sheet

Page	Newspaper	Day of the month	Headline	Organisation	Organisation Sub-category	ANC and other organisations	Person noted in article	As quoted or reported on	Position	Comment	Male / Female	Week of article
3	Cape Times	03-Feb-90	"ANC's terrorist status to stay"	ANC	ANC	ANC	Walter Sisulu	Reported on	ANC leader		Male	Week 1
3	Cape Times	03-Feb-90	"ANC's terrorist status to stay"	ANC	ANC	ANC	Nelson Mandela	Reported on	ANC leader		Male	Week 1
3	Cape Times	03-Feb-90	"ANC's terrorist status to stay"	ANC	ANC	ANC	Chris Hani	Reported on	ANC leader		Male	Week 1
2	Cape Times	03-Feb-90	City hears ANC slogans 30 years on	ANC	ANC	ANC	Winnie Mandela	Reported on	ANC leader		Female	Week 1
2	Cape Times	03-Feb-90	City hears ANC slogans 30 years on	ANC	ANC	ANC	Terror Lekota	Reported on	ANC leader		Male	Week 1
2	Cape Times	03-Feb-90	City hears ANC slogans 30 years on	Democratic Party	Democratic Party	Other	Jan van Eck	Reported on	Democratic Party Leader		Male	Week 1
2	Cape Times	03-Feb-90	City hears ANC slogans 30 years on	Religious Organisation	Religious Organisation	Other	Desmond Tutu	Reported on	Cleric and anti-apartheid activist		Male	Week 1
5	The Argus	03-Feb-90	Dancing demos broken up	ANC	ANC	ANC	Matthews Namoxe	As quoted	ANC activist		Male	Week 1
5	Cape Times	03-Feb-90	Future of UDF "under debate", say leaders	ANC	ANC	ANC	Casim Saloojee	As quoted	ANC leader		Male	Week 1
5	Cape Times	03-Feb-90	Future of UDF "under debate", say leaders	ANC	ANC	ANC	Terror Lekota	As quoted	ANC leader		Male	Week 1
5	Cape Times	03-Feb-90	Future of UDF "under debate", say leaders	Indian Leader	Other Organisations	Other	Mahondas Gandhi	Reported on	Indian Leader		Male	Week 1
3	Cape Times	03-Feb-90	FW speech saluted by world leaders	ANC	ANC	ANC	Nelson Mandela	Reported on	ANC leader		Male	Week 1
1	The Argus	03-Feb-90	FW's moves gazetted	ANC	ANC	ANC	Oliver Tambo	Reported on	ANC leader		Male	Week 1

9.4 Appendix D: Memoing

MEMO: It is interesting to note that families were unaware of the extent of the participant's involvement in politics which led to taking such a drastic step.

MEMO: The passion about this issue is striking because interviewee, A, also found the ranking system and the clear gender bias in the SANDF offensive, especially as MK was more open to females in positions of command.

MEMO: much is written about the extent, the quality and the intensity of the training. This makes one think about the apprehension of the SANDF to integrate MK operatives into their ranks. Also the fact that the ANC and therefore MK were much more gender aligned and informed where the issues of women are concerned, than the SANDF.

MEMO: Having scrutinised some literature before and after conducting interviews it was striking how different in many spheres the portrayal of exile in some of these books are and on the other hand remarkably similar to the accounts lived and experienced by the women in this study.

MEMO: Emotions of being denied promotions in army

MEMO: Refer to Interviewee A about ANC not making any promises?

9.5 Appendix E: Newspaper Articles: Women referred to as husbands' wives

Albertina Sisulu

Newspaper: Cape Times
Headline: FW "could save SA" - Jackson
Date: 9 February 1990
Page: 7



Winnie Mandela

Headline: Medical check for Mandela

Newspaper: Cape Times

Date: 13 February 1990

Page: 13

Medical check for Mandela

MR Nelson Mandela underwent a medical examination at Bishops-court yesterday, according to Mr Dullah Omar. Mr Mandela and his wife spent the night at Archbishop Desmond Tutu's official residence on Sunday.

This was his second medical examination in the course of a few days. Shortly before his release Mr Mandela was examined by a specialists who had treated him over the years. The results of these examinations will be made available to Mr Mandela by the Prisons Services, Mr Omar said.

9.6 Appendix F: Interview questions

Interview questions		
No	Category	Question
1	Family	Provide me with some background on your upbringing (religious, political, economic situation, etc)
2	Family	How were family and friends influenced by your decision, of going into exile, to join MK?
3	Family	Did you leave loved ones behind? Children? Husband?
4	Family	If you answered yes to the previous question, how did this affect you, and your children?
5	Family	If relevant, how did it affect your relationship with your husband/boyfriend?
6	Motivation	What was your primary reason for joining Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)
7	Motivation	Why such a drastic step, instead of making a meaningful contribution inside South Africa's borders?
8	Gender	Coming from a traditionally patriarchal society, why did you decide to join Umkhonto we Sizwe? Instead of sticking to the old adage of being pregnant and in the kitchen?
9	Gender	How many other women left with you? Did you leave alone? Did you leave with mainly men?
10	Gender	What was the male to female ratio at your camp?
11	Gender	Did you experience any sexual harassment in the camps?
12	Gender	Were there processes and procedures in the camp where complaints could be lodged to the higher command?
14	Gender	Were any complaints lodged to the higher command, and how did they handle it?
14	Gender	How were you accepted by your male counterparts in the camps?
16	Gender	Were you treated different because you were a woman? How?
17	Gender	Were you provided with any benefits that the male soldiers did not receive. E.g. Shorter guard duty?
18	Gender	Were you discriminated against because you were a woman? E.g. More kitchen duty?
19	Gender	Were you made the same offers (as your male counterparts), for example, to be trained by an army in the Eastern Bloc, for example the then Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Interview questions		
No	Category	Question
		(USSR) Russia for example?
20	Gender	Do you feel that the media report equally on the contributions made by male and female MK soldiers or are you of the view that more emphasis is placed on contributions made by male comrades?
21	MK Training	How did you find the training?
22	MK Training	Which part of the training did you enjoy most? Why?
23	MK Training	Which part of the training did you dislike? Why?
24	Gender	Were you excluded from some of the training due to the fact that you were female?
25	Gender	Were you influenced not to join MK before you left SA? If you were influenced not to join MK was it by female or male comrades?
26	Purpose	Did you feel then that the sacrifices you have made were worthwhile?
27	Purpose	In retrospect, how do you feel about your contribution now, 16 years into our democracy?
28	Purpose	Do you have any regrets?
29	Family	How easily did you integrate back into society (family and friends) upon your return?
30	State of mind	Did you at any point receive counselling?
31	Way of leaving	Did you leave the country legitimately? E.g. with a passport? Or did you use other means?
32	Way of leaving	Did you encounter any problems exiting and coming back into South Africa? What were these and how did you handle them?
33	General	Did you go through a similar process before?
34	General	How do you feel about the oral histories of women being recorded?

9.7 Appendix G: Example of QDA Miner software programme

The screenshot displays the QDA Miner software interface. On the left, a sidebar contains a codebook with the following categories and items:

- GENDER [DOCUMENT]**
 - CODE X001X
 - LANGUAGE English
 - INTERV_NR 3
- CODES**
 - GENDER**
 - gender equality in MK
 - male female ratio in your
 - gender involvement in cor
 - Interaction with other fen
 - Acceptance by males
 - benefits as female
 - attitudes of males
 - male/female relationships
 - not treated differently
 - exclusion from training
 - patriarchy
 - FAMILY**
 - Harrassment of those left
 - family left behind
 - Family influence in leaving
 - family background
 - Poor socio economic back
 - Religion
 - grew up in township
 - how leaving affected fami
 - POLITICAL**
 - Political family background
 - political influences when g
 - Participant political backg

The main window shows a document titled "GENDER" with the following text:

Interviewer: You have partially touched on this, but were there processes and procedures in place where complaints of sexual abuse could be lodged to higher command.

INTERVIEWEE A: We had at the camp, if you remember Bibi, when we were at the camp there were times, there were camp programme, we had times where we fall in and we fall out. So that time when they're asking the commissar, the section commissar whoever to report, you have to report to the company commissar if there were any problems related to whatever at the time. If there is not maybe ailments, anything, whatever, whatever, whatever. So you do that, and if in your report something that has to do with harassment, you know that is special report that you need to submit, and you have to sit with certain people to deal with that report. So by the time it comes it suggest the kind of decisions that was taken to resolve the problem. But it doesn't end there. That is in terms of reporting. As the section commissar we must report on those issues that has been reported to you as part of the report that you write and how you resolve those problems. Apart from that, also at the at the meetings, camp meetings, you remember we had those criticism meetings, self-criticism meetings, there you had to express yourself how you are being treated, what you are unhappy about, you must say so. If you feel you are treated unfairly, you must say so in those meetings. But also if you want your matter to be dealt with privately, even within the sections, there were certain comrades who were given certain responsibilities. The section is divided, you've somebody responsible for unit so there is always someone you can confide in. In a way

Interviewer: How were accepted by your male counterparts

INTERVIEWEE A: I must say I was highly accepted by male counterparts in the camp because I think the other thing I must be honest with myself was the fact that when I came to the camp everybody think about the UDF march. It helped us, especially the new people coming to the camp that time, because everybody was talking about the UDF launch. The UDF launch itself was showing because the video of the UDF launch was there at the camp and people were able to relate to it. It showed also me at the time interpret my visibility also interpreting at the launch for Mama Sihlangu. So on its own gave me a particular profile when I get into exile and to the comrades at the camps. So it was easier for them to understand that a person's got certain abilities. But when it comes to comrades it also created a certain form of expectations, because when you've got certain responsibilities, they also expect you to perform in a particular way. So it was tough when it comes to tactic you know (Laugh out loud)

Interviewer: Were you treated differently because you were a woman and how.

INTERVIEWEE A: No, I never felt treated differently in terms of being a woman. What I know is as woman in terms of ratio's particular when it comes to toiletary, we were given extra (sessions) by the ANC. It was guaranteed for us. There were certain things we had to go and

Red brackets on the right side of the document text link specific phrases to codebook items:

- camp routine
- handling of sexual harassment report
- report incidents
- meetings
- handling of problems by HC
- Participant political background
- overestimation of abilities
- emotional strain

9.8 Appendix H: Categories and Codes

No	Category	Code
1	Gender	Gender equality in MK
2	Gender	Male female ratio in your camp
3	Gender	Gender involvement in communities
4	Gender	Interaction with other females
5	Gender	Acceptance by males
6	Gender	Benefits as female
7	Gender	Attitudes of males
8	Gender	Male/female relationships generally
9	Gender	Not treated differently
10	Gender	Exclusion from training
11	Gender	Patriarchy
12	Family	Harassment of those left behind
13	Family	Family left behind
14	Family	Family influence in leaving
15	Family	Family background
16	Family	Poor socio economic background
17	Family	Religion
18	Family	Grew up in township
19	Family	How leaving affected family
20	Political	Political family background
21	Political	Political influences when growing up
22	Political	Participant political background
23	Political	People influential in decision to go into exile
24	Political	Arrests
25	Political	Clandestine activities
26	Political	Security branch
27	Political	Forced removals
28	Exile	Left quietly
29	Exile	Left with comrades
30	Exile	Duration of stay in exile
31	Exile	Left legitimately
32	Exile	Exiting and entering the country
33	Exile	Experience of exile
34	Exile	Adapting in exile
35	Exile	Left illegally
36	Exile	Year left for exile
37	Exile	<i>Nom de guerre</i>
38	Exile	Got married in exile
39	MK	Motivation for joining MK
40	MK	Uniform
41	MK	Schooling
42	MK	Influenced not to join MK
43	Camps	Camp routine
44	Camps	Sleeping quarters
45	Camps	Duties

No	Category	Code
46	Camps	Stationed
47	Camps	Transit camp
48	Camps	Rank at camp
49	Camps	Meetings
50	Language and culture	Cultural acceptance in camps
51	Language and culture	Language difficulties
52	Language and culture	Cultural differences in camps
53	Training	Subjects
54	Training	Subjects disliked
55	Training	Preferred subjects
56	Training	Further training
57	Training	Attitude towards training
58	Training	Uncertainty of deployment after training
59	Training	Exclusion/inclusion
60	Training	Very good training
61	Training	Trained by Cubans/Russians
62	Training	Mock attacks
63	Media	Media reports on female cadres
64	Media	Apprehension of reportage
65	Abuse	Report incidents
66	Abuse	Handling of problems by Higher Command
67	Abuse	Handling of sexual harassment reports
68	Abuse	Male deprivation of female company
69	Abuse	Sexual harassment
70	Abuse	Sexual abuse
71	Abuse	Pregnancy issues
72	Deployment	Deployment against will
73	Deployment	Deployment issues
74	Deployment	Deployment after training
75	Relationship with spouse	Gossip
76	Relationship with spouse	Advances made
77	Relationship with spouse	Trust issues
78	Relationship with spouse	Husbands mistrust
79	Relationship with spouse	Relationship
80	Relationships	Separation from spouse
81	Relationships	Boyfriends
82	Relationships	Husbands
83	Relationships	Abnormal relationships
84	Relationships	Separation from boyfriend
85	Separation issues	Key people assisting in alleviating separation
86	Separation issues	Caring of older officers
87	Personal	Health now / then
88	Personal	Malaria
89	Personal	Emotional strain
90	Personal	Joined MK at this age
91	Personal	Regrets

No	Category	Code
92	Personal	Been interviewed before
93	Personal	Feelings about recording of female oral histories
94	Personal	Issues about xenophobia
95	Personal	Values
96	Personal	Religious values
97	Personal	Overestimation of abilities
98	ANC	Involvement
99	ANC	Feelings about ANC
100	ANC	Generosity
101	Sacrifices made	Feelings about sacrifices made
102	Sacrifices made	Uncertainty
103	After return from exile	Integration
104	After return from exile	Immediate family
105	After return from exile	Counselling
106	After return from exile	Join army
107	After return from exile	Find own employment
108	After return from exile	Separation from spouse in different milieu
109	After return from exile	Disgruntled about SANDF ranking system
110	After return from exile	Plight of fellow comrades
111	After return from exile	Felt demoralised

9.9 Appendix I: Categories and Codes: Sample

No	Category	Code	Text	Interv.
1	Abuse	handling of problems by HC	I think very silently. They just came one day and said, I think one of you or both of you must be removed because there's too much eyes on you. There's going to be issues if there is jealousies so therefore we're taking you to the city.	1
2	Abuse	handling of problems by HC	He didn't encourage, you know, sexual harassment in our camp. Everything was fair, everything was open, everything was on the table.	2
3	After return from exile	counselling	No. I did it myself. I told myself this is what I want, this is how I'm going to live in my country and I did so until I got what I got today. I'm out of work, but indirect I'm working for my ancestors. So I don't forget anything	2
4	ANC	feelings about ANC	So went and like I said many people today feel that the ANC owe them something. They didn't make promises, they didn't say you gonna get this job, you gonna get this car, you gonna get so much money, you joined and even when you reached there you were told you joined voluntarily and then on returning,	1
5	ANC	feelings about ANC	When we came back to SA we were told there were no place for us. As you can see most of the MK comrades are drunkards, they are not working,	2
6	ANC	feelings about ANC	My question is what is the role of the current democracy? Comrades breaking away from the ANC, there should be something wrong and what is it? If we can find out what is the problem because the ANC broke once, but now it's for the second time because the PAC comes from the ANC. Now the COPE comes from the ANC. What went wrong.	2
7	ANC	involvement	because from there from UCT, I went straight to ANC, because ANC wanted me, and I worked for the ANC from the onset.	3
8	Camps	camp routine	We had at the camp, if you remember Bibi, when we were at the camp there were times, there were camp programme, we had times where we fall in and we fall out.	3
9	Camps	duties	With guard duty, I've done, everybody had a turn to do guard duty,	1
10	Camps	transit camp	Viana. It's more a transit camp	1
11	Camps	transit camp	I'm not sure if all of them went for military training cos there was also the music group was there, there were students there, there were people who came from camps and people who were on their way to camps.	1
12	Deployment	deployment after training	and in fact what was very strange also was that when I came from exile, no no when I came I was in Cuba, as part of my deployment by the ANC in exile after military training. I came just to visit for a conference of the Woman's Conference in 1991 before we came back exiles came back inside the country.	3
13	Exile	nom de guerre	In Alice in the underground place, I was no longer Zo. I think I either was Macy, or any other name, but I was already not Zo in South Africa. Before I came to be Amanda in Lesotho when I left.	3

No	Category	Code	Text	Interv.
14	Exile	year left for exile	Ya, 84 we were trying to do desperation, 84 – 85 and finally the plan to fruition in 1985 immediately after prison the road was clear and we were able to leave.	3
15	Family	family background	We come from a moslem background. We are 7 in the family I am the second last born.	1
16	Gender	Acceptance by males	you been looked at and spoken to and everybody want to come and sit and chat so it was actually very scary for myself at that age and stage until my husband arrived.	1
17	Gender	not treated differently	No, you must remember there was a guard hour, break my heart, where we had to wake up at 4am, in fact the 4am was much better than the 2 am one. The 2 to 4 was the break my heart hour	3
18	Language and culture	Cultural acceptance in camps	For the other ladies I can't say because they were friendly to most of these men because they coming from the township African background where they could speak easily to one another and know one another	1
19	Language and culture	language difficulties	it was just bush with people it was just strict soldiers and I don't know the language	1
20	Media	media reprts on female cadres	Media-wise (pause) was very little covered. If you talk about media and open media very little covered because maybe from our side the people don't give interviews or from the side of the people recording these interviews and if it's not a hot story to be followed then no.	1
21	Mk	influenced not to join MK	was never influenced not to join MK. No NO	3
22	Political	Security branch	Let me go fetch that file. This is the security and how they got people.	1
23	Relationship with spouse	advances made	I don't know every women but seeing that I was the only lady at the camp every second guy will make advances or would want to talk,	1
24	Relationship with spouse	trust issues	I got used and friendly to more people that I could trust but you also did not know how much you could trust them.	1
25	Relationship with spouse	trust issues	To me it was just hello and goodbye but I thought now it was better,	1
26	Relationships	separation from spouse	we were in a situation where we didn't even stay in one tent together, we were separated.	1
27	Relationships	separation from spouse	So it wasn't very pleasant, it could've been much better under normal circumstances	1
28	Sacrifices made	feelings about sacrifices made	Yes, yes. Yes, because than I was very energetic, still young so I took things for granted, not knowing I would be still here, now.	2
29	Separation issues	caring of older officers	even when the other ladies came, three more ladies came afterwards, and about a month later 3 more ladies came so we were told the same things.	1
30	Separation issues	Key people assisting in alleviating separation	Reg September	1
31	Training	attitude towards training	Could have been better. I thought it would be much better	1
32	Training	attitude towards training	Really I cannot specify and say this is what I like, but the whole training in general was very good.	2

9.10 Appendix J: Umkhonto we Sizwe Military Code

[This document was released at the ANC National Consultative Conference at Kabwe in June 1985. It was part of a larger document titled " Report of Commission on National Structures, Constitutional Guidelines and Codes of Conduct"]

Preamble

Recognising that our army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, must define its aims and objects in clear and precise terms, and that the rights and duties of each member should be likewise defined without ambiguity, the Politico-Military Council, acting on behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa, has adopted and hereby decrees this code for the guidance of members in cell positions.

1. Umkhonto we Sizwe - a People's Army

The ANC and its allies created Umkhonto as a new and indispensable weapon in the struggle for people's power. Unlike the armed forces of the racist regime of South Africa, which we have vowed to crush and annihilate, and unlike all other armies of imperialism, Umkhonto we Sizwe is a People's Army organised and dedicated to waging a people's war for the liberation of our country. Umkhonto is an army of volunteers. It consists of volunteers drawn from the revolutionary sections of our people. By joining Umkhonto, combatants commit themselves to the solemn and noble duty of serving our suffering and dispossessed people in the struggle that will continue for each and all of us until victory or death.

In the words of our founding Manifesto, published on the historic day of 16th December 1961: 'Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the racist government and its policies of racial oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation.'

The founding **Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe** is our definitive declaration of intent, and an essential guide to the reasons for the creation and aims of this, the People's Army. We append the Manifesto to this Code, to be studied and understood by every Umkhonto combatant. It was no coincidence that MK's first operations were

launched on December 16, Dingane's Day. Umkhonto will carry on the warrior traditions of our people under the conditions of modern guerrilla warfare.

Those who join Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army, perform a sacred duty to our people, our nation and the South African Revolution. When we have liberated our country, Umkhonto will constitute the basis of the defence forces of our country and the Revolution, and will serve as an instrument of social progress.

An Umkhonto combatant has the opportunity to serve in the forefront of the liberation struggle, to meet the enemy and engage him with modern weapons, to become a steeled revolutionary who at all times is determined to serve and protect the people and his fellow comrades-in-arms. We look back with great pride to the period of militant non-violent struggle waged by the ANC. During this period our people learnt through their own experience that they could not satisfy their aspirations except by means of armed struggle arising out of our mass political activity and culminating in a **revolutionary** seizure of power.

When time was ripe for violent forms of struggle, our people understood and supported the decision to take up arms. They clearly understood as long ago as December 1961, that our Movement had exhausted all peaceful avenues, and that the oppressor had imposed on us a war situation. The alternative to armed struggle was submission. As the Umkhonto Manifesto declared: 'The People's patience is not endless. The time comes in the life of any nation when there remains only two choices - submit or fight. That time has now come in South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.'

2. Political and Military Struggle

Umkhonto we Sizwe is the fighting arm of the ANC and its allies. Our armed struggle is a continuation of our political struggle by means that include armed force. The political leadership has primacy over the military. Our military line derives from our political line. Every commander, commissar, instructor and combatant must therefore be clearly acquainted with the policy with regard to all combat tasks and missions. All of us must know clearly who the enemy is, and for what we are fighting. Thus MK cadres are not only military units, they are also organisers of our people. That is the

major distinction between our people's revolutionary army and the army and wholly militarised authoritarian armed forces of the racists, imperialists and reactionary regimes. Umkhonto cadres, with arms in hand, are political activists and leaders, as well as warriors. This combination of political and military functions is characteristic of all popular, revolutionary armies especially in the phase of guerrilla warfare.

3. People's War

Umkhonto is a people's army fighting a people's war. We fight to liberate our oppressed and exploited people. We fight for their interests. Umkhonto has no mercenaries, no paid soldiers or conscripted troops. It consists of the sons and daughters of the most oppressed, the most exploited sections of our people. For these reasons we claim with pride and truth: Umkhonto is the Spear of the Nation.

We fight a people's war, not by armed struggle alone, but first and above all by political education, leadership and mobilisation. It is a people's war because the struggle is to win the active support and participation of all who resist oppression, discrimination, poverty and injustice.

The people support their army by providing it with recruits - their sons and daughters - food, shelter, and information about the enemy. The people open the way for our guerrillas and make the enemy's path hard. Everyone can become a freedom fighter. The struggle has many fronts and is not confined to trained soldiers alone.

The ANC mobilises the people in support of the revolution through skillful combination of all forms of struggle: violent and non-violent, legal and illegal, strikes and demonstrations, boycotts and non-collaboration, propaganda, education and sabotage. A people's war is fought by the people with arms and all other forms and methods of struggle. Without the organised support of the people, armed struggle is in danger of being isolated and strangled. The enemy attempts to isolate us by launching campaigns to win the 'hearts and minds' of the people - of our people, the oppressed and suffering workers and peasants. To defeat the enemy, we must involve the entire people in the National Democratic Revolution.

The enemy controls the state, its armed forces, police and courts. But he does not command the hearts and minds of the people. They are with us in a just war for

national liberation. Their support is our chief weapon. What gives the guerrilla his advantage is his political superiority and people's support. As pointed out in Operation Mayibuye (1963) the most important guarantee of victory is 'the support of the people who in certain situations are better protection than mountains and forests'.

4. Our People's Army

- a. Umkhonto we Sizwe fights to liberate our people from racial discrimination, national oppression and exploitation.
- b. The common enemy is the racist minority which identifies with and gives aid to the National Party regime, the creator and driving force of apartheid.
- c. Our programme is the Freedom Charter; it defines the goals of all democrats regardless of colour, race or creed.
- d. The interests of the people and the demands of the revolution are inseparable and the main concern of the people's army.
- e. Our MK Manifesto declares that the army includes in its ranks South Africans of all races. But the overwhelming majority are members of the most oppressed and exploited people. By this dedication and commitment and training, they represent the vanguard of our people. In Umkhonto language, the army is the Spear of the Nation.

5. Umkhonto insists on a high standard of selfless devotion to the revolution on the part of all its members.

They are required at all times to:

- behave correctly to the people;
- respect their persons and property;
- refrain from molesting or interfering with their legitimate activities;
- assist them to solve their problems and where possible give material aid in their labour; and
- demonstrate high moral qualities in word and deed.

6. Revolutionary Discipline and Consciousness

To defeat the enemy in combat, our soldiers must be disciplined, trained to obey commands promptly, and ready to spring into battle immediately when ordered. Vigilance, alertness and readiness to engage the enemy at a moment's notice are

qualities that can develop only out of discipline, proper training and political consciousness.

Bourgeois and reactionary armies like the army forces of the racists, instil a mechanical and robot-like obedience in their units. The people's army has a different conception of discipline and loyalty. Umkhonto soldiers are volunteers, willing and trained to carry out orders in the knowledge that instant obedience is the only way to safeguard life, both of the individual and his comrades-in-arms, and to protect the people he serves.

Umkhonto soldiers pledge themselves to safeguard the revolution at all times regardless of personal hardships, suffering and danger. A soldier who breaks discipline, disobeys commands or by improper conduct betrays the high moral standards of our army will be punished. Such punishment is necessary to maintain the qualities expected of a people's army. Every attempt is made to correct bad behaviour and rehabilitate members who violate the army's code. But punishment is severe in cases of serious crimes, treachery and criminal neglect endangering the safety of others and the security of the army.

Our procedure and rules are well defined, precise and to the point. Military orders are issued with a definite purpose and must be obeyed. It is the duty and responsibility of every soldier to know and understand the army's code of conduct, to recognise his military commanders, to be clear about his own duties, and to carry

out orders immediately and without question. Orders must be obeyed cheerfully, promptly and exactly. A soldier who does not understand an order has a right to have it explained. He must know when to raise problems, to whom he must report, and how to obtain clarification. He must not, in any circumstances, refuse to obey a command or argue over the execution of an order.

Outright disobedience and failure to obey an order promptly may have serious consequences. A soldier who thinks that he has been given a wrong order must obey it first and if need be complain afterwards to his commander. Our commanding officers, commissars, instructors and others who are entrusted with responsibility to lead must be above reproach. They are to be a shining example of modesty, sound moral

behaviour, correct attitudes towards all members, respectful and helpful to every member of the army, regardless of his position. Commanders and Political Commissars occupy a central role in Umkhonto. Without them disorder can result. They are the principal target of the enemy and must be given maximum protection.

Umkhonto is engaged in guerrilla warfare, against a powerful and remorseless enemy which resorts to torture, banditry and terrorism.

During the stage of guerrilla warfare, great initiative and resourcefulness are required of every combatant. Under such conditions, formalities such as the courtesy of saluting commanders are reduced to a minimum, while discipline and vigilance are maintained at the highest levels.

In our external training bases, however, we have conditions and facilities similar to those of a regular army. Here we insist on full military procedures, including the practice of saluting commanding personnel; higher ranks; parades; roll calls; and fall-ins. These are necessary for the orderly camp life and discipline and cooperation among guerrillas in combat zones.

The inner forms of discipline, arising from political maturity and consciousness of our struggle, are far more important and enduring than a discipline enforced from above. But a proud bearing, alertness and quick response to commands, a smart uniform, and respect of leadership, commanders and commissars are the hallmarks of a good soldier who is proud of his platoon, detachment and army.

With the triumph of our revolution, Umkhonto will be the official army of our country, the true shield of our nation, defending the people against external aggression and internal counter-revolution. To prepare ourselves for these noble tasks, we must live up to the army's code of conduct in all respects and at all times during the present phase of our struggle.

General Regulations

- All army units shall preserve and safeguard political and military and organisational information relating to the army's security and well-being.

The wilful or negligent disclosure of classified information to unauthorised persons, and the unauthorised acquisition and/or retention of secrets and classified documents shall be an offence.

- All combatants must defend the ANC and be loyal to it, the army and the revolution.

The following acts or omissions shall be an offence:

- Disloyalty or deception designed or likely to give assistance to the enemy.
- Rebellion or revolt against the army command or part of it or attempts to commit such an act of rebellion or revolt.
- Conduct which causes despondence, spreads a spirit of defeatism, or undermines morale in any member or section of the army.
- Cowardly conduct in the face of the enemy.
- Wilful disobedience or refusal of orders properly given by a commander.
- Desertion from the army.
- All combatants shall act in such a manner that the people will put their trust in the army, recognise it as their protector, and accept the liberation movement as their legitimate and authentic representative.

The following acts or omissions shall be an offence:

- Conduct that weakens the people's trust, confidence and faith in the ANC and Umkhonto.
- Theft from a comrade or the people, looting of property, or other forcible seizure of goods.
- Abuse of authority and/or power.
- Cruelty inflicted on a member of the army or public.
- Assaults, rape, disorderly conduct, the use of insulting and/or obscene language, bullying and intimidation, whether against a comrade or member of the public.
- Shameful conduct likely to disgrace the ANC, army or the offender, or bring them into disrepute, or provoke indignation and contempt against them, such as violating the rights and dignity of the opposite sex, whether in operational or base areas.

- Unjustifiable homicide.
- Ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons in custody.
- All combatants shall protect the leadership and property of the ANC and Umkhonto

The following acts or omissions shall be an offence:

- Failure to protect commanders and commissars against assault or attacks.
- Wilful negligent destruction, neglect or misuse of the property and/or funds of the ANC and army.
- Failure to submit and hand over to the commanding authority property seized or acquired during military operations.
- Negligence in handling, using or storing and loss of weapons.
- All combatants are required to have the permission of a competent authority to travel, move from one place to another or leave a camp, base or residence to which they are assigned.

The following acts or omissions shall be an offence:

- Absence without permission.
- Escaping or attempting to escape from the custody of a competent authority.
- All combatants and members of the ANC and Umkhonto shall observe high moral standards and show an adequate sense of responsibility.

The following acts or omissions shall be an offence:

- Smoking dagga or using other harmful drugs or being in unauthorised possession of the same.
- Neglect of duty.
- Drunkenness on duty and/or in public.
- All members of the ANC and combatants are required to promote and preserve the unity of the ANC, the army, the liberation movement and the people.

Any act or speech that provokes tribal or regional animosities or spreads disunity by means of factionalism and/or racism shall be an offence.

8. Punishment

All members of the ANC and combatants are required to respect the terms of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War in line with the formal acceptance by the ANC of these terms in 1981. Any violation of these terms shall be an offence. Subject to these proposals, the Commission recommended that:

- The codes be accepted in their entirety.
- They come into force immediately.
- Their operation be reviewed after two years' experience.
- The Justice Officer be appointed as soon as possible and that amongst his first tasks be an investigation, in the light of the principles of the codes, of all cases of persons still serving sentences in terms of earlier proceedings, and of all cases awaiting trial.
- The military code be strengthened by the inclusion of a section dealing with competence, hearings and appeals; the necessary drafting to be done by responsible officials in MK.

All members of the ANC and Umkhonto shall tactfully observe the general regulations and shall be liable to the penalties prescribed for offences under the regulations. The purpose of punishment is to deter members from committing an offence, assist offenders to rehabilitate and protect the ANC, Umkhonto, liberation and the revolution. In imposing punishment, the competent authorities shall be guided by high political principles to the exclusion of personal animosity or any trace of vendetta. Punishments shall be administered humanely and without undue harshness or cruelty.

The following punishments may be ordered for offences under the regulations according to the gravity of the offence and the circumstances under which it was committed:

- Reprimand or rebuke administered in private or public.
- Suspension from duty for a specified period.
- Fatigue and drills.
- Restriction with hard labour for a specified period determined by tribunal.

- Demotion from a position of responsibility.
- Restriction in a rehabilitation centre.
- Dishonourable discharge.
- Solitary confinement for a period determined by tribunal.
- The maximum penalty.
- Any other penalty not included herein but appearing in the schedule of penalties for grave or serious crimes and violations.

Rules and Regulations Covering the Handling of Weapons and Explosives of our Movement

Introduction

Amongst the most sacred duties of a soldier in MK is to protect and preserve the weaponry and other war material of our army - in certain circumstances even with life. The loss of a weapon would be regarded in the same light as the loss of a limb and has serious consequences for the body of our army.

Our weaponry and other war materials are there to be used against our enemy and must, at all times, be maintained in a proper state of combat readiness and must only be used to further our revolution. This is the duty of every organ and individual soldier entrusted with the task of handling such material.

In the interests of our revolution the following rules and regulations will be strictly enforced:

- The Politico-Military Council under the direction of the NEC shall be the organ which decides on the distribution and use of all weapons and explosives in any given area.
- All members of the ANC who possess a personal weapon or weapons are under obligation to declare it or them to the authorised organs or persons in the Movement for registration and for determining whether the comrade should be authorised to keep the weapon or surrender it.
- All weapons not supplied by authorised persons in the hands of individuals or groups must be reported and declared immediately. Failing to fulfil this requirement constitutes a serious offence against the Movement and carries with it a heavy punishment.

- Unauthorised possession and use of weapons is strictly prohibited.
- It is strictly forbidden to point a weapon, loaded or otherwise, at any person other than our enemy.
- It is a serious offence to abandon without proper cause, lose, misuse, neglect or damage weapons, ammunition and explosives.
- Unauthorised exchange, barter or transfer of a weapon(s) is strictly forbidden.
- All weapons, ammunition and explosives must be handled by authorised persons and must be totally concealed in public except during combat marches in our training camps and schools and where permission is granted to have weapons for the defence of ANC personnel and property.
- All records, inventories of all war materials have to be kept by Ordnance, Security and by any organ entrusted with such material.
- The use of war materials for emergency purposes has to be reported to the appropriate authority.
- The security and care of all weapons shall be the responsibility of those entrusted with them.
- All transfer and movement of war materials from one area to the other shall be entrusted to the Ordnance Department.
- Safety measures must be observed when handling weapons and explosives.
- Authorised persons are not allowed to handle weapons under the influence of liquor.