

**AN INVESTIGATION OF THE SOWETAN “ENOUGH IS ENOUGH —
TAKE BACK YOUR DIGNITY” CAMPAIGN TO CHALLENGE
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN**

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by

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Abstract

This investigation of the *Sowetan* “Enough is Enough – take back your dignity” campaign to challenge sexual violence explores whether the South African daily newspaper’s sustained anti-rape coverage challenges or reinforces the social order. It locates the *Sowetan* campaign’s response within two troubling contradictions. First, while South Africa is a democracy with arguably the most liberally progressive constitution in the world, the epidemically high rape statistics indicate that South African women and children inhabit an environment in which they are effectively denied the same freedoms and rights as men. The *Sowetan* anti-rape campaign responds to this paradox. Second, heightened exposure and coverage in the news media of rape incidents do not seem to correlate directly with a decrease in incidents of sexual violence. My observation of these contradictions leads me to question whether the anti-rape campaign can be socially transformative.

Informed by the Foucauldian insights that the meaning of things is not inherent but exists in discourse, which has the power to make itself true, this study investigates what discourses are articulated in the representation of masculinities and femininities. In this regard, my investigation is informed by cultural studies and gender studies theories. Recognising rape as an enactment of a particular type of masculinity makes it clear that rapists are not deviant monsters, but are men embodying a discourse of male sexual entitlement legitimated by the social order. As the campaign coverage largely represents rape in historically black locations such as townships and villages, I argue that rape is an enactment of a particular violent masculinity within a particular socio-economically marginalised postcolonial context. Hence I also use postcolonial studies and gender studies to inform my theory.

This qualitative research takes the form of a case study which entails a critical discourse analysis of 19 texts purposively sampled in order to identify whether the campaign challenges or reinforces the social order. I argue that rehearsing the narratives of prevalent rape and horror at this epidemic without addressing the social order of gender inequality that enables rape is inadequate. The findings indicate that the campaign has limited socially transformative potential, as, while it sometimes challenges the discourse of female passivity, it does not go so far as to critically engage with masculinities and questioning how violent ones are produced in the social order.

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Glossary

Headline: The heading of an article.

Sub-headline: A secondary headline that usually goes below the main headline.

Pull quote: A quotation from an article that is placed prominently between the columns of the body text.

Page strap: The text at the top of the page, near the date, page number and the title of the publication. This text indicates what theme all the reports on that specific page have in common.

Logo: A creative graphic element used to signify a particular message.

Page lead: The primary report on the page, signalled by elements such as bold, upper case headline font or an introductory paragraph with a different font style to that used in other reports on the page.

Sidebar: A short article which accompanies another longer article – usually a page lead.

Decks: Refers to the lines of the headline. Reports on a page generally have varying numbers of headline decks. If a report only has one line of headline, for example, it is said to have a single deck.

Bucketed: When a headline is placed in between the first and last column of the article, it is bucketed.

Caption: This is the description below a photograph, explaining what is in that picture.

Kicker: The first few letters followed by a colon of a caption are called the kicker. They sum up what the image is about, whereas the caption provides more details.

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	8
Rationale for the study	8
Research question	8
The context of place	9
The context in time	10
The context of the modern and the customary	12
The Traditional Courts Bill	12
Ukuthwala	14
Masculinities and materiality	15
Sowetan history and positioning	17
The campaign	19
My research project	20
Theoretical framework	20
My research methodology	21
The contribution of my research	22
The structure of my study	22
Chapter 2: Theoretical framework	23
Chapter outline	24
Cultural studies	24
Representation	26
Semiotics	26
Discourse	27
Power/knowledge and truth	30
The subject of discourse	32
Governmentality	33
Gender	34
Gendered social structuring	35
Language	36
Masculinities and femininities	36
Willing women	37
Female agency and contestation	37

	5
Gender embodiment.....	38
Sexuality, rape and social control	38
Direct power and rape	39
Postcolonial studies.....	40
Indirect rule	40
Custom and gender.....	41
Postcolonial feminism.....	42
Changing intimacy	44
Romantic love	45
Provider love.....	46
Journalism Studies	47
Feminist media research of rape coverage.....	47
Rape myths.....	50
Normative roles of journalism	52
Agenda-setting and framing.....	52
News values	54
Chapter 3: Methodology	56
Research question	56
Why text research matters.....	56
Qualitative research.....	57
Critical discourse analysis.....	58
Textual analysis.....	59
Macro-textual analysis	60
Narrative.....	60
Todorov.....	61
Propp	61
Levi-Strauss	62
Argumentation	63
Micro-textual analysis.....	63
Naming and referencing.....	64
Predication	64
Transitivity	65
Discourse analysis.....	65

	6
Socio-cultural practice analysis	65
The analytic procedure.....	66
Sampling method	66
Chapter 4: Analysis.....	70
Woman of authority	70
Premier knows too well the damage done	70
Girl children	75
Children with agency	76
‘Rapist told friends I was pregnant’	76
‘Raped own daughter’	80
Lover ‘ordered’ to rape teen.....	81
Children without agency	83
Cops catch visiting pastor ‘raping’ teen girl	83
5-year-old left for dead in bush.....	86
Mom hits raped girl.....	88
Elderly women	91
Another gran attacked	91
Granny (84) raped, attacked at home	94
Granny (71) now lives in fear	97
Women in their 20s	98
Doctors say I sleep around — Survivor	98
Sodomised as cops passed by.....	103
‘This will stay in my mind forever’	104
Still terrified of the dark.....	107
Woman tells of ‘horny’ pastor	108
Men	110
Brittle masculinity.....	111
Chivalrous masculinity	112
“Superman” masculinity	114
Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	118
Challenging the social order: possibilities for social transformation.....	120
Inclusion of voices or experts and activists in the rape crisis field.....	120
Sexist cultural practices problematised.....	121

Children with agency	122
Counselling as a crucial post-trauma process	122
Countering rape myths	123
Reinforcing the social order: limitations on social transformation.....	123
Collective sense of helplessness	123
Profiles can give survivors a voice	124
“Community” myth reinforced	125
Decontextualisation of rapist	127
Sensationalism	127
Concluding thoughts	127
Bibliography.....	129
Appendices.....	137

List of tables

Table 1: The categorisation of the 19 news texts into demographic clusters.....	69
Table 2: Todorov’s model applied to <i>Premier knows too well the damage done</i>	72
Table 3: Propp’s character functions in <i>Premier knows too well the damage done</i> adapted from Wigston 2009: 285)	73
Table 4: Todorov’s model applied to ‘ <i>Rapists told friends I was pregnant</i> ’.....	77
Table 5: Character functions in ‘ <i>Rapists told friends I was pregnant</i> ’.....	77
Table 6: Todorov’s model applied to <i>Another gran attacked</i>	93
Table 7: Todorov’s model applied to <i>Doctors say I sleep around</i>	99

Chapter 1: Introduction

Rape ... routinely presented in the media as individual deviance, is a form of person-to-person violence deeply embedded in power inequalities and ideologies of male supremacy. Far from being a deviation from the social order, it is in a significant sense an enforcement of it (Connell 1987: 107).

Rationale for the study

Rape is a frequent reality of daily life in South Africa. Some incidents of gender-based violence are thrust into the public domain as they receive high profile coverage by the media. These incidents are recognised stories that exceed a particular level of sensationalism or include prominent people and hence considered newsworthy. Other rape stories are recounted as horrifying incidents that happened alongside the daily and routine police accounts of murder, road crashes and violent protests and are arguably just as quickly forgotten when the next day's newsworthy events are presented. As a sub-editor at the *Sowetan*, it was my almost daily encounter with rape news coverage that made me question whether reporting on rape was effective in challenging the scourge. Specifically, it was the *Sowetan's* sustained anti-rape coverage in the form of a campaign called "Enough is Enough – take back your dignity" that was of interest to me. With the newspaper having a largely black readership and tending to report on black perpetrators and black female and child victims, I found the anti-rape campaign coverage disturbing as a black woman living in South Africa. I felt implicated in this coverage by my raced and gendered identity, hence my current study investigating the representation.

Research question

As this study is interested in how the *Sowetan* rape campaign addresses rape, it responds to a concern about how rape survivors are represented. Coverage is always discursively¹ positioned. For rape coverage to counter the prevalence of the problem of rape necessitates that it address the problem by understanding and challenging the context and practices that are productive of rape, that is within a patriarchal gender order (Connell 1987; Moffett 2006; Ratele 2006). It might seem questionable that a rape campaign would in Connell's terms, enforce "power inequalities and ideologies of male supremacy" (1987: 107), yet if the rape

¹ While linguistics has tended to understand discourse as "passages of connected writing or speech", the use of discourse which I employ in this study draws on Foucault's conceptualisation of it as "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about ... a particular topic at a particular historic moment" (Hall 1997: 44).

coverage does not address the problematic nature of patriarchy, it does not address the root cause. Rape is a gendered act and consequently it is an understanding of the workings of patriarchy that needs to underpin such an intervention. If the campaign initiated on 21 November 2012 set out to “move beyond just telling the horror stories of rape and to take a stand using our available resources – print and online” (Mkhabela 2014), the question which inspired this research is: does the campaign through its various news texts challenge or reinforce the conditions that give rise to widespread rape? This research question requires that the prevalence of rape be contextualised both according to place and time, and thus the modern and constitutional context.

The context of place

The significance of the topic is linked to very high prevalence of rape in South Africa as various studies have indicated. The gravity of rape in this country is indicated by it being dubbed the Rape Capital of the World by Interpol in 2012 in response to the high numbers of reported rape and different sets of statistics indicating this fact (*South Africa, world's rape capital: Interpol*, SABC, 19 April 2012; Jewkes and Morrell 2010: 2; Jewkes et al 2005: 1810; Jewkes et al 2012: 4). In a disturbing study conducted in three districts in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal among 1 686 male respondents, 27.6 per cent of the sample, admitted to having raped women before. The study concluded that many South African males had been involved in sexual violence, “whether [with] an intimate partner, stranger or acquaintance, and whether perpetrated alone or with accomplices” (Jewkes et al 2011: 1). The severity of the issue has additionally most recently been indicated by raw police data from the country's 1 141 police stations showing that 43 195 of the 53 617 sexual offences reported to the South African Police Service in 2014 and 2015 were rape cases (Laganparsad et al, *The rape plague that lies buried in the figures*, Sunday Times, 4 October 2015). Accordingly, “South Africa recorded an average of 118 rapes a day” (Laganparsad et al, *The rape plague that lies buried in the figures*, Sunday Times, 4 October 2015).

If only reasonably representative, the statistics make it explicit that many South African women and children inhabit an environment in which they are denied the same freedoms as men more generally. Clearly, gender-based violence is endemic in South Africa and the high incidence of rape can be seen to be indicative of gender inequality. This is the case in spite of constitutional rights that legislate against discrimination and enshrine human dignity, life,

and freedom and security. The constitution also guarantees the right “to be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources” (Section 12 (2) of Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996) and “the right to bodily and psychological integrity” (Section 12 (1) (c) of Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996). Qualitative work in the field additionally reveals that there are males in marginalised communities who believe they are entitled to sex (Wood and Jewkes 2001: 327). One study found that among 250 000 male and female respondents who were school pupils, many believed that “girls have no right to refuse sex with their boyfriends; girls mean yes when they say no; girls like sexually violent guys; girls who are raped ask for it; [and] girls enjoy being raped” (Greig et al 2008). This qualitative research makes explicit attitudes that are productive of the endemic nature of rape in South Africa.

The context in time

My interest in the *Sowetan*'s anti-rape campaign stems from an acute consciousness, given my gendered and racial identity, of how much of the rape reported is committed in black-populated areas such as villages and townships. Implicitly the perpetrators are black, although the reporting does not explicitly state the racial profiling of the perpetrators consistent with the company's editorial charter². I am, like many people, horrified by rape and its prevalence, but what makes me most uncomfortable is the representation of its prevalence in what has been constituted historically as “black areas”. My analysis therefore addresses the high occurrence of rape in areas mainly populated by black people as these are the rapes reported in the campaign as a consequence of the positioning and the readership of the *Sowetan*. The high number of black men involved in rape coincides with the colonial construction of black sexuality as savage, a discourse which elides other significant aspects while demonising black people. Non-recognition of this historical context implicitly reinforces the stereotype of the black male rapist. Hence it is important to understand the kinds of gendered identities that are produced within the particular discursive spaces where these rapes occur.

² According to the section dealing with reporting on race ((f) code of conduct for dealing with issues of race, religion and cultural difference): “Staff will ... [n]ot in crime reporting, make mention of the race or religion of the victim or the alleged perpetrator unless that information is meaningful and in the public interest” (Times Media Division Codes & Policies Manual 2013).

That there is a high prevalence of rapists who are black has to be understood statistically in the first instance. As Moffett notes, it is unsurprising since “the majority of the South African population is black” (2006:125). However, she identifies a racial bias: “South Africans of all races, it seems, assume that perpetrators of sexual violence are black men” (Moffett 2006: 135) and this racial preconception serves to “demonise black men as incontinent savages, lusting after forbidden white flesh” rather than viewing rape as gendered (Moffett 2006: 135). Such racism is not confined to South Africa. Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald, for instance, in their analysis of news articles relating to ten prominent rape cases in the United States found that in one case involving a Jamaican girl raped by white boys, the “victim was highly blamed”, whereas in two cases involving white rape survivors and black attackers, “the victims were not blamed” (2002: 14).

While I recognise the production of a stereotype of black male sexuality as savage being a colonial and racist discourse, I do not wish to evade the gravity of the issue of rape prevalence, which I have established earlier. I do however wish to understand the issue more deeply; that is as a result of colonial conquest, and the consequent reshaping of “indigenous gender orders” (Connell 2009: 78), and its far-reaching effect of producing violent masculinities within the margins of “white capitalist, white supremacist, heteropatriarchal societies” (Gqola 2015: 38). This concern with gender enables insight into how it is colonising, a form of social structuring (Connell 1987 and 2009), and constitutes behaviour (Butler 1988). Hence the point of departure of my investigation of the anti-rape campaign is the question of whether the representation resists or reinforces deeply embedded gender discourses which are productive of “rape culture” (Gqola 2015). I adopt the stance advocated by Moffett that rape occurs in every class and race and is a gendered “tool of social control” (2006: 141).

The deployment of sexual violence for social control can be traced back to colonial conquest of South Africa. This history accounts for the “masculinisation” of power (Amadiume 1987) in indigenous societies with the imposition of indirect rule. In “regulating relations between men and women, as between generations [indirect rule] privileged one of several points of views — a view both male and senior — as traditional and enforced it as law” (Mamdani 1999: 873-874). A view of custom and tradition as being primordial and static exists in contestation with the Constitution of South Africa (1996) that endorses a human rights

discourse. If South African democracy recognises the equality of all people before the law, customary discourse insists on the superiority of men, particularly within patriarchal traditions and laws made more severe by the emasculation of black males within a white supremacist capitalist patriarchal gender order. It is within the margins of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy that, in my discussions in chapter 2, I additionally locate the production of black “brittle masculinities” (Morrell 2001: 18), as, for black men during apartheid, “the harshness of life on the edge of poverty and the emasculation of political powerlessness gave their masculinity a dangerous edge” (Morrell 2001: 18).

The context of the modern and the customary

The contexts of place and time I have established for understanding rape in South Africa indicate that women in this country inhabit an environment in which they are denied the same freedoms as men more generally. The discourses prevailing in the present emerge as a consequence of South Africa’s particular history. Most significant arguably is the tension between the discourses of the modern and the customary. While a rights-based argument against rape presumes the inherent dignity of every person regardless of age, race, creed, gender or sexual orientation, traditional discourse still challenges the rights of women as free and equal citizens of South Africa. Custom exists in tension with the modern (Mamdani 1999) as traditional practices that undermine the status of women as equal citizens³ indicate. The Bill of Rights (1996) provides for the rights *inter alia* to equality, which disallows discrimination based along the lines of “race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth”; it validates the right “to be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources” and “the right to bodily and psychological integrity”. However, the entitlement of these rights, as the rape statistics indicate, are not realised by all. To establish this point I present two examples of customary challenges to human rights discourse in order to establish the current South African context of rape.

The Traditional Courts Bill

An example of discursive contestation between the traditional and the modern, which was synonymous with being a white settler or “citizen” in colonial times (Mamdani 1999), is

³ Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), named the Bill of Rights, enshrines the equality and inherent dignity of everyone before the law as it presents a comprehensive list of inviolable human rights.

evident in the Traditional Courts Bill⁴, which sought to replace sections 12 and 20 of the Black Administration Act of 1927. Tabled in the National Assembly in 2008, the bill outlined the act's objectives as being to give a traditional court, distinct from courts referred to in section 166 of the Constitution, the power to, among others, "affirm the values of the traditional justice system, based on restorative justice and reconciliation and to align them with the Constitution" and "affirm the role of the institution of traditional leadership in enhancing access to justice by providing a speedier, less formal and less expensive resolution of disputes; and promoting and preserving traditions, customs and cultural practices that promote nation-building, in line with constitutional value" (section 2a and 2bii and iii of the Traditional Courts Bill 2012). The bill was withdrawn from the National Assembly and reintroduced in the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) in January 2012 where it soon lapsed, with the then NCOP chairman of the select committee on security and constitutional development, Thjeta Mofokeng, leaving it to the next Parliament to revive the bill via a resolution (Hlongwane, *Ding Dong, the Traditional Courts Bill is dead! But the spell remains*, Business Day, 26 February 2014).

The different positions articulated in response to the proposed bill highlighted the double bind that lawmakers find themselves in negotiating constitutional democratic citizenship on one hand and tradition and custom on the other. Had the promulgation of the bill succeeded, it would have robbed rural citizens falling under the authority of chiefs of their constitutional rights and set progress made in female emancipation back, as "about 59% of these [rural citizens] are women, who, along with other members of their communities, [would have] cease[d] to be citizens and exist[ed] only as subjects" (Gqola 2012). These women would have had to seek recourse through customary structures which hold traditional patriarchal views, some of which clash with constitutional rights. At the heart of contestation between traditional and modern discourses is the legislators' failure to problematise the unreflective acceptance of "custom [as] unchanging, standardised and uncontested and ... tradition [as] eternal, uniform, and harmonious" (Ratele 2013: 139).

⁴ The bill has been dubbed the "Bantustan Bill" by those opposing it on the premise that it imitates apartheid legislation which constituted black people as subjects of chiefs, denying them rights as South African citizens.

Ukuthwala

This uncritical and essentialised approval of culture is reflected in the acceptance of particular patriarchal traditional practices and I use forced marriage (*ukuthwala*) as an example.

... for a girl to be taken as a wife through *ukuthwala* — the process has nothing to do with age — When you are going to discuss culture do not even try to bring in white notions as such an approach will turn things upside down. Firstly, culture has no age. Age is something we learn today because of our Westernisation (*When 'culture' clashes with gender rights*, Mail & Guardian, 2 December 2011).

This statement is by Mandla Mandela, a ruling party African National Congress (ANC) Member of Parliament (MP) and chief of the Mvezo Traditional Council. Although he is an influential traditional leader, enhanced by his association with the Mandela household, ironically he is not just a leader of a traditional council with its arguably patriarchal laws as illustrated in his statement, but a legislator in the parliament of the Republic of South Africa with its progressive liberal laws. The irony of his words and contesting discursive positions illustrates a tension between rights and “tradition”. *Ukuthwala* embodies this tension. It must be noted that the practice was only given a clear legal definition as human trafficking⁵ very recently in the Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons (TiP) Act of 2013. *Ukuthwala* is defined as “a form of abduction that involves kidnapping a girl or a young woman by a man and his friends or peers with the intention of compelling the girl or young woman’s family to endorse marriage negotiations” (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development [undated]). Understood in this sense, the man or the group, including his peers, have “sex” with the woman and she has no say in the matter⁶. Mandela’s statement is indicative of the gendered dimensions of what is considered “tradition”, and the way it presents a contesting discourse to the dominant human rights discourse in South Africa. The customary explanation for this form of rape presumes a particular gender order that validates certain masculinities produced within specific historic and socio-economic contexts. However a critical cultural studies understanding of gendered customary practices, which I adopt, recognises the historic specificity as well as the particular socio-economic context in

⁵ Section 4(2)(b) of chapter 2 in the act defines a trafficker as “Any person who concludes a forced marriage with another person...” (Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 2013).

⁶ Explanations of *ukuthwala* as elopement have been offered within the customary discourse, explaining the practice as voluntary and pre-agreed by lovers who fear resistance to their union from parents, for example. In such cases the abduction of the woman is staged (Wood 2005: 313-314)

which proprietorial discourses of men's rights over women and children are legitimated (Thompson 1990). This context is productive of what has been described as "brittle masculinities" (Morrell 2001).

Masculinities and materiality

The concepts of hegemonic (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) or ruling masculinity (Ratele 2006) make evident how discursively constructed normative ideals of masculinity, which constitute males as providers, naturalise heterosexual men's dominance over women and "weaker" men (Ratele 2006: 56). Unequal gender power relations are legitimated as normal where ruling masculinity reigns. Certainly, for patriarchy to be presumed normal requires its acceptance by women too. Many women endorse dominant forms of masculinity, constituting themselves as willing subjects as proposed in the roles included in what has been termed "emphasised femininity" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 848). Women who enable patriarchy and enact this femininity sustain a "cult of femininity" (Gqola 2007), which is a discursive strand of the patriarchal gender order that is productive of violent masculinity. These women are complicit in the perpetuation and prevalence of gender-based violence and, hence, are "phallic women", a term which Gqola borrows from Lewis referring to women who are the "cronies" of violent men (2007: 120).

The prevailing gender order has its roots in the history of empire. Because of colonialism, urbanisation and the consequent dependence of rural women on men's wages, in the 20th century the sexual relations between genders have been produced consistent with the notion of "provider love" (Hunter 2010) whereby women are expected to submit to men and play a feminine role in return for being taken care of by them, a reciprocal arrangement which Hunter terms the "patriarchal bargain" (2010). While more black women now have relatively more economic independence, men are generally still expected to provide for women with whom they are sexually involved, a slippery "sliding scale between a social relationship and commercial sex work" (Dover 2005: 181). Additionally, the "patriarchal bargain" requires women's sexual submission to men who are providers. Research in Ngangelizwe township in Mthatha, in the Eastern Cape, suggests that relations among poor black youths reflects this reciprocity.

[I]f a girl accepted a male 'proposal' to love, she would be expected to have sex whenever he wanted it in return for presents, money, being visited frequently and

taken out to parties and films. Thus sexual refusal on the part of girls, which contradicted this 'contract' as well as challenging dominant ideas about (male) sexual entitlement in relationships and female sexual availability, was an important catalyst for assault and was seen (by some men) to legitimise the 'taking' of sex, by force if necessary (Wood and Jewkes 2001: 327).

If many men who cannot provide materially for women feel inadequate or emasculated, women endorse their marginalisation (Silberschmidt 2005: 191). "They are not men if they don't work," says one woman in Hunter's study (2010: 168), showing the enduring acceptance of the male-as-provider discourse. Consequently, "men marginalized from the productive economy also face marginalization from the sexual economy" (Hunter 2010: 167), arguably a factor in an aggressive male masculinity constituted by behaviour which includes rape.

The concept of provider love can be deployed in the analysis of rape not only to understand how sexual violence can be renamed "sex" or "tradition" by perpetrators as is presented in Mandela's argument that "for a girl to be taken as a wife through ukuthwala — the process has nothing to do with age", but also in understanding the enactment of a particular kind of masculinity in rape. Boshoff and Prinsloo in a study on newspaper coverage of the gang rape of a mentally disturbed teenager identify the enactment of violent masculinity by the male teenage rapists within the winner-takes-all sexual economy (2015: 3). The perpetrators' action of giving the girl R2 and their avoidance of the use of the word rape, but rather the term "have sex" in describing their actions locates their actions outside of rape and consistent with a particular form of marginalised masculinity, which due to unemployment cannot play the provider role in relationships. Not only are these men cut off from the labour economy, but also from the sexual economy.

This historical context challenges some fundamental characteristics attributed to masculinity, particularly provider masculinity. That an increase in sexual violence has been linked to unemployment (Van der Gaag 2014; Boshoff and Prinsloo 2014; Hunter 2010) indicates a crisis in male identification with this hegemonic form of masculinity, making them feel less manly and thus asserting their manliness through gender-based violence. A recognition of these socio-economic factors is vital in challenging rape as they direct us to the causes of the enactment of sexual violence among black urban men, that is a violent form of masculinity (Gqola 2015).

Sowetan history and positioning

Emerging in a time of great political upheaval with long periods of states of emergencies imposed by the apartheid government in the 1980s, the *Sowetan* was originally a knock-and-drop publication published by the Argus group. This locates it as emerging during the “multiracial period” of the black press between 1980 to 1996 when white companies began to realise the financial potential of investing in publications targeting black readers, viewed as a “captive market” that media owners could sell to advertisers (Wigston 2007: 40). The tabloid soon became a daily newspaper, having been started up with many of the reporters who lost their jobs when the *Golden City Post* shutdown due to its anti-apartheid rhetoric (Wigston 2007: 40). However what is significant about the *Sowetan* is that, its historic origin notwithstanding, unlike many black press publications in the apartheid era, it was not aligned to any of the liberation political parties, but rather adopted a pro-Black Consciousness stance espoused by Steve Biko in seeking to represent black readers’ lived experiences and aspirations and being a “nation builder” (Cowling 2014a), a role it still strongly identifies with today.

My question posed in the beginning of this chapter about whether the anti-rape campaign coverage challenges or reinforces gender inequality also relates to the way the *Sowetan* has constituted its role as nation builder (Cowling 2014a: 143-150). As a newspaper it has historically positioned itself as “an institution of black public life” (Cowling 2014a: 2). During apartheid, the paper was not merely opposed to the draconian regime. Rather it “conducted an ongoing process of social re-imagining through the project of nation-building ... partly through editorial columns, and partly through initiating community projects and reporting on them” (Cowling 2014a: 127). This positioning was initiated under the editorship of Aggrey Klaaste from 1988 to 2002 which saw the paper championing, in addition to political rights, the socio-economic rights and aspirations of black people through initiatives which included township garden and school rebuilding projects (Cowling 2014a: 146-148).

The nation-builder role is essentially the facilitative journalism role which it seeks to explicitly adopt in the anti-rape campaign’s aim of “taking a stand against rape”, according to the editor (Mkhabela 2014). Hence, although the *Sowetan* has positioned itself within the Anglo-American tradition of monitorial journalism, it has, in addition constructed itself as a nation builder, constantly drawn on aspects of *ubuntuism* with its insistence on conceiving of

the public and its readership as a community (2014a: 147). In a recent study of the *Sowetan* online's coverage of rape between 2008 and 2009, the title was described as generally upholding gender progressive reporting through adopting *ubuntuism* media philosophy which “does not prescribe specific journalist codes but ‘a deep-seated general morality that requires the journalist to act in harmony with the morality of the community’” (Worthington 2011: 617 quoting Fourie 2008: 64 in part). This commitment to nation building, which still today remains a hallmark of the publication's approach to journalism (see chapter 2), and to “community” is of particular interest to me.

In the context of this anti-rape campaign, it is necessary not to simply take community morality as though always benign. There is a potential tension for journalists because the aim of advancing gender justice frequently runs counter to the social order in which such community morality exists. When rape is then framed as morally deviant, this construction fails to consider the roots of the problem: that rape is in fact an enforcement of the social order (Connell 1987: 107). “Community” is a signifier that is deployed discursively as a strategy of unification (Thompson 1990), a construction that diverts attention from the fact that we live in a masculinised and patriarchal space where rape is routinely enacted as a strategy of social control (Moffett 2006). Additionally a media construction of individual responses to rape as reflective of the “community” evokes idealised notions about certain groupings (mostly black and rural). The construction presumes that certain groupings hold to traditional values of *ubuntu* and collectivism, and reinforces the myth of pastoral bliss and close-knit society assumed to be experienced in places outside urban areas (Dimah and Dimah 2008: 77).

Consequently the invocation of “community” to reinforce the idea of collective disapproval of rape sits uncomfortably with me beside the jarring statistics that indicate that, for historic and socio-economic reasons already theorised, it is in these “communities” that rape is prevalent⁷. For the anti-rape campaign to initiate transformation it needs to go beyond merely rehearsing the shock and horror of rape as well as representing it as a crime perpetrated by “others”. This is a limited response that produces nothing more than collective defeat (Gqola 2015: 7) in the long run – when the identification, censure and

⁷ The police stations that recorded the highest rape cases in the 2014-2015 period were Umlazi township in KwaZulu-Natal (305 cases reported), Inanda township in eastern KwaZulu-Natal (274), Thohoyandou which used to be the capital of the former Venda bantustan (269) and Jouberton township in the North West (248) (Laganparsad et al, *The rape plague that lies buried in the figures*, Sunday Times, 4 October 2015).

incarceration of these ‘others’ does not result in an end to the problem of rape. Addressing the problem lies in the recognition of rape “as a particular enactment of masculinity within a specific gendered space” (Boshoff and Prinsloo 2009: 3).

The campaign

It is productive to briefly establish the economic interests that inform newspaper campaigns as they play a discursive role which may or may not have transformative potential. On the most obvious level campaigns are undertaken to provoke particular responses from their readership and seek to position themselves as a change agent and so “create a ‘community of readers’ who relate to each other and to the newspaper” (Aldridge 2003: 498). Their other purpose is to improve the circulation and profitability of the title. Indeed the founding document of the *Sowetan*’s campaign indicates that one of the motivating factors for the campaign is to increase readership (Pretorius 2012). Critically, the *Sowetan* attempts to be transformative of an order that enables this sexual violence. If this is realised through the campaign presenting an alternative discourse to the patriarchal order, the two aims to grow circulation for profit and challenge this violence may not be conflictual. This is because credible reporting is what is seen to be constitutive of newspapers’ financial growth (Meyers 2005).

The *Sowetan* ran their anti-rape campaign both in the online and print versions of the newspaper. Various typographical features signalled this campaign. In the print versions, each article about rape is accompanied by a “Say No To Rape” and/or a “Enough is enough” page strap. The reports tend to be carried within page packages comprising stories relating to rape, rather than being standalone stories within a page carrying other articles unrelated to rape. When the rape reports are on a page with other unrelated news, they are generally clearly marked off with a design that boxes them in with the logo inserted somewhere between the columns of the body text. In this case, the campaign page strap does not appear at the top of the page. Additionally when the campaign articles are carried as single page lead stories, they either take the form of feature stories profiling a rape survivor as a single source or as breaking news. While the breaking news is carried on the earlier pages of the newspaper, usually page 2, the features tend to be in the later pages. As time went by, the campaign seemed to lose momentum until the logo stopped appearing in the newspaper completely even as rape reportage continued to be included alongside everyday news reports

in the South African daily newspaper. Although the *Sowetan* ran their anti-rape campaign both in the online and print versions of the newspaper, with the print campaign pages occasionally directing readers to an online anti-rape pledge, my focus is primarily on the print campaign as explained in chapter 3.

My research project

Against the concern discussed above, the goal of my research is to analyse the *Sowetan*'s "Enough is Enough – take back your dignity" campaign coverage, employing critical discourse analysis in order to identify whether the coverage challenges or reinforces gender inequitable discourses. Informed by a concern with gender justice and social transformation, the goal of this qualitative study is to analyse the coverage of the campaign over a one-year period to consider the possibilities and limitations of such a campaign in relation to gender inequalities.

Theoretical framework

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been described both as an approach and a method (Fairclough 1995; Jorgenson and Philips 2002). My approach is informed by critical cultural studies which views culture as operating as a "circuit which comprises the 'moments' of production, texts, readings and lived cultures" (Johnson 1986). Although my primary focus pertains to the coverage of the *Sowetan* rape campaign, that is text, attention to the other moments is essential to ensure a holistic account. Also, specific to this theoretical strand is the poststructuralist or constructionist approach informed by Foucault's concept of discourse (see Foucault 1969; 1981; Hall 1997) which underpins my study.

If Foucault's particular emphasis is on discursive power, Connell emphasises two additional forms, namely direct and colonising power. The second strand of my theory, gender studies, positions rape as gender warfare (Moffett 2006: 144) exercised through the enactment of both direct and discursive power. I also use Butler's concept of performativity to develop the idea of gender embodiment, in other words, how instead of being born with a gender, we do gender. The concepts of embodiment and performativity are of significance then when considering acts of rape.

Postcolonial theory serves as the third theoretical strand and links to Connell's concern with colonising power. It acknowledges the intersectionality between gender and race as "a fused gender/race hierarchy [which] became a core feature of colonial society [that] persists in the contemporary world" (Connell 2009: 78). The prevailing gender order both in the industrialised north as well as the south arguably presumes white capitalist masculinity as the most privileged way of being. This "hegemonic masculinity" is presumed to be hierarchically superior to other forms of masculinity (e.g. black or homosexual forms) (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 832; Connell 1987: 80; Ratele 2013). Postcolonial theorist and activist hooks similarly opposes such "white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (2000: 4), arguing that capitalism reinforces gender and racial inequalities and hence calls for fundamental social transformation which also addresses the economic order.

Finally, my research is informed by Journalism Studies. As news reports do not merely perform a single role or articulate a single discourse (Cottle and Rai 2008), news coverage can fulfil any of the normative roles that theorists have identified. Christians et al (2009) propose four such roles, namely facilitative, collaborative, monitorial and radical (Christians et al 2009) and media institutions identify variously with these roles. The anti-rape campaign presumes a facilitative approach to journalism (Christians and Nordenstreng 2004), while also holding people accountable, hence the monitorial role.

My research methodology

This qualitative study takes the form of a case study of the rape campaign in chapter 3. My aim is to conduct both an engaged and estranged reading of the sampled texts to establish what discourses are articulated and contested, as text and the social are mutually constitutive (Janks 1997). As cultural studies research is a political project concerned with power and marginal spaces rather than high culture, the *Sowetan* with its high penetration in townships and villages fits into that marginal space. My sampling procedure (described in chapter 3) produced 157 articles of which 19 reports are purposively selected for analysis sampling. I use CDA to analyse the 19 purposively sampled texts identified, arguably adequate to enabling critical insights (Janks 1997 and Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). It provides a holistic approach to news coverage that does not focus solely on text as the only point where meaning is produced, but recognises the importance of the reader, culture and production as sources of meaning in constructing representation (Johnson 1986).

The contribution of my research

This study can contribute to the small body of research into gender campaigns in the South African press and potentially inform progressive interventions in journalistic practice. The existing body of literature on news coverage of rape is small (e.g. Worthington 2008 in the United States; Dewa and Prinsloo 2012 in South Africa) and this study sets out to contribute to it.

The structure of my study

This chapter has presented the rationale for my study, the research question, the context of the research, my research objectives, the scope of the study as well as my theoretical framework. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework that draws on the four distinct but overlapping theoretical strands I have outlined above. Chapter 3 discusses the qualitative research approach and methods used to address the question: How does the *Sowetan* represent rape and therefore challenge or reinforce unequal gender relations? To do so, I use Fairclough's CDA approach to incorporate the three dimensions of analysis. Chapter 4 presents my analysis of the anti-rape campaign. I structure the sampled texts into five distinct demographic clusters (women of authority, girl children, elderly women, women in their 20s, and men) and conduct in-depth analysis of what I consider to be primary texts as well as less detailed analysis of the additional text within each of these clusters to uncover the gendered dimension of the representations. Chapter 5 argues that the campaign fails to interrogate the gender order critically enough to successfully challenge the high occurrence of rape in South Africa.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

You may not have raped. But nothing absolves you from taking a stand against anything that could possibly aid the violation of our Little Ones. Let's for a moment consider ourselves, all of us, rapists or accessories, until we do something practical to demonstrate we are not. We at *Sowetan* are doing something in a small but significant way (*Ag sies! It's shameful*, 28 November 2012, Mkhabela, Sowetan).

During the last quarter of last year we, as a newspaper, took a decision to launch a campaign to mobilise South Africans to fight the scourge of rape. This was in recognition of the fact that reporting on this criminality, which is no doubt important, was not enough to stop it. The "Enough is Enough – take back your dignity" campaign has grown exponentially. Thousands of people have pledged support for it. Celebrities have joined. We encourage all South Africans to sign the pledge. In that way we will all become role models against rape (*Fighting for our dignity*, 11 February 2013, Sowetan).

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for my investigation into the *Sowetan's* anti-rape campaign coverage. My focus is particularly on the gendered representations in the rape reportage. The *Sowetan* campaign declares that it sets out to challenge sexual violence and to mobilise the public to do the same, as indicated in the above quotes from the editor's op-ed column and the newspaper's leader column. I am interested to probe the potential of an anti-rape campaign such as this to challenge sexual violence against women and children. Any challenge to sexual violence needs to recognise its systemic nature within particular gender orders and to this end this study is informed by a constructionist understanding of rape as an enactment of violent masculinity. This theoretical approach locates rape within a gender order that enables male agency and aggression while legitimating female passivity. Given the prevalence of rape and the normative nature of violent masculinity (see chapter 1), a campaign that seeks to challenge sexual violence is ostensibly radical and commits to offer a counter-discourse to gender inequality. However, it is argued that "while appearing to adopt feminist perspectives, the media seem to have consistently failed to take on the more radical critiques of how society supports and perpetuates sexual violence. Instead they opt for the purely 'symbolic expulsion' of sexual violence from our midst" (Kitzinger 2004: 33). Hence my study is concerned with the transformative potential of the campaign representations and investigates whether it challenges or reinforces social injustice.

Chapter outline

To locate my study, I establish the cultural studies paradigm, the first strand of my theoretical framing, as informing this research before outlining the constructionist approach with reference primarily to discourse. My discussion of Foucault's central concepts leads to unpacking the notions of knowledge/power, truth, the subject and governmentality within discourse. I then turn to my second theoretical strand, gender studies, to discuss the various ways of conceptualising gender, including the discursive approach to gender adopted, to an extent, by Connell and Butler. Central to this discussion is a theoretical location of modern understandings of the body and sexuality in a historically specific manner (Foucault 1979 and 1982) as well as establishing the deployment of rape as a form of "social control" (Moffett 2006). Postcolonial studies, the third theoretical strand, enables an insight into the way that colonialism has re-shaped the gender order of indigenous societies, endorsing through indirect rule a severe form of patriarchy constructed as intrinsically traditional (Mamdani 1999), as well as shifting understandings of masculinity and romance to being primarily constituted by materiality. Journalism studies provides the last strand of my theoretical framing as it provides an understanding of the discursive operation of journalism and the way in which it represent rape plays a crucial role in how we understand social injustice.

Cultural studies

The Cultural Studies paradigm is concerned with the interactions between culture, meaning and power. Whereas culture in its "common sense" usage is meant to describe ways of life which are assumed to have always been the way of doing things and assumes a homogeneity of people who "belong" to that culture, cultural studies is a political project focused on the historic specificity of how these ways of life come about. Cultural studies is primarily concerned with culture as a meaning-making and meaning-sharing project (Hall 1997). It is concerned with how cultural meanings "organise and regulate social practices, influence our conduct and consequently have real, practical effects" (Hall 1997: 3). Cultural studies then is interested in power relations and thus its aim is to investigate cultural forms of life in a critical manner.

Culture is usefully conceptualised as operating in a circuit – a "circuit of the production, circulation and consumption of cultural products" (Johnson 1986: 46) and within Johnson's model it consists of the moments of production, texts, readings, and lived cultures. The

model provides a useful theoretical approach to analysing cultural phenomena, including journalistic campaigns, as it directs attention to all the various moments which form part of the circuit. It therefore insists on a holistic approach that goes beyond a focus on a single aspect of the circuit. In this way it exceeds (and complements) both a political economy approach with its focus primarily on production processes and an approach that limits itself to either the text or its reception, all of which are moments in the circuit. Thus, the aim in my research is not to treat the various elements involved in the production and reading of texts as discrete, but to recognise them as parts of a whole, of a complexly interrelated circuit where each moment in the circuit is “dependent one upon the other (Johnson 1986: 46). Johnson’s theory reflects British Cultural Studies and is useful for me in terms of its shift from a reductionist focus on meaning as being produced at a specific point.

Cultural Studies is however not just useful for researching British popular culture but has spread, and found application, across the world, particularly in making visible the absence of voices, for example those of women (Gadzekpo 2009), in mass media studies. Cultural Studies tends to focus on marginalised or popular spaces, rather than on high culture, and it problematises the monolithic and static conceptualisation of culture and views it as a political project concerned with power⁸ (Hall 1990 and Vincent 2013). The *Sowetan* constitutes a marginal and popular space rather than an elite one, historically positioning itself as representing black opinion (see chapter 1). My recognition of identity and the work of representation as being constructed (discussed below) makes Cultural Studies as it has been applied in investigating postcolonial African “identity” politics (Tomaselli 1999; Distiller 2008; Gadzekpo 2009) relevant for this study. Specifically, in terms of the *Sowetan*’s representation in the rape coverage, and its potential for social transformation, Cultural Studies provides a useful theory in investigating the kinds of meanings that are generated, “who has the power to circulate particular meanings at the expense of others, and the social impacts of these meanings” (Steenveld 2000: 81). As my research is focused on the coverage in the *Sowetan*’s anti-rape campaign, my primary focus must be on the moment of representation or text in the first instance. My concern is with the broader social

⁸Cultural Studies is concerned with power and has drawn from several academic traditions inclusive of Marxism, Gramsci’s notion of hegemony and Althusser’s concept of ideology which have all sought to explain the power or authority which makes humans subject to certain ways of being or life. While cultural studies drew heavily on theories of ideology and hegemony, it has been incrementally informed by a range of poststructuralist thinkers. Of these Foucault has been extremely influential with his notion of discourse and power as productive of the objects and subjects of discourse. I discuss his ideas later when dealing with the discursive strand of representation.

construction of language and meaning as well as the question of power, that is whose interests are served in particular constructions of meaning through representation.

Representation

Representation is concerned with the sharing of cultural codes in order to make meaning of everything around us and all that we think and do (Hall 1997); it “connects meaning and language to culture” (Hall 1997: 15). The poststructuralist or constructionist approach that underpins my study contrasts with two other approaches to representation, namely the reflective and intentional approaches. The reflective approach is premised on the understanding that things in the world already have a meaning which language simply reflects (Hall 1997:15). The intentional approach argues that language expresses what meaning the author intends to express (Hall 1997:15). The two strands of the constructionist approach, semiotic and discursive reject both approaches to argue that the constructionist approach proposes that meaning is constructed in and through language. There are two strands to the constructionist approach to representation: the semiotic and discursive.

Semiotics

Saussure has been highly influential in the development of the semiotic strand of the constructionist approach. His attention to the sign and its arbitrary relation to the referent underpins subsequent poststructuralist understandings. For him, “language is a system of signs” (Hall 1997: 31) and these signs (whether they be sounds, text or images) comprise a signifier and a signified. The signifier is the “vehicle which expresses the sign and exists in the material world” and the signified is the “concept which the signifier calls forth when we perceive it” (Bignell 2002: 11-12). Both elements are necessary in order for us to make sense of the sign. This is a departure from the reflective approach which assumes that everything already has meaning and language merely reflects that inherent meaning. “Both [the signified and the signifier] are required to produce meaning but it is the relation between them, fixed by our cultural and linguistic codes, which sustains representation” (Hall 1997: 31).

Importantly the relationship between the signified and the signifier is not fixed, but is arbitrary (Hall 1997: 31; Bignell 2002: 8). This conceptualization introduces the importance of context and historic specificity in dealing with representation. “Signs do not possess a fixed or essential meaning. What signifies, according to Saussure, is not RED or the essence of ‘red-ness’, but the difference between RED and GREEN,” (Hall 1997: 31). In other

words, since the link between the signified and the signifier is arbitrary, meaning exists within a “system of differences. This focus on the arbitrary nature of linguistic signs highlights the fact that things only have meaning within particular historical and social contexts (Bignell 2002: 8).

Saussure also focused on the rules governing language, identifying *langue*, “the language system,” (Hall 1997: 33) and *parole*, the act or use of the language system “produced by an actual speaker or writer” (Hall 1997: 33). It was to *langue* that Saussure paid attention as it lent itself to a structural approach (Hall 1997: 33) as the “linguistic signs of parole are only meaningful if they are used in accordance with the rules of the langue” (Bignell 2002: 9). Saussure’s focus on the rules governing language and how we share it through parole was important in highlighting how representation through language is only meaningful when it can be shared (Hall 1997: 34), hence why the utterances or sounds that babies or mad people make are not considered to be meaningful in society. However his focus on linguistic signs was considered too narrow within Cultural Studies, excluding as it did the critical question of power, a central dimension of the discursive strand of constructionism (Hall 1997: 35).

Discourse⁹

History constantly teaches us discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized (Foucault 1981: 52-53).

If semiotics is a structural approach, a poststructuralist paradigm does not entirely reject structuralism, but builds on it to analyse the social context within which texts or representation occurs. The discursive approach is informed by Foucault’s concept of discourse and discursive work. This approach does not view the sign or the text as the source of meaning and thus the starting point of analysis of representation, but considers how representation is “connected ... with social practices and questions of power” (Hall 1997: 42) for Foucault’s concern was with “relations of power, not relations of meaning” (Hall 1997: 43). Discourse also deals with an aspect ignored by semiotics: subjectivity within representation, that is the way in which people are always constituted as subjects within discourse and how they embody certain subject positions. This strand of the constructionist

⁹ While linguistics has tended to understand discourse as “passages of connected writing or speech”, the Foucauldian use of discourse is as concept describing “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about ... a particular topic at a particular historic moment” (Hall 1997:44).

approach to representation also historicises “discourse, representation, knowledge and truth” (Hall 1997: 46).

Rather than the semiotic concern with how meaning connects language to culture, discourse is concerned with how knowledge is produced through discourse (Hall 1997). Foucault identifies knowledge as being connected with power as those considered authoritative are able to constitute what counts as truth. He is thus not concerned with how representations show “relations of meaning”, but with how they reveal “relations of power” (Foucault in Hall 1997: 43). To discuss this complex theorizing I focus on six important aspects of the theorizing of discourse and discuss three elements which are integral to Foucault’s conceptualisation – knowledge/power and truth, the subject, and governmentality.

Firstly, discourse is not merely about language, but is also about human conduct, hence “all practices have a discursive aspect” (Hall 1997: 44). This means that our thoughts and occur within discourse. Second, discourse functions through regulation; it “constructs the topic [of our knowledge about madness, for example] ... it rules in certain ways of talking about a topic [and] ‘rules out’, limits and restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or constructing knowledge about it” (Hall 1997: 44). To talk about a topic outside of those parameters is seen as speaking outside of reason. Thus it is within certain discourses that subjects are spoken of as ‘mad’, ‘ill’ or ‘criminal’ (to use Foucault’s examples).

Third, discourses are always in contestation. For every discourse, there are counter-discourses. Different discourses constitute gender in different ways. For example, while patriarchy might emphasise the submissive nature and passivity of desirable femininity, feminism offers a counter-discourse of female agency and rights to equality to men. Within the gender order that has been normalised, hegemonic masculinity, a concept which I have introduced in the previous chapter, legitimates “the global subordination of women to men.” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 832).

Related to the idea of discourse as contested of, is the fourth point, namely that discourses are historically specific and hence the dominant discourse at any particular time (the episteme) can change. An existing episteme can give way to a new one if the truth of that older discourse no longer enjoys the status of normative or dominant understanding. Foucault’s concept of a discursive regime or truth regime (see next point) emphasises how,

as a consequence of being discursively conceived, truth can be subsequently reframed as one regime of truth gives way to another regime of truth, rather than a singular “Truth which [remains] so, whatever the period, setting or context” (Hall 1997: 49). Hall argues that “each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth; that is, the types of discourses which it accepts and makes function as true” (Foucault 1980 in Hall 1997:49), and those can be replaced by others.

Discourse therefore, the fifth point, operates within a discursive or truth regime. This means that truth is never fixed but is produced by and in discourse. To sustain the truth regime requires wide acceptance and consistent articulation of that “truth” for “[w]henver between objects, types of statement, concept or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we ... are dealing with a discursive formation ... (Foucault 1969: 41). For example, the customary practice of *ukulobola* (pride price) is generally taken for granted as standard, unchanging marriage practice despite the fact that there are many black South African who cannot afford to pay *ilobolo*. The uncritical perpetuation of the custom as a timeless practice, dissociated from its historical origin of increasing the kraal and labour power of a homestead (Hunter 2010: 40), and its assumed intrinsic link to the normative understanding of black marriage in South Africa reinforces a discourse of desirable femininity associated with being marriageable and is legitimated by traditionalists, ‘ordinary’ South Africans, as well as people in the public eye as made evident by President Jacob Zuma’s statement:

I was also happy [when my daughter was married] because I wouldn’t want to stay with daughters who are not getting married. Because that in itself is a problem in society. I know that people today think being single is nice. It’s actually not right. That’s a distortion. You’ve got to have kids. Kids are important to a woman because they actually give an extra training to a woman, to be a mother (Lamprecht, *Zuma warned to mind his language*, City Press, [undated]).

Lastly, since discourse produces knowledge, meaning is produced within discourse.

“Discourse produces the objects of our knowledge” (Hall 1997: 44), which is how the things that exist in the material world as well as the concepts in our heads take on meaning and become part of a discursive formation. Romantic love can be located within a discourse of romance, a formation which defines and produces the object of its knowledge through things such as candlelit dinners and red roses which only have meaning within that discourse. It

also tends to be deeply gendered. Foucault recognizes that things do exist in the material world. He argues, however, that for those things to have any kind of meaning, discourse must produce knowledge about them. For example, a red rose within a particular discourse is associated with romance. Yet for someone who does not have the requisite foreknowledge to interpret that discourse, the rose may mean something else. Therefore “nothing which is meaningful exists outside discourse” (Hall 1997: 44).

Power/knowledge and truth

In acknowledgement of how knowledge is enmeshed with power (Hall 1997), Foucault interlinks them by referring to power/knowledge. The kind of knowledge that he is concerned with is that which “counts as ‘truth’” (Prinsloo 2009: 207). As outlined above, Foucault conceives of knowledge as not only linked to power but as also having the power to make itself true (Hall 1997: 49). For example, in Foucault’s work on madness, he shows how the physician, through having authority to produce knowledge about the patient, has power to say what is true about madness. He speaks of a “hierarchy of knowledges and sciences” (Foucault 1976 in Gordon 1980: 82) which privileges the knowledge, for example, of the doctor above that of the patient; the journalist above that of the reader or audience; the adult above that of a child. This hierarchy is not based on who is in possession of any essential truth, but on who has the power to make what they say or do count as truth.

In relation to discourse and its power to define truth, Foucault refers to Gregor Mendel whose genetics theories – though valid – were rejected in science whilst he was alive.

It is always possible that one might speak the truth in the space of wild exteriority, but one is ‘in the true’ only by obeying the rules of discursive ‘policing’ which one has to reactivate in each one’s discourses. (Foucault 1970: 61)

Society then impels (but does not compel) us to produce or accept certain objects of knowledge within discourse considered to be true.

We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth ... we are forced to produce the truth of power that our society demands, of which it has need, in order to function: we *must* speak the truth; we are constrained or condemned to confess or discover the truth (Foucault 1976 in Gordon 1980: 93).

Subsequently, Foucault in talking about governmentality which I address later, revisits this seemingly determinist argument, proposing that to be governed, people must be free to exercise choice in the sense that there is “a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments” exist (Foucault 1982: 790) from which they may choose. “Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free ... freedom must exist for power to be exerted” (Foucault 1982: 790). But the point here is that even though there is a plurality of discourses, none exists outside discourse. To return to the notion of knowledge and truth, it is important to note that Foucault’s concern does not lie with disproving scientific claims as much as he is sets out to problematise the “effects of the power of a discourse that is considered to be scientific” (Foucault 1991: 84). He is concerned with how knowledge is linked to power, and how being in power enables one group to constitute what counts as truth.

If Foucault makes problematic the broadly accepted idea of knowledge and truth, he similarly presents a radical conception of power on two counts, namely that it circulates and that it is productive. Rather than accepting power as operating in a top-down manner, Foucault conceives of power “as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain” (Foucault 1976 in Gordon 1980: 98). This means that both those who have authority and those who are subjugated are “vehicles of power” and are caught in its “net-like organisation” (Foucault 1976 in Gordon 1980: 98). Thus power is not simply a thing to be possessed, nor is it “that which makes the difference between those who exclusively have it and retain it, and those who do not have it and submit to it” (Foucault 1976 in Gordon 1980: 98). Rather in the various positions, people are its “points of its application”. This means that those who were subjugated, can alternatively be those who have the authority to speak with “truth” in different discourses.

Power additionally is not only repressive, but is productive. It “doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no” (Foucault 1980 in Hall 1997: 50); it is “not just repressive: but generates forms of life” (Connell 2009: 77).

[Power] traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression (Foucault 1980:119 in Phillips & Jorgensen 2002:13)

For instance, in a discourse where women are subjugated by men, there are women who embody their positions as subjects of patriarchy willingly, enjoying conventions of men as providers or protectors. In this example, which I will return to later, it is clear that power can be productive of new identities and discourses. Feminisms are examples of discourses produced to contest domination of women by men.

An important aspect of Foucault's theorising pertains to power as historically constituted. One of the key differences between the semiotic and the discursive approach is that the latter locates meaning within power and therefore rejects the former's "science of meaning" (Hall 1997: 42), which aimed to fix meaning to language. But, as discussed above, discourses exist in contestation with each other, and this is what gives rise to new epistemes with new truth regimes. Power then is also contested as much as the truth of dominant discourses is challenged by counter-discourse. Social revolutions throughout history are an example of this contestation.

The subject of discourse

In terms of understanding how people understand themselves, semiotics is critiqued for not dealing with people – whether as authors or as instruments of representation. Foucault, it is argued, restores the place of the individual within representation, but not to the enlightenment conception of the subjects as the "source of meaning (Hall 1997: 55) of self and the world. He does this through his notion of the subject, which he decentres and views as being spoken by discourse (Hall 1997: 55).

Discourse produces subjects in two ways, through constituting the people whom it produces knowledge about, for example through medical discourse which produced the madman or the economic discourse which produced the slave, and through creating subject positions from which the discourse will make most sense to the reader or viewer (Hall 1997: 56). To elaborate on the second point, I use an example from news reports. In order for audiences to understand the representations on news, they must be able to relate with the representations from the position which has been constructed for them as viewers, listeners or as readers. This is the subject position of audiences as citizens who want to be informed about what is going in the world. Thus audiences partake in the discourse as subjects through taking up these positions.

Foucault also historicised the subject. For example, he focussed on "madness, illness, death, crime, sexuality, and so forth" (Foucault 1982: 779). Within these discourses, he was

concerned with how people are constituted as subjects of the knowledge within a specific truth or discursive regimes. Those who are deemed authoritative are similarly produced as discursive subjects “within a historic framework” (Hall 1997: 55). For example, the trading and ownership of slaves, in America for instance, was an episteme in which white people made black people slaves – the subjects of a discourse of humans as commodities. But the slave owners were also subjected to the discourse of slavery as they too are the bearers of that discursive knowledge. The same applies for physicians who diagnose people as mad.

Subjects may produce particular texts, but they are operating within the limits of the episteme, the discursive formation and the regime of truth, of a particular period and culture ... The subject can become the bearer of the kind of knowledge which discourse produces. It can become the object through which power is relayed. But it cannot stand outside power/knowledge as its source and author (Hall 1997: 55).

Subjects are not only constituted in discourse, but also embody its subjectivity. The body, hence, produces meaning as it embodies discourse. In Foucault’s work on sexuality, madness and discipline and punishment, the body is central in the construction of these discourses. The body is “[exploited] as an object of knowledge and in element in relations of power” (Foucault 1976: 106). It is the deployment of the body in matters regarding sexuality – the control the state exercises over it regarding matters of reproduction – that brings us to governmentality.

Governmentality

[If] the deployment of alliance [a system of marriage, of fixation and development of kinship ties, of transmission of names and possessions] is firmly tied to the economy due to the role it can play in the transmission or circulation of wealth, the deployment of sexuality is linked to economy through numerous and subtle relays, the main one of which, however, is the body – the body that produces and consumes. (Foucault 1976: 107)

Foucault conceived of governmentality initially as operating at the level of the state. The above quote provides a springboard for discussing a central concept and starting point of governmentality understood in this way, that of biopolitics. Biopolitics refers to the evolving meaning of the art of governing which, in the eighteenth century took on a new meaning based on industrialisation and people’s migration from the rural areas into towns in Europe. “Whereas statistics had previously worked ... in terms of the functioning of the sovereignty” (Foucault 1978 in Faubion 1994: 215), population growth and expansion – and issues related to it such as birth cycles and mortality rates shifted from modelling the family. The family –

the way in which the head of the household governs those in it as a steward whereby the father was the first to rise and last to sleep as he attended to the matters concerning his family – had been used as a model of how the state should govern citizens (Foucault 1978 in Faubion 1994: 215). But the problems of population proved that they could not be reduced to those of the family (Foucault 1978 in Faubion 1994: 216). “Population has its own regularities, its own rate of deaths and diseases, its cycles of scarcity ...” (Foucault 1978 in Faubion 1994: 216).

From an art of government, a science of government came about whereby statistics was used to “quantify these specific phenomena of population” (Foucault 1978 in Faubion 1994: 216). To explain this evolution, Foucault coined the term biopolitics:

By that I meant the endeavour, begun in the eighteenth century, to rationalise the problems presented to government practice by the phenomena characteristic of a group of living human beings constituted as a population: health, sanitation, birthrate, longevity, race (Foucault 1979 in Rabinow 1994: 73)

Foucault subsequently expanded this concept to include self-government, referring back to his work on sexuality and punishment to show how we are indirectly governed by the state in the ways in which individuals govern themselves. According to this conception, governmentality then relates to “the broad sense of techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour. Government of children, government of souls and consciences, government of a household, of a state of oneself” (Foucault 1978 in Faubion 1994: 81). Foucault thus defines governing as being the power “to structure the possible field of action of others” (Foucault 1982:790). In the next section I further elaborate on this idea of governmentality in relation to gender.

Gender

Having established the concept of discourse as central to my approach I extend the concepts to address gender and its discursive and performative nature (Butler 1988). Specifically, I consider how masculinities and femininities are discursively produced through language, practice and embodiment to make evident the historic specificity of gender, thereby freeing up femininities and masculinities from static conceptualisations. This therefore proposes that sexism can be challenged and changed. As Mama points out:

If we start with the [premise] that people are not rigidly fixed in a single identity, then we can study the ways in which they are able to change, to resist and oppose

dominant discourses, either by taking up positions outside these discourses, or by developing alternative ones, or both (1995: 112).

Gendered social structuring

The idea that gender is only that which we are assigned at birth based on our reproductive organs, or merely social categorisations is countered by the poststructural approach that informs my study. Rather gender relations are viewed as constituting a social structure that permeates every level of society. It constitutes the relations between the sexes, drives economic activity and it is also deeply symbolic and cultural (Connell 2009). Connell proposes the concept of the “gender order”, which I introduced in the previous chapter, to explain the broad gender hierarchies accepted in societies (Connell 1991: 98; 2009: 73). The gender order refers to the “pattern of power relations between men and women and definitions of femininity and masculinity” (Connell 1991: 99). In highly industrialised societies it privileges the economic sphere as “a men’s world (regardless of the presence of women in it), while domestic life is defined as a women’s world (regardless of the presence of men in it)” (Connell 2009: 80). She identifies the gender order in the highly industrialised north, for example, as mostly patriarchal, although gender regimes or gendered practices within institutions in societies may depart from the gender order (Connell 2009: 73). For instance, within a largely patriarchal gender, schools and workplaces may have policies and practices which promote gender equality and non-sexism. However, gender regimes of organisations usually reflect the gender order because “our gender practice is powerfully shaped by the gender order in which we find ourselves” (Connell 2009: 74).

Gender, viewed in the way that Connell presents it, is a form of social structuring (2009: 74). The three structures are cathexis, labour and power (Connell 1991) through which the order works. Although Connell proposes that these three structures are possibly not the only structures, she argues that these are the ones that “constrain” people’s behaviour along gendered patterns (Connell 1991: 92). Cathexis refers to how attraction and sexual desire is directed along the lines of gender, and hence constitutes engendering practice. The division of labour according to gender and the type of work typically associated with certain genders make evident the way labour works as a social structure within the gender order. In addition to the division of tasks according to gender, lastly, whether it is predominantly men or mostly women who occupy positions of authority (political, business or family, for example) is indicative of the gender order.

Language

While language, within the constructionist approach, enables meanings to be shared, it importantly provides an “historically specific range of ways of giving meaning to social reality;” and it is this range that offers us “various discursive positions, including modes of femininity and masculinity, through which we can consciously live our lives” (Weedon 1987:25-26). In this way, language is intrinsically tied to constituting our subjectivities.

Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organisation and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed ... [or] socially produced (Weedon 1987: 21).

An insistence on historic specificity enables us to view our subjectivities not as static and essential parts of our identity. It allows us to see femininities and masculinities as social constructions that can be challenged and can give rise to different forms. This creates possibilities for new and different conceptions of gender which do not fit the patriarchal norms supporting prevailing gender orders. Hence poststructuralist feminism provides “a theory of the relationship between subjectivity and meaning, meaning and social value, the range of possible *normal* subject positions open to women, and the power and powerlessness invested in them” (Weedon 1987: 19).

Masculinities and femininities

This understanding of gender recognises femininities and masculinities as socially constituted and validating particular subject positions. It is the realisation of the social construction of gender that enables subjects to reject the discourse within which they are constituted. For example, discourse produces “hegemonic masculinity” is a historically specific and dynamic normative form of masculinity. In the current patriarchal gender order, it not only explains the role of gender in social hierarchy, but also “the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men’s dominance over women to continue” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 832). This may include embodiment of violent masculinity and/or ‘successful’ masculinity (Wood and Jewkes in Morrell 2001) which involves having multiple sexual partners and using force if necessary to force women into compliance. The concept of hegemonic masculinity exists alongside that of emphasised femininity as “gender is always relational, and patterns of masculinity are socially defined in contradistinction from some model (whether real or

imaginary) of femininity” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 848). In other words, if hegemonic masculinity is the most honoured way of “being a man” and requires other men to position themselves around it (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 832), women who take on subordinate and acquiescent positions within that gender order that privileges hegemonic masculinity embody the discursive subject position of emphasised femininity.

Willing women

Poststructural feminist Weedon talks to concepts I have discussed of power/knowledge, truth, subject and governmentally to show how the productive nature of power produces female subjects willing to submit to patriarchal gender orders. She argues: “Subjectivity works most efficiently for the established hierarchy of power relations in a society when the subject position, which the individual assumes within a particular discourse, is fully identified by the individual with her interests” (Weedon 1987:112). This is illustrative of the productive nature of power. This conceptualising has made discourse attractive to poststructuralist feminists who are concerned with understanding the voluntary compliance of many women as willingly passive and biddable subjects.

Female agency and contestation

That power is a core concern in poststructuralist inquiry draws attention to the implicitly contested nature of discourse. Since discourse is intrinsically open to contestation as it is a site of and a means by which power veils itself, counter-discourses challenging patriarchal discourse always exist alongside those dominant ones. For instance, contesting the normative black feminine ideal of a customary “emphasised femininity” runs “modern girl” femininity, associated with the exercise of independence, the use of specific fashion commodities and “explicit eroticism” (Jewkes and Morrell 2010: 5). These contesting discourses represent “an ideal of womanhood that is chiefly the domain of those women with access to (at least some) material resources” (2010: 15) and who have agency as they seek to attain independence from traditional patriarchal discourse. This example makes it evident that while a woman’s identification with the passive subject position may make her willing to comply with the “discipline” (Foucault 1979) of a patriarchal discourse, “[w]here there is a space between the position of subject offered by a discourse and individual interest, a resistance to that subject position is produced” (Weedon 1987:112-113).

Gendered bodies are thus produced within discourse. “Bodies may participate in disciplinary regimes not because they are docile, but because they are active. They seek pleasure, seek experience, seek transformations” (Connell 2009; 56). This is why the idea of the body as a “canvas on which culture paints images of gender” (Connell 2009: 52-53) is too deterministic, for it proposes that people do not have agency. Certainly the body exists materially and differences in male and female reproductive systems are a reality. However how we come to think and speak of these material realities is what is discursive about gender. Hence the embodiment of discourse is the way in which bodies act with agency and it relates to how subjects govern themselves. Thus while “[w]e make our gender ... we are not free to make it however we like. Our gender practice is powerfully shaped by the gender order in which we find ourselves” (Connell 2009: 74).

Gender embodiment

Embodiment has been theorised particularly by Butler (1988: 1990). Her understanding of gender and sex as what we do rather than what we are introduces the concept of performativity. Butler challenges social gender categorisations to argue that gender identity is a “performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo” (Butler 1988: 520). According to her, sex is as much a social construction as is gender. Performativity is a key Butlerian concept which challenges social categorisations such as female or women, charging “woman is something we do rather than something we are” (Salih 2002: 10). In referring to Hegel’s concept of phenomenology in which he explains the mind’s “journey towards absolute knowledge” through the ‘geist’, the “self-conscious spirit” (Salih 2002: 22), Butler introduces an understanding, consonant with that of Foucault, of the “subject-in-progress” (Salih 2002: 23). The subject of discourse never comes to an absolute knowledge of themselves because meaning is never fixed, it is socially constructed and historically specific. This is why the idea of performativity is crucial when it comes to gender because it helps us identify gender as something that we do (Salih 2002: 62); it is embodied. A recognition of the embodiment of discourse makes possible an understanding of governmentality or how “a human being turns himself into a subject ... [and] learned to recognise themselves as subjects of sexuality” (Foucault 1982: 778).

Sexuality, rape and social control

As discussed in the previous section, the body is at the centre of discourse in Foucault’s work (Foucault 1969; 1976; 1979 and 1982). The way the birth of bio-power constituted the

discursive episteme of population, constituting people as citizens and recognising their bodies as of particular interest to the state, makes possible an understanding of how bodies are deployed in social control. Governmentality entails the application of power by the subject to herself in sophisticated ways. No longer subjects of monarchs but citizens of the state, subjects “discipline” (Foucault 1979) themselves and govern their own conduct, hence turning themselves into subjects of power (Foucault 1982). I employ the concept of “social control” to further analyse rape as the embodiment of direct power as well as a form of “gender warfare” (Moffett 2006).

Direct power and rape

If Foucault’s particular emphasis is on discursive power, Connell identifies two additional forms, namely direct and colonising power. Discursive, direct and colonising forms of power operate in concert and are not easily distinguishable from each other, as will be further discussed in the postcoloniality section. Since direct power resorts to force and repression (Connell 2009: 76-77), rape is a specific example of direct power. Argued as systemic, rape has been referred to as gender warfare (Moffett 2006: 144) exercised through the enactment of both direct and discursive power. It is a “crude form of gender embodiment” and “an exercise of power, directed to ... [the] body of the target (Connell 2009: 69). On the discursive level, rape is the coercive inscription of masculine power on the body it constitutes as female and is thus deeply embedded in the patriarchal gender order and maintaining male hegemony (Moffett 2006).

In addition to being an enactment of direct and discursive power, rape, for the perpetrator is also about sex and sexual release. The theorisation of hegemonic masculinity as constituted by access to material resources as well as the ability to provide for women introduced in the previous chapter sets a context for understanding socio-economic marginalisation of men as productive of “brittle masculinities” (Morrell 2001). Rape practices are culturally enabled in societies where the embodiment of particular masculinities validates “men’s forthright, urgent pursuit of sexual ‘release’” (Gavey 2005: 3) while legitimating the “docility” (Foucault 1979) of women’s bodies, hence blurring the lines between sex and rape (Gavey 2005). Rape is thus defined differently by the perpetrators and survivors.

Boshoff and Prinsloo argue that socio-economically marginalised male youths with limited “possibilities for relationships ... that presume a materiality that has its roots in traditional

expectations relating to marriage ... perform this tough masculinity through patterns of risky and violent conduct, particularly against those more vulnerable than themselves” (2015: 12). The production of passive femininity and the uncontrollable sexual desire (Jewkes et al 2005) associated with masculinity within this South African socio-economic context establishes rape as culturally enabled (Gavey 2005). Within the context of this attitude of male sexual entitlement, what is rape to women is seen as the “taking” of sex by rapists (Wood and Jewkes 2001: 327 and Boshoff and Prinsloo 2015: 12). Similarly, Wood identifies non-remorseful attitudes and refusal to recognise rape in men who engaged in group rape. Rather they “insisted that streamlining¹⁰ was not ‘rape’, deploying arguments relating to the tactics used (often trickery and coercion rather than outright violence), the lack of voiced refusal on the target’s part, and the fact that targets ‘deserved’ it” (2005: 310).

Postcolonial studies

Power, in addition to being discursive and direct is also conceptualised as colonising (Connell 2009). A postcolonial approach is always premised on a history of colonialism, of how indigenous societies were constituted within colonial power, specifically here in terms of the gender relations and the meanings of gender that this power initiated. That discursive, direct and colonising forms of power operate in concert and are not easily distinguishable from each other is evident in colonial contexts where force or direct power accompanies the discourse of racial superiority. Colonialism was not just about extracting resources from indigenous lands, it was also about exploiting the native inhabitants to do so. To do the latter required the development of a method of governance that would enable the minority beneficiaries of colonialism to effectively rule the majority victims (Mamdani 1999: 862).

Indirect rule

Mamdani introduces the concept of the bifurcated state to explain the African colonial experience where indirect rule was implemented most successfully (1999: 866). Colonialism, through indirect rule, was successful in producing a tribal subject, who was under the control of a chief and subject to customary laws, and a citizen (originally the colonisers), who had protected rights (Mamdani 1999: 866). Hence the colonial state comprised civil and customary power in which chiefs played an important role in maintaining colonial rule, enabling colonialists to effectively exploit them. It is within this context that indirect rule has

¹⁰ Streamlining, unlike gang rape, entails the use of deceit to get someone to have sex with a number of men when she had consented to one.

been described as a “permissive gesture of tired power ... to go beyond an understanding of custom in the singular to unravelling its many strands, thereby to identify the authoritarian strand so as to sculpt it and build on it, sanctioning the product officially as customary law” (Mamdani 1999: 865).

Mamdani identifies indirect power as deployed to enable the imposition of customary law and stresses that it was “marked by the use of force to an unusual degree” (1999: 872), for this customary law was not deployed to govern only the native occupants of colonised lands, but served as a strategy to extract labour, land and resources from these lands.

[T]he chief stood at the intersection of the market and non-market authority. The administrative justice and the administrative coercion that was the sum and substance of his authority lay behind a regime of extra-economic coercion, a regime that breathed life into a whole range of compulsions: forced crops, forced sales, forced contributions, forced removals (Mamdani 1999: 874).

This is a context in which colonising power was both discursively legitimated and enforced through violence and coercion.

Custom and gender

This indirect power was also premised on the principle of divide and rule by which distinct ‘tribal’ groups were categorised and placed under the control of one Native Authority. In many cases, where distinct indigenous societies were found not to operate according to the social hierarchy of chieftainship, such hierarchies were imposed on them (Amadiume 1987: 137). While the aim of the divide-and-rule strategy was to fragment the majority victims of colonialism along ethnic lines and unite the minority (white) beneficiaries by race (Mamdani 1999: 870), the construction of customary law and tradition enforced by a Native Authority created a rigid patriarchal social structure “infamous for positioning African women as ‘minors’ and therefore always subject to the authority of a man” (Hunter 2010: 56).

Amadiume (1987) challenges the idea that in Africa women have always been under the authority of men. Explaining the cause of the women’s riots in Nnobi and the rest of Igboland in 1929, she argues that women, prior to colonially imposed patriarchal customary systems which marginalised them, could have access to political power and were active in the public sphere (Amadiume 1987: 140). The riots were against an indirect rule system

which favoured patriarchy and sidelined women and their interests. From 1891 to 1929, an indirect form of rule called the warrant chief system was imposed by the colonialists in the area despite the existence of highly sophisticated and efficient indigenous political systems they found operating there (Amadiume 1987: 137). Men were identified as chiefs and given documents, recognising their ‘authority’ and thereby giving “politically ambitious men ... [a] new shortcut to power” (Amadiume 1987: 137). The power they exercised was unchecked and oppressive, even enabling chiefs to conscript and use their subjects for labour as they so desired (Amadiume 1987: 139). The historical context of how customary power in Africa came to take on a gendered (patriarchal) form enables the understanding that colonialism initiated and enforced “masculinisation [of] the local government system” (Amadiume 1987: 136), a colonial heritage evident today in the contestation between customary and human rights discourse with regards to gender rights as discussed in the previous chapter.

The severe and rigid patriarchy that has become a trademark of customary law can be traced back to indirect rule. For instance, Amadiume illustrates how in pre-colonial Nnobi, gender was not determined by biology hence creating a flexible gender system where daughters could not only have the same rights as males, being considered “male daughters”, but women, if economically able, could also have wives who would help them grow their wealth and influence. A woman married to a “female husband” or woman with the title of *ekwe*, alluding to being possessed by the goddess Idemili marked by economic success, could have a husband given her by the “female husband”, but her children and her service of labour were generally claimed by the female husband as belonging to her (Amadiume 1987: 42). Such a gender order was alien to the British colonisers “who were ignorant of, or so ethnocentric they could not accept the fact of indigenous women’s organisations and their place in the traditional political structure” (Amadiume 1987: 140).

Postcolonial feminism

The above example of a flexible gender system which enabled women to claim male status serves as an illustration of how constructions of gender are historically specific and how colonialism marginalised women to reinforce a gender order based on rigid patriarchy linked to a Western imaginary. However, what must be stressed here is the racial dimension. Indeed postcolonial feminism responds to lacunae it identified in feminist theory that emerged in northern countries in response to their concerns with patriarchy. In the US, for example,

there emerged a recognition in the third wave of feminism that racial exploitation resulted in different experiences of gender oppression. For instance, “[w]hile white women were campaigning for abortion rights, many black women were being sterilised without their permission and having their fertility curtailed through the use of injectable contraceptives” (Mama 1995:11).

Black women not only felt gender and racial oppression, but were further exploited by capitalism which hooks argues relatively privileged white women. Because economic exploitation has been racialised, with capitalism benefitting mainly white men, any effort by white reformist feminists to achieve gender equality within a capitalist society is met with resistance by postcolonial feminists.

Given the reality of racism, it made sense that white men were more willing to consider women’s rights when the granting of those rights could serve the interests of maintaining white supremacy... Most women, especially privileged white women, ceased to even consider revolutionary feminist visions, once they began to gain economic power within the existing social structure (hooks 2000: 4).

The recognition that capitalism is patriarchal as it is run by men and mainly “to the advantage of men” (Connell 1991: 104) is important in framing the current gender oppression within the post-colony. Postcolonial feminism recognises that “ethnocentrism, racism and imperialism constitute a deep division between white women in the West and women elsewhere” (Amadiume 1987: 8).

The centrality of race and anti-capitalist sentiment within postcolonial feminism, has led to a growing rejection of white feminist scholarship, which is seen to have a particular ethnocentric bias, on third world women. For Mohanty a clear distinction exists between “‘women’ as a discursively constructed group and ‘woman’ as material subjects of their own history” (2003: 23). The subjectivity of the singular monolithic oppressed black woman is critiqued as a produced within Western discourse through the lens of capitalistic and developmental discourse which creates subject positions for those who are economically advantaged and those who are economically disadvantaged. Within this discourse, “‘development’ is synonymous with ‘economic development’ or ‘economic progress’” (Mohanty 2003: 30), implying that women from the third world are at a rudimentary stage of

development which women from which the first world wish to help them grow as they “construct themselves as the normative referent in ... a binary analytic” (Mohanty 2003: 22).

Recognition of the distinct contexts of black womanhood enabled by poststructuralism proved valuable for postcolonial feminists. It enables a move away from trying to understand an essential black female identity or black feminist struggle, to understanding how black female subjectivities are produced within discourse. Mama advances a theory of subjectivity which recognises how “individuals act on and use social history and experience to invent their own identities along the interrelated dimensions of race and gender, to constitute themselves as radicalised and gendered individual subjects” (1995: 62). Such an approach shifts the focus from the collective to an individual constitution of subjectivity through discourse (Mama 1995: 89). This approach also critically recognises subjectivity as dynamic, “individuals take and change positions in discourses” (Mama 1995: 89). It is this understanding of subjectivity, consistent with the Foucauldian insights highlighted earlier in this chapter, that provides a context for understanding what Hunter (2010) calls the “changing political economy and geography of intimacy” in relation to modern black South African intimate relationships

Changing intimacy

The volatility of gender change is important for two reasons. In the first instance it shows that masculinity can and does change and that it therefore not a fixed, essential identity which all men have. Secondly, gender change reveals that men differ — not all have the same masculinity (Morrell 2001: 4)

Hunter uses the idea of a changing political economy and geography of intimacy to explain how from the 1940s and 1950s, when there was high demand for black male labour, to today, when there is chronic unemployment, South Africa’s political economy has shaped intimacy between men and women. He uses the concept of provider love rather than transactional sex to show how relations between men and women, governed by an expectation of the male playing a masculine role of providing for the woman and her fulfilling a feminine role of submission and domestic competence, are “deeply embedded in the country’s changing political economy and attendant social meanings” (Hunter 2010: 28).

At the heart of the political economy of intimacy during the early period of colonialism was a fundamental shift: the movement of the hitherto self-sufficient rural homestead into dependence on wage labor ... the rural household and many of its ritual and emotional practices, including marriage, became overwhelmingly dependent on male wage labor (Hunter 2010: 56).

In this period, men from rural areas worked as migrant labour, using the new-found ability to earn cash to save up for *lobolo* or providing for their families back home. However, urban areas soon became highly competitive places to find work as there was more of a supply than demand for labour, and women had started leaving the rural areas too to find employment there. Unemployment rose and informal settlements flourished — life there for women being equated to “precarious economic circumstances and life without marriage” (Hunter 2010: 105) unlike before when men worked in urban areas to build a home back home with a wife. These historic shifts continue to shape relationships in the postcolonial South African context of high unemployment and decreasing marriage rates. Specifically, they account for the “centrality of materiality” (Bhana 2015: 3) in sexual relationships, constituting a “winner-takes-all sexual economy” (Hunter 2010) in the margins of which “brittle masculinities” (Morrell 2001) are produced. To further explain these shifts, I discuss two concepts of intimacy among black South Africans: romantic love and provider love.

Romantic love

The notion of romantic love presents an idea of being free to love whomever you wish (Hunter 2010) and is associated with the modern. While wooing and courtship, for example, were established Zulu practices, central to the understanding of romantic love, there were ways in which Christianity, capitalism and colonialism re-shaped romantic love (Hunter 2010). Critically, it was the transformation of traditional societies through the imposition of hut taxes to force young men to go work for white capitalists in South Africa’s urban areas which added a new dimension to romantic love as “*ilobolo* became attached to ideas of commitment and love” (Hunter 2010: 49) whereas before *ilobolo* related to increasing the kraal and labour power of a homestead (Hunter 2010: 40). There was a new aspect of romance to the self-sacrifice of leaving the rural homes to go work in faraway urban areas in order to save up money for *ilobolo* even though “[t]his promotion of love ... dovetailed with settlers’ economic interests: facing stark labor shortages, many imagined that African men were living idly in homesteads, ‘buying’ wives who were entrapped in polygamous marriages” (Hunter 2010: 14).

Provider love

If the concept of romantic love is centrally concerned with marital choice and commitment to fiancées by working hard to save up money for *ilobolo* to start homes with them, then provider love is distinguished by the ability of a man to take care of a woman. Provider love highlights the “inextricable link” between “the emotional body and the material world” (Hunter 2010: 43) as historically, as it continues to be now, it was tied up with concerns of whether a man can build a home and take care of his family. This “centrality of materiality” (Bhana 2015: 3) in provider love developed as men left their rural homes for the urban areas where they worked for wages to save up money to pay *ilobolo*, and then worked to support their families (Hunter 2010: 190). The concept of provider love makes evident how ideas of “true” manhood and love are mutually constitutive: provider love “is enmeshed in a set of profoundly important gender expectations that came to hinge on men’s rapidly growing dependence on wage labour at a time of racial rule” (Hunter 2010: 16).

In today’s context, when theorising gender-based violence (GBV), many authors (Van der Gaag 2014; Boshoff and Prinsloo 2014; Hunter 2010) have proposed that unemployment and poverty are contributing factors underpinning abuse and sexual violence. “The roots of the provider role run deep. So when men no longer have that role, they may feel useless and frustrated, and take this frustration out on those close to them in the only way they know how — violence” (Van der Gaag 2014: 192). These violent masculinities are both culturally and socially enabled as Delius and Glaser (2002) note that in South Africa, urbanisation accounted for increased masculine aggression, including gang or *tsotsi* culture and sexual violence against women. They argue that in the nineteenth century, such violence was relatively unheard of due to “young women [being] to some extent protected by the fact that both youth organisation and male kin would rally to their defence in the event of sexual assault and that their assailant could face severe sanction” (Delius and Glaser 2002: 38-39). Among Xhosa and Zulu traditional societies a form of masculinity advocating protection of women from harm reigned (Delius and Glaser 2002), not necessarily recognising the equality of men and women, but assuming a proprietorial discourse which legitimated men as the superior sex with agency and the right to act. Delius and Glaser provide a cautionary note, however: “It is dangerous to assume that this protection was anything more than partial, and that the groups of men who decided when and what retribution was due were not subject to the countervailing urges of male solidarity and superiority” (2002:39). The

possibility of a link between the harsh realities of unemployment in the urban areas and masculine violence towards women is also posed by Hunter (2010: 173) in relation to the increase in gang rape in South Africa. Understanding this socio-economic and historic context is important in assessing whether the campaign effectively challenges rape or if it merely makes a “symbolic expulsion” of rape without striking at the core: “that to understand violence against women in postcolonial Africa we must understand the violence of colonialism; and to understand that, we must start with ‘gender relations and gender violence at the imperial source’” (Connell 2015: 53).

Journalism Studies

As social beings, journalists are caught up and are frequently complicit in reproducing status quo power relations. Hence in an analysis of a campaign against rape, the most important question ought not to just be how best to prevent rape, but how to “promote the acceptance of social conditions that are not in the interests of broad segments of the population” (Richardson 2007: 32) or patriarchy. The constructionist approach to representation recognises that language, even that which falls under the discursive regime of journalism, does not just “represent social realities”, but contributes to the “production and reproduction of social reality or social life” (Richardson 2007: 10). This understanding is critical to understanding how (and if) the anti-rape campaign challenges sexual violence against women in postcolonial Africa in the context of the current patriarchal gender order, as indicated by feminist media research into the area.

Feminist media research of rape coverage

The increased reporting about rape gives a false impression that the media is challenging the rape of women; while in reality the nature and contents of the reports reaffirm women’s oppression (Buthelezi 2007: 130).

The assumption that increased coverage of sexual violence, for example, through anti-GBV or -rape campaigns like that of the *Sowetan* fosters increased activism has been challenged. Focused on two critical periods in terms of increased gender-conscious reporting in South African media, that is during and after the 16 Days of Activism Against the Abuse of Women and Children Campaign (December) and Women’s Month (August), Buthelezi undertook a qualitative content analysis of 54 articles focusing on rape and published in the Zulu language newspapers *Isolezwe* and *Ilanga*. Buthelezi argues that the coverage in these

newspapers mainly focused on stranger rape and victims who are girl children or elderly women. She contends that “the media’s over-focus on rape by strangers and child rape affirms the powerlessness and inferior status women have in society”. The male rapists reported on also fit the stereotype of the “sex-crazed man” (Buthelezi 2007: 129), reinforcing the misconception that “ordinary men” do not rape in spite of intimate partner violence (which includes rape in relationships) being the more prevalent gender-based violence than stranger rape.

In another study, this time a critical discursive analysis of the *Daily Sun*’s anti-rape “Charter for a Man” campaign that was run by the *Daily Sun* between November and December 2007, (Dewa and Prinsloo 2012: 20), it is argued that rather than challenging the patriarchal gender order, the campaign’s emphasis appears to be on the responsibility of men to protect and provide for women. While the campaign is ostensibly progressive in that there is no victim-blaming in the reports, the research proposes that the South African tabloid missed an opportunity to advance gender equality by advocating chivalrous masculinity and gallantry (Dewa and Prinsloo 2012). Such gallantry in anti-rape campaigning not only reinforces the discourse of women as the “weaker” sex, but also maintains patriarchal thinking.

Research undertaken in the US advocates for progressive reporting on rape that can contest the dominant discourse of patriarchy. Worthington (2008) analyses a series of news reports by a local US television station on sexual assaults which occurred in a college and were covered up by the institution. She finds that “where gender-sensitive journalism training and the presence of feminist journalists have altered reporting practices” (Worthington 2008: 344) the media representation is likely to be progressive and transformative of gender relations. Worthington identifies how, in framing the reports, the producer intentionally avoids “victim-blaming”. This offers transformative possibilities for rape coverage by “centralising victim perspectives” (Worthington 2008: 357) rather than focusing on perpetrators’ excuses. However, she also cautions that this may also have the unintentional effect of making perpetrators absent and thus “neither invites viewers to discount their actions nor ... link them to social structures that facilitate gender violence” (Worthington 2008: 357). This decontextualisation of the perpetrator is often what reinforces constructions of rapists as un-human and “other” (Gqola 2015).

Focusing on media in the UK and US, Kitzinger (2004) draws attention to the varying influence feminism has had in transforming media's attitude to rape over time. She argues that second wave feminism played a critical role in setting gender-based violence on the media agenda in the early 1970s. Specific media events were vital to some campaigns for reform" (Kitzinger 2004: 18). The "cultural recognition" (Kitzinger 2004: 20) by the mainstream media of rape as a serious crime that needed to be reported on in the public interest played a major role in making "sexual abuse, particularly incest enter public discourse" (Kitzinger 2004: 22). Yet, by the 1990s weariness in reporting these stories had replaced that cultural recognition. Consistent with the journalism agenda to serve news that is fresh and unexpected, controversial rape stories began to be more newsworthy than "routine abuse" (Kitzinger 2004: 23). These included stories involving what were believed to be false allegations of rape; reports on "pathological strangers" (Kitzinger 2004: 27) which provide more "spectacular and unusual cases of serial attacks than the boring routine of ordinary sexual violence endemic in everyday life" (Kitzinger 2004: 28); constructions of rapists as "other", either "as a 'beast', an 'animal,' or a distinct type of person" (Kitzinger 2004: 28) such as a paedophile or homosexual; and constructions of rape survivors as "other" with a "[distinction] between prostitutes and 'innocent' victims" (Kitzinger 2004: 30). The focus on rape stories which deviated from the norm had the effect of delegitimising rape experiences such as date rape which did not fit into the unusual news agenda "to focus not on society but on a few dangerous individuals within it" (Kitzinger 2004: 30). The focus on legal and psychological interventions around rapists eclipsed the broader problem of patriarchy.

Subsequently third wave feminism was critical in highlighting the intersectionality of race and gender in the experiences of black women. "The rape of black women may receive less press attention, their allegations may be given less credibility, and the fact that this may be a racist as well as a sexist crime may be ignored" (Kitzinger 2004: 32). Aldoory and Parry-Giles (2005) argue that the third wave of feminism and intersectionality, which is attributed to it, drew attention to "the ways that media production, representation, and reception disrupt and/or perpetuate structures of domination" (Aldoory and Parry-Giles 2005: 337).

A study of rape reportage (Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald 2002) in US magazines in the period 1980 to 1996) of the media's dying interest in "ordinary" rape

stories yielded results which support the criticism of media reinforcing the idea of black men as rapists and black women as always insatiably sexually available and thus unlikely to resist rape. Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald noted a racial bias. In the case of the rape of a Jamaican girl by white boys, the “victim was highly blamed”, whereas in two cases involving white rape survivors and black attackers, “the victims were not blamed” (Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald 2002: 14). In this study gender, class and race intersect as the findings showed that “the media had a slightly greater tendency to blame working-class rather than upper class victims ... [When] upper class offenders ... attacked working/middle class victims, the press was more likely to blame the victim” (Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald 2002: 15).

Finally, recent research finds that a construction of rapists as monstrous fails to interrogate the materiality of sexual relationships among black South Africans (Boshoff and Prinsloo 2014). Conducting a critical discourse analysis of the *Daily Sun*'s coverage of the gang rape of a mentally ill girl in Soweto, Boshoff and Prinsloo investigate whether the construction of the gang of rapists serves gender justice. The coverage presented the boys as “as “monsters,” “beasts,” and “demons” (Boshoff and Prinsloo 2014: 11), while constructing the girl as vulnerable and passive, thereby pathologising the rapists and reinforcing the idea that men who rape are deviant. This obscures how rape is also an enactment of masculinity. The authors argue that the sexually violent masculinity enacted by these teenagers is produced in the margins of the dominant discourse of ideal masculinity which “is defined by material success that enables considerable power over women and validates sexual prowess” (Boshoff and Prinsloo 2014: 12).

Rape myths

The research I have discussed makes it evident that the way rape stories are framed can reinforce or challenge gender inequality based on whether the representation questions or perpetuates stereotypes about race and gender. Myths about rape are upheld by the media when they report uncritically on gender-based violence, assuming it is a crime committed by morally deviant individuals. To report critically on rape requires that journalists be aware of the rape myths which frame reports on rape and consequently public perception of rapists and survivors.

Myths regarding victims focus on survivors' behaviour, including what they were wearing, sobriety, sexual history, where they were (public spaces as opposed to the "safe" private space) as well as what steps they took to avoid or resist being raped (Bonnes 2013: 211; Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald 2002: 6). According to such myths, some women, such as sex workers, are "impossible-to-rape" as they are seen to be always sexually available and insatiable (Gqola 2015). Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald's (2002) also show that black (in the context of accusing a white man of rape) or poor female rape survivors are not seen to be credible rape victims. "These myths are part of the media's "blaming ideology" (Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald 2002: 6) and operate as a discursive strand within patriarchy, reinforcing the bias against rape survivors which frequently results in additional trauma referred to as secondary rape or secondary victimisation (Narsee, *Raped by the system: Victims of sexual crimes subjected to new ordeal*, Times Live, 24 August 2015; Gqola 2015). For women's stories of rape to be believable requires that survivors demonstrate that they are innocent (Gqola 2015: 36). Media constructions of rape victims as sexually naïve and chaste (O'Hara 2012; Bonnes 2013); children as sexually innocent (Bray et al 2010: 63); and elderly women as sexless and frail (Thornton 2002) operate to legitimate "genuine" rape victims as women who are not sexually active.

Myths regarding perpetrators reinforce the stereotypes of rapists as black, lower class and deviant strangers despite statistics proving that rape committed by perpetrators known to survivors is more prevalent than stranger rape (Bonnes 2013: 212). A focus on "atypical rape cases" also serves to reinforce "stereotypes about who is a 'typical' rapist or rape victim" (Bonnes 2013: 213). The myth of rapists as monstrous, other and non-human has been found to be a feature of sensational rape reporting which reinforces the uncritical view of rape as "a random act of violence rather than a societal problem" (O'Hara 2012: 256). In the South African context, proprietorial discourse and practices such as *ukuthwala* and *inhlawulo* ("damages pay") also operate as myths which excuse rape as something other than what it is: gendered violence. This prior research points to the prevalence of rape myths regarding victims and perpetrators in the media. Drawing on the findings of this research as well as the myths identified as being perpetrated by media, it is productive to pay attention to theory regarding normative roles of the press as well as to how news framing shapes the representation and audience perception of perpetrators and survivors.

Normative roles of journalism

OUR role as a watchdog for the underdog has been eloquently articulated in the case of a teenage girl who was forced to marry a man 44 years her senior. The 13-year-old's case serves as a poignant illustration of the strong public journalism ideals implemented at each turn by this family newspaper ... laudable community vigilance, concern and proactive actions helped bring the sangoma and the girl's mother to book. Neighbours alerted social workers, who in turn informed the police, who have since rescued the girl and placed her in a place of safety ... This is a telling nation-building victory for both *Sowetan* and the people who believe strongly that it truly takes a village to raise a child. (*Voice of the silenced*, 6 February 2013, Sowetan)

This quote from the newspaper's leader column shows that the *Sowetan* does not perform a single role but creatively draws on different normative roles of journalism, especially a "facilitative role" (Christians et al 2009), largely framed by *ubuntuism* (Fourie 2008). Christians et al (2009) identify four roles of journalism, namely facilitative, collaborative, monitorial and radical. The two roles useful in my discussion of the *Sowetan* are the monitorial and facilitative roles. The *Sowetan* also tries to hold people to account and this quote makes clear the publication's self-definition "as a watchdog for the underdog". The facilitative role foregrounds the press's "obligations to the community" (Christians et al 2009: 160) and its responsibility to "promote dialogue among their readers and viewers through communication that engages them and in which they actively participate" (Christians et al 2009: 158). The *Sowetan*'s adoption of this role is seen in the quote establishing the publication as committed to public journalism, nation-building, and community ("it truly takes a village to raise a child"). The anti-rape campaign with its clear notions around community also makes evident that the *Sowetan* operates from a facilitative approach to journalism. However, the facilitative role that the *Sowetan* proposes to play in the campaign coverage is primarily limited to an online pledge. It does not emulate public or civic journalism in allowing its imagined community to tell its stories and evoke robust citizen debate, reflecting a plurality of views. It does however set an agenda for thinking about rape and so frames the campaign stories. For this reason it will be useful to consider agenda-setting and framing (Entman 2007 and McCombs 2006).

Agenda-setting and framing

The constructionist approach views news not as a reflection of what happens in the world, but as a selection and construction of what happens in the world, represented in a particular manner which constructs particular meaning (Richardson 2007). Agenda-setting refers to the

way in which issues that are given prominence in the media are likely to become part of the public agenda. Agenda-setting is thus concerned with salience, how media “can be successful in telling us what to think about ... and how to think about it” (McCombs 2006: 546). This is significant in the context of the prevalence of rape reportage; it is on the public agenda, however the way that we are made to think about this sexual violence is often not transformative of the social order as indicated in my earlier discussions on previous feminist media research on rape and media’s perpetuation of rape myths. The theory shows that an increase in rape coverage does not necessarily mean that the way in which the problem is defined furthers gender justice. My concern in this study is thus to understand how the *Sowetan* attempts to make readers think about rape, that is how the frame the stories in the campaign.

Framing involves the use of priming, that is “selecting certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel and decide in a particular way” (Entman 2007: 164) in order to draw attention to what aspect of the constructed perceived reality are most “salient” (Entman 2007: 164). For instance, the research on rape myths perpetuated by the media shows that focusing on rape survivors’ behaviour, for example their sexual history, level of sobriety or dress code, has the effect of de-emphasising the role of rapists (Bonnes 2013). Hence “[f]rames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements” (Entman 1993: 55), a point picked up on by Worthington (2007) when she emphasises the avoidance of victim-blaming in rape coverage is progressive reporting.

Framing also refers to the “process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation” (Entman 2007: 164). In newspaper campaigns this process actively occurs on two levels, the first being what elements of perceived reality are constituted as newsworthy, and the second being the use of that particular construction of news which is newsworthy to further the agenda of a campaign. For instance, the happenings in the world which are recognised as containing elements of rape news and the consequent framing of those events into a narrative that fits the agenda of an anti-rape campaign illustrates the value-laden process of framing. The decision by journalists of what events or occurrences constitute news places journalism in a privileged position of deciding what is (and is not) in the public interest, journalism hence sets the agenda of what people will think about.

Stories that are reported on are not only selected from a myriad of events that could have been reported on, but are interpreted and constructed in a specific manner to fit into the mould of what is discursively considered to be a news report which is often framed by news values (Christians, et al 2009: 142; Richardson 2007). This is both subjective and deductive in the sense that “value judgements or ... criteria of relevance that have no objective basis are applied” (Christians, et al 2009: 142) in selecting what is and is not news. In the process of reporting, a problem is identified first, then follows “an active search for evidence rather than simply collecting and disseminating what is readily available” (Christians, et al 2009: 142). In other words, the way in which news is represented is not a mere reflection of reality, but is the journalists’ construction of that reality informed by the discursive technique of news values.

News values

Whilst traditionally it has been widely accepted that news values inform journalists’ recognition of what is in the public interest, poststructuralist thinking draws attention to the discursive operation of these values or guides (Harcup and O’Neill 2010). The selection of what constitutes news, guided by news values, is located within the unequal distribution of power in society which determines what warrants public attention. This discursive operation of news values notwithstanding, these guidelines that journalists call upon to construct reports are useful to identify in order to see more clearly how the *Sowetan* calls upon them in the anti-rape campaign. While there are various versions of news values, the most widely recognised ones are Galtung and Ruge’s list. I use Harcup and O’Neill’s (2010) revision of these “traditional” news values to apply a more contemporary framework for identifying these guides. Specifically, I identify “surprise”, “power elite”, “bad news” and “newspaper agenda” (Harcup and O’Neill 2010) as being most useful for the analysis of the anti-rape campaign consistent with the research on rape reportage which point out media’s shifted focus towards rape stories which contain these elements rather than “ordinary” rape (Kitzinger 2004).

Having identified news values as discursive, I make the last point that the framing of news according to “soft” or “hard” news is also indicative of its discursive nature. According to Rich, hard news includes “stories of a timely nature about events or conflicts that have just

happened or are about to happen ... The hard-news approach is basically an account of what happened, why it happened and how readers will be affected. These stories have immediacy” (2010: 17). Breaking news fits into this type of news and media compete with each other to deliver this “breaking news” to readers. Soft news is defined as “news that entertains or informs, with an emphasis on human interest and novelty and less immediacy than hard news... Soft news can also be stories that focus on people, places or issues that affect readers’ lives” (Rich 2010: 17). Opinion pieces, feature articles, including profiles, and other “human-interest” stories (reports which, rather than focusing on issues, events, statistics or policy, foreground the people involved or affected by these) fall into this soft news definition.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Language use – any text – is always simultaneously constitutive of (1) social identities, (2) social relations and (3) systems of knowledge and belief ... Language use is, moreover, constitutive both in conventional ways which help to reproduce and maintain social identities, relations and systems of knowledge and belief, and in creative ways which help to transform them (Fairclough 1995: 55).

Engagement without estrangement is a form of submission to the power of the text regardless of the reader's own positions. Estrangement without engagement is a refusal to leave the confines of one's own subjectivity, a refusal to allow otherness to enter. Without the entry of the other, can we be said to have read the text at all? ... The theory and practice of CDA suggests strategies that enable this deliberate move and argues the need for reading against the text to counterbalance reading with the text (Janks 1997: 331).

Research question

My study takes the form of a textual investigation of the *Sowetan*'s "Enough is Enough – take back your dignity" campaign and seeks to investigate the anti-rape campaign's transformative potential in light of its ostensibly socially transformative goal. If the campaign initiated on 21 November 2012 set out to "move beyond just telling the horror stories of rape and to take a stand using our available resources – print and online" (Mkhabela 2014), the question which guides this research is: does the campaign through its various news texts challenge or reinforce the conditions that give rise to widespread rape? This research question requires that the news texts be considered as constructed works of representation which are discursive as, being cultural products, they cannot exist outside discourse. That is the text and the social are mutually constitutive (Fairclough 1995 and Janks 1997). My aim therefore is to investigate whether the campaign reports present a counter-discourse to the social narratives of gender injustice which enable rape, or whether they legitimate (Thompson 1990) them.

Why text research matters

Textual analysis has been usefully defined as "a type of qualitative analysis that, beyond the manifest content of media, focuses on the underlying ideological and cultural assumptions of the text", where text is "understood as a complex set of discursive strategies that is situated in a special cultural context" (Fürsich 2009: 240). This generic definition of textual analysis, which encompasses an explanation of most investigations of such a nature (including of the

type that I conduct in this investigation, namely critical discourse analysis) identifies the concern of the researcher with the way language articulates discourse, whether it be to naturalise a particular ideological position or to challenge it. “Textual analysis allows the researcher to discern latent meaning, but also implicit patterns, assumptions and omissions of a text” (Fürsich 2009: 241), therefore to critically investigate the meaning of a text is to analyse what discourse/s the linguistic as well as the social conditions producing the text reinforce or challenge.

My study is primarily concerned with gender injustice, which is what I have argued is productive of rape (see chapter 1 and 2), hence my inquiry is a critical one. It is concerned with power and how it is reproduced through language. As such, although I began by describing my study as a textual investigation, my theoretical location within critical cultural studies (see chapter 1) enables me to look beyond just the text as the source where meaning is constructed. I adopt a view that text “is a socially and historically situated mode of action [that exists] in a dialectical relationship with other facets of the world” (Fairclough 1995: 54). In other words, language is “social practice” (Fairclough 1995 and Janks 1997). Hence this investigation is underpinned by an understanding that it is not just the linguistic elements (discrete from social construction and meaning) that make up a text, but that it is produced (and produces meaning) within “social structures which shape discourses and in turn are shaped by them, within a matrix of relations of social power, authority and control” (Deacon et al 2007: 159).

Qualitative research

This investigation is informed by a qualitative research methodology which allows me to produce detailed descriptions of the newspaper articles I analyse, based on their own context and thus entailing “the production of knowledge, not its discovery” (Lindlof 1995: 25). Qualitative research lends itself to an idiographic approach to research which does not attempt to simply find regularities or patterns that make the findings of the study generalisable (Babbie and Mouton 2001). Instead, “the aim is to describe and understand events within the concrete, natural context in which they occur ... [and] examine a single event or case and its structural coherence within a larger context ... or within its own context” (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 272). Hence, I am not drawing from any pre-proved theory or coming up with a hypothesis to prove. However, using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a research method, I approach analysis of the representations in the *Sowetan's*

“Enough is Enough – take back your dignity” anti-rape campaign in an inductive way, “developing and building inductively based new interpretations and theories of first-order descriptions ... rather than approaching [the campaign] with deductively derived research hypotheses” (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 273).

Critical discourse analysis

I conduct a CDA of a set of purposively sampled texts (described below) to enable critical insights (Janks 1997; Jørgensen and Phillips 2002) into the representations of rape in the *Sowetan* anti-rape campaign coverage. CDA is a “qualitative method of analysis” (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270) concerned with “the way that individuals and institutions *use* language” (Richardson 2007:1) and has a specific view of language as social practice (Fairclough 1995; Janks 1997). Language is a central concern especially as it relates to discourse and the creation of knowledge that counts as truth, hence power/knowledge. Foucault conceives of knowledge as not only linked to power but as also having the power to make itself true (Hall 1997: 49). Since “nothing exists meaningfully outside of discourse” (Hall 1997) and as some discourses are more powerful than others, journalism, as a discursive regime, plays a critical role in challenging or reinforcing both our understanding of the world and our subject positions (Richardson 2007: 13). Aware of the link between social reality (how it is constituted) and how we come to understand it through texts, I adopt a CDA method which focuses analysis of text on multiple levels.

In investigating the *Sowetan* anti-rape campaign to challenge violence against women and children and interrogating how the rape stories reproduce or resist social inequalities (Richardson 2007: 155), I use Fairclough’s three-dimensional model (illustrated below) which includes the text (linguistic features); discourse practice (the production and consumption of texts); and social practice (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 68).

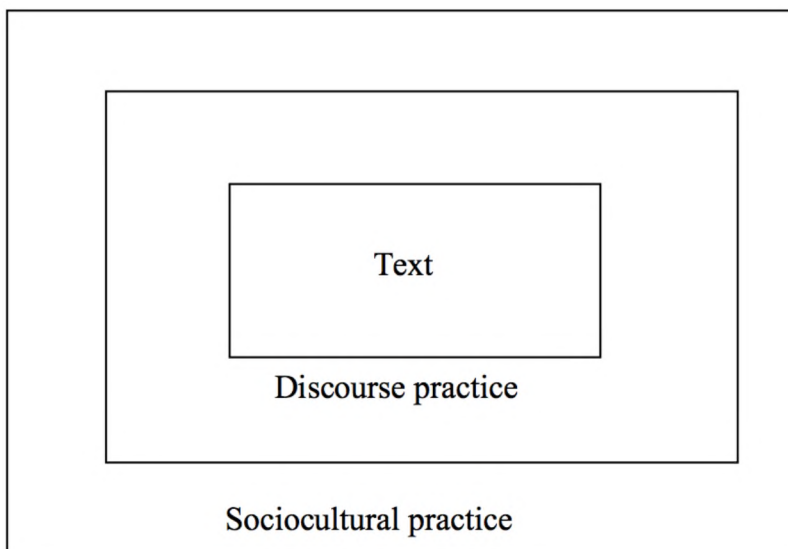


Figure 1: Fairclough's CDA model (Fairclough 1995: 59)

This model importantly draws attention to the interconnection between these three different practices as they are all discursive, making evident the insight that “[w]hat we identify as ‘discourse’ and what we identify as ‘social’ are deeply intertwined” (Deacon et al 2007: 152). The model is valuable for ensuring a holistic approach to address all the moments of the circuit of culture (chapter 2) even while a single dimension will be prioritised (the “text moment”). CDA’s focus on the texts reveals how they discursively position readers in ways that aim to make their reading of the meaning carried in the text consonant with its discursive positioning (Deacon et al 2007: 158) for texts “[naturalise] common-sense assumptions” and thus “mobilise or reinforce relations of control” (Deacon et al 2007: 154). Critical discourse analysis seeks to make clear how this naturalisation of relations of control happen; it sets out to uncover “attempts to close meaning down, to fix it in relation to a given position, to make certain conventions self-evidently correct, to do creative repair work when something becomes problematic, and to make the subject positions of discourse transparently obvious without any viable alternatives” (Deacon et al 2007: 158). It is productive to unpack what each level of analysis, according to Fairclough’s model, entails in investigating the anti-rape campaign representations.

Textual analysis

While much of CDA is undertaken by using linguistic tools, an eclectic approach is adopted in this study that draws on insights from Media Studies and Linguistics. While my text analysis entails the unpacking of the “linguistic characteristics of a text” (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 83), it also goes beyond those formal features as the critical discourse analysis

of text is always concerned with power and, as such, considers what is “present [in the text] and what *could* have been but is *not* present” (Richardson 2007: 38). This is consistent with the theorisation that the construction of news involves agenda-setting and framing (see chapter 2), processes which work to make some issues (framed in a particular manner) part of the public agenda at the exclusion of other issues (and frames). My eclectic approach draws on narrative and argument as macro-textual, and linguistic tools as micro-textual approaches to textual analysis (Richardson 2007).

Macro-textual analysis

Narrative and argument analysis enable a macro-approach in the first instance. Rhetoric, or argument, and narrative are “interconnected” in that they are both communicative strategies employed to position the reader, listener or audience (Richardson 2007:157). In the anti-rape campaign, a particular discursive intention is claimed; the aim is to challenge rape. The narratives of each rape story are similarly structured in particular ways consistent with the intention to engage the reader to share the discursive intent of the journalist. In spite of any claims to objectivity, news coverage is not unengaged. The monitorial role the press claims explicitly sets out to expose truth/s or injustice – as societal watchdogs. Thus, they engage in rhetoric and, with regards to the campaign, the aim of the reportage is to persuade or encourage readers to take a stand against rape. The reports select what they view as the persuasive facts in each case (Richardson 2007: 156). I thus analyse the reports at the macro-level of analysis with a view to identify how they draw upon narrative and argumentation to either challenge or reinforce gender inequitable discourse.

Narrative

A narrative is usefully “characterised by its economy” (Prinsloo 2009: 215). It serves as a summary of what occurs, “picking up on the most salient details to give coherence; being structured by a cause-effect relationship” (Prinsloo 2009: 216) where everything that is mentioned is relevant in its relation to other details included in the narrative; and having a structure that is held together by a “chain of events” (Prinsloo 2009: 216) which may not necessarily be chronological. Richardson distinguishes between narrative content and narrative form, identifying the former as relating to “the sequence of events as they occurred in the actual story: in essence the, the plot or the structure of actions” and the latter as “the sequence in which events are presented to us” (2007: 71).

I use Propp and Todorov's syntagmatic approaches which focus attention on the chain of events (Prinsloo 2009: 215) in varying detail. These are useful in analysing news reports as they identify what the reporter selects to be the disequilibrium or complication that usually is the primary focus of the news story. This analytic approach recognises that stories do not just happen, but are incidents and events that are given coherence through narrative and meaning through the process of deciding how to tell it.

Todorov

Todorov's five-stage narrative model makes explicit the cause-effect linking structure which constructs what is presented as news stories. The first stage is an initial state of equilibrium. What follows is "a disruption of the equilibrium by some action" (Prinsloo 2009: 217), the second stage. As most news reports do not follow a chronological structure, but begin with the disruption (which is recognised to be the newsworthy factor of any incident or event), the equilibrium is made evident implicitly by the disruption. While *what* the reporter constructs as the disruption indicates her discursive intent, *who* in the narrative is represented as recognising that disruption, the third stage, and tries to restore the disruption, the fourth stage, indicates which characters have agency. In the context of rape stories when it is the rape survivors who both recognise the disruption and act to restore it, these two stages establish disclosure of their experience as a step that sets into motion actions that will either help the survivor overcome the tragedy, and hence experience a new equilibrium, the last stage, or remain in a state of perpetual "disruption".

Propp

If Todorov's particular concern is with the "linear progression of the narrative" (Wigston 2009: 278) and thus to a great extent action, Propp is concerned with "what the characters do to advance the narrative¹¹" (Wigston 2009: 281). Character roles or functions direct the narrative and, in the same way that the disruption constitutes the central stage of a narrative, the actions of a villain usually are what identify the discursive intent of news reports. While Propp established seven character functions, namely "villain, donor, helper ... princess and father, dispatcher, hero or victim and ... false hero (Prinsloo 2009: 225), the functions which are useful in my analysis of the anti-rape campaign coverage specifically are the villain (who

¹¹ Propp also he also identifies the chain of events through his narrative functions, but I do not draw on this.

is responsible for the disruption); the hero (who “seeks to restore equilibrium”); and the hero’s helper (who assists the hero and “moves the action towards resolution”) (Wigston 2009: 285). Additionally, there are two types of heroes; the seeker hero who “goes on a quest that might include contestation with the villain”, and the victim hero who “encounters some adversity ... and the narrative is then linked to ... her fate” (Prinsloo 2009: 226). These two types of heroes make evident which rape survivors are constituted as active agents in attempting to restore their equilibriums, and which are represented as passive victims of their circumstances. In terms of investigating the campaign’s socially transformative potential, identifying the character functions can make evident to what extent the campaign offers a counter-discourse to the normative construction of ideal femininity as passive. The last Proppian character I pay attention to is the villain’s helper. Complicity, whether active or silent, is how the enactment of violent masculinity is enabled. In the previous chapter I have established, for example, how “phallic women” sustain the patriarchal gender order. In the coverage, the construction of villains’ helpers makes evident how rape is routinely enabled and endorsed as a “tool of social control” (Moffett 2006) by the villain’s helpers as much as the villain.

Levi-Strauss

To understand the paradigmatic structure of each report, I use Levi-Strauss’s approach which strips narrative to binary oppositions in order to reveal the “underlying rules and codes that produce or construct meaning” (Prinsloo 2009: 236). In the context of the campaign, for example, where the rape survivor is being represented as the victim, the perpetrator is the villain. This has the effect of uncovering “the way in which the ‘real’ is being defined and produced, and what and who is being valued and devalued” (Prinsloo 2009: 237). Binary oppositions are especially useful in my analysis as my investigation is concerned with gender justice. Hence the representation of gender according to binary oppositions in this campaign may shed light into whether the coverage presumes an essentialist approach to gender roles which reinforces the patriarchal gender order or whether it challenges the myths and stereotypes perpetuated to maintain the social order. For example, the rape myths I have discussed in the previous chapter present essentialised misconceptions about men who are perpetrators of rape and women who are survivors.

Argumentation

Argumentation (or rhetoric) sets out to convince the reader to take up a particular position with a particular opinion. For instance, the stated aim of the *Sowetan*'s campaign is to take a stand against rape. This aim implies an intention to use "reason to persuade [readers] to accept [this] point of view" (Richardson 2007: 155). However, since argumentation is also identified as a "joint process ... requiring participants to both produce and consume argumentation ... argumentation can only work when participants consent to being persuaded" (Richardson 2007: 155-156).

Three types of rhetoric are identified. Forensic rhetoric focuses on the past and "justice and injustice of actions (allegedly) committed by the defendant" (Richardson 2007: 157). Epideictic rhetoric is "concerned with the present, its means are praise and censure, and its special topics are honour and dishonour" of a character (Richardson 2007: 157). Whereas forensic rhetoric is concerned with the past, and epideictic with the present, deliberative rhetoric is focused on the future, "deliberating on the desirability of or otherwise of a decision" (Richardson 2007: 157). Rhetoric additionally draws on character, emotion and logic to persuade the audience. The "focus on character of the arguer" as the strength of the validity of the argument is referred to as ethos (Richardson 2007: 159). The argument's ability to induce particular emotional states intended by the arguer is pathos; "the arguer uses pathotic argumentation to put the audience in a frame of mind that makes them receptive to what the arguer wants them to believe" (Richardson 2007: 160). Lastly logos is the argument's ability to appeal to reason and is "supported by evidence and reasoning" (Richardson 2007: 161). Such rationalisation is identified by Thompson (1990) as one of the strategies for legitimisation of a position (alongside narrativisation too).

Micro-textual analysis

In addition to paying attention to argumentation and narrativisation, I draw on micro-textual analytic strategies to investigate the discursive positioning of the campaign (Richardson 2007: 48). I undertake a lexical analysis that pays attention to the choice of words. Therefore I attend to naming and referencing of people and actions alongside predication. Transitivity is a form of analysis that attends to the actions or the "processes" in particular and is thus useful in the analysis of representations of actions of rape.

Naming and referencing

Because of the regulations prohibiting the disclosure of rape survivors' identities in news reports (see chapter 2), it is common for survivors to be referred to as "rape victim", "woman", "school girl" or "mother". These references, although ostensibly neutral, are however value-laden. This is because the choice to name a rape survivor by a particular characteristic reveals what the reporter seeks to emphasise or de-emphasise about a rape survivor (Richardson 2007 49-52). Choices in naming and referencing also attempt to make the reader relate to the subjects of the story in particular ways (Richardson 2007 49-52). It has been indicated in the previous chapter, for instance, that including certain details about perpetrators¹² in rape reports may work to induce sympathy towards them, whereas the complete absence of any detail about them – except for references to them only as the "rape suspect" or "rapist" – also has the unintended effect of decontextualising the crime within the production of particular masculinities in particular spaces. The choice to refer to some rape survivors as "victims" and others as "survivors" for instance, additionally indicates how the reporter wants the subject of the report to be viewed; whether as an object of pity or someone to be admired.

Predication

Predication refers to the "choice of words used to represent more directly the values and characteristics of social actors" (Richardson 2007: 52). These can be as direct as "rape survivor" to more obscure constructions which describe people as "the object[s] of possessive construction" (Richardson 2007: 53), for example, "rapist's accuser". Predication is revealing of the journalist's discursive intent and works, similar to referencing, to create particular perceptions of the subjects of a news report. Predication additionally draws attention to specific characteristics of actors, either "criticis[ing], undermin[ing] [or] villify[ing] certain social actors" (Richardson 2007: 53). The discussion on constructions of rapists as "monstrous rapists" (see chapter 2) makes evident the discursive work of predication.

¹² While rape reports, consistent with legal requirements, do not presume someone implicated in a rape guilty until proven so by the courts of law (and hence refer to them as "suspects", "rape accused" or use quotation marks when referring to them as "rapists", particularly in headlines), and because I am working within the genre of narrative, I assume the allegations of rape survivors to be true and hence refer to the "suspects" as rapists in my analysis.

Transitivity

Transitivity indicates the “relationship between participants and the roles they play in the processes described in the reporting” (Richardson 2007: 54). Consistent with Richardson’s approach to analysing newspapers, the use of material, verbal, and mental verbs. Particular attention is paid to transitivity to analyse actions of different parties through a gendered lens, for example sentence constructions about rape can reveal who is constructed with agency and who is acted upon, allowing for a discursive insight of text positioning and framing.

Discourse analysis

The discourse practice level of analysis “focuses on how the text is produced and how it is consumed” (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 81). Attention has been given to the production element when the institutional context of the *Sowetan* as a regime of professional journalistic practice and as a business was introduced (see chapter 1). I have identified how profit motivated the inception of the campaign, thus establishing readers as consumers of the “product” (Richardson 2007: 77). However, I have already established (see chapter 2) that credible reporting and the need to be profitable exist in a dialectical relationship. While recognising the importance of the production and reception context my study is primarily concerned with the substance of the campaign coverage – that is with the discourses it articulated in relation to gender power relations and the campaign’s negotiation of them. For this reason too, and owing to the space constraints of the thesis, I do not look at consumption. It has already been discussed how the *Sowetan* constitutes its readership as “community” in terms of its facilitative journalism role of nation builder while also playing the monitorial role (see chapter 1 and 2). I question the extent to which the campaign facilitates social change within these regimes of professional journalistic practice, particularly with regards to encouraging readers to “take a stand” against rape.

Socio-cultural practice analysis

The social and cultural context in post-apartheid South Africa, already established in chapter 1 and chapter 2, constitutes Fairclough’s third dimension of socio-cultural practice. Whilst the patriarchal gender order validates a normative form of submissive femininity which exists alongside hegemonic masculinity, socio-economic changes in South Africa in the past 20 years have had resulting shifts in gender relations and in producing new female subjectivities challenging the gender order. These socio-economic shifts also constitute a

context for the emasculation of generally black, unemployed young men entitled to women's bodies and using rape to enact hegemonic masculinity and as a tool of "social control". I have argued in the previous chapters that recognising the gendered dimension of rape is crucial to socially transformative reporting.

The analytic procedure

My analysis is informed by my concern with gender and how it is represented in the context of reporting on rape within this newspaper campaign. Specifically, I am concerned with who is foregrounded in each report and who is represented with agency. This is important in interrogating how far the campaign seeks to challenge the gender order which is productive of sexual violence towards women and whether it rejects the discourse of female passivity within this gender order.

Sampling method

Although the *Sowetan* ran their anti-rape campaign both in the online and print versions of the newspaper, with the print campaign pages occasionally directing readers to an online anti-rape pledge, my focus is mainly on the print campaign as I found I was able to develop a comprehensive sample of the data¹³. I decided not to focus on the online data after realising that a website search for articles did not yield an adequate sample dating back to when the campaign started.

To identify texts related to the campaign for analysis, I ran a search using the keyword "rape" on the Times Media Group digital archiving system, called Tark, for articles published in the *Sowetan* between 21 November 2012 (when the campaign started) to 31 December 2013, roughly a year. This time span does not correlate with the beginning and conclusion of the campaign. As the time frame of the campaign was not explicitly articulated and the campaign seemed to lose momentum until the logo stopped appearing altogether, the 13-month period is adequate to establish the discourses articulated in the coverage in relation to gender.

While my search of the digital archives of the print campaign search yielded many reports relating to rape during the specified period, in the data collection I limited my sample to only

¹³ As a Times Media Group employee, I was able to access the digital archives for the group.

the reports that carried typographical features signaling them as part of this campaign. My sample is, first, limited to those articles that carried the campaign logo, a total of 157 articles. I categorised these reports according to 10 categories to allow me to employ purposive sampling in making the sample smaller. The categories were: court reports (31 articles), reports on male rape survivors (11 articles), follow-ups or running news (13 articles), features (23 articles), profile articles (13 articles), hard news (41 articles), official-centred reports (10 articles), celebrity-centred news (7 articles), international news stories (3 articles), and op-ed pieces (5 articles)¹⁴.

Having identified these categories allowed me to see which reports foregrounded rape survivors as their stories would enable a focus on the constructions of femininities and masculinities in the campaign coverage. Hence in my final purposive sampling criteria, I excluded court reports with their focus on legal procedures; features which relied on anecdote; reports of civil service figures' reactions to rape; and opinion pieces. I also excluded international news, celebrity-centred articles and reports on male rape survivors as outside the scope of this study, as well as follow-up and running news previously reported.

This led me to a final sample of 19 texts which fulfilled the following criteria: reports centred around a person immediately affected by rape (this includes survivors, relatives or the rapist); reports addressing the rape of girls and women (the most common form of rape); and reports which relate news which has not been reported on before¹⁵ rather than follow-up stories. This criteria is informed by a recognition of the gendered dimension of rape, particularly the prevalence of sexual violence against women and girl children (as established in chapter 1), and that a focus on the representation of those actors primarily involved in rape and their experiences allows me to pay attention to the construction of masculinities and femininities in the campaign representations.

My sample size of 19 reports, while comparatively small compared to the articles published over the 12-month period I chose, is appropriate for my research purpose, which is not to provide an “extensive perspective”, but to identify “intensive insights” (Deacon, et al 2007:

¹⁴ There is arguably a measure of overlap in the categorisation as reports assigned to one category could easily fall within another and decisions were made in terms of the primary focus of the articles.

¹⁵ I avoid the term “breaking news” because the sample does not solely comprise articles which report on immediate news events.

45) into the particular discourses about gender articulated by the campaign. Furthermore, bearing in mind that this is a case study, the sample does not intend to be representative of gender discourses articulated in the news media in general when reporting on rape, but rather serves as an illustration of what discourses may be challenged or reinforced, specifically as seen in the *Sowetan*'s anti-rape coverage. To analyse how the campaign (and whether it) does this, I identify whether each of the sampled 19 reports foreground men or women. The reports foregrounding women are further broken down into age group categories as the way that women of different age groups (including children) are represented differs discursively (see chapter 2).

I identify these demographic categories as clusters, which provide five groupings into which each report fits: women of authority, elderly women, children, women in their 20s, and men. I identify woman of authority as a cluster although it contains a single report. Thandi Modise as then premier North West province is foregrounded as a face of the campaign. Her experience as a rape survivor is used to shore up her authority. In the other clusters, the age of the women is used to categorise them as a crucial component in how they are represented. The final cluster foregrounds males, both men and boys. It includes men as perpetrators or as supporters of rape survivors. The grid below identifies the five clusters which structure my analysis. The reports are appendixed and the alphabetical letter next to each article title references each one (see appendices A-S attached).

Woman of authority	Girl children	20+ women	Elderly women	Men
Premier knows too well the damage done/ Modise was abused at 15 (A)	Cops catch visiting pastor 'raping' teen girl (B)	Doctors say I sleep around — Survivor/ 'But I haven't had sex since the attack' (D)	Another gran attacked/ Ninety-year-old violated in her North West home (C)	Boy (16) held over attack on girl (4) (G)
	5-year-old left for dead in bush/ Fears that she might have been raped (E)	Sodomised as cops passed by (H)	Granny (84) raped, attacked at home/ Family and neighbours in shock after brutal assault (F)	Man 'raped' daughters/ Mom stood by as sisters suffered for 17 years (I)

	'Rapists told friends I was pregnant' (K)	This will stay in my mind forever'/ Gang-rape victim 'just wants to forget' (L)	Granny (71) now lives in fear/ Raped twice in 12 months (N)	Mentally disabled woman 'raped'/ Man lures victim to his house by promising to buy her kota (J)
	Mom hits raped girl/ Stepfather 'caught red-handed' (O)	Still afraid of the dark/ No justice for rape victim (M)		Dad rapes his one-month-old/ Father 'must be sent to rot in jail' (Q)
	Raped own daughter'/ ANC councillor accused of assault on 10-year-old (R)	Woman tells of 'horny' pastor/ 'He held me very tight' (P)		
	Lover 'ordered' to rape teen/ Woman 'beats' girl with broomstick (S)			

Table 1: The categorisation of the 19 news texts into demographic clusters

The analysis of each cluster includes an in-depth analysis, with the exception of woman of authority and children, and additional analyses which identify different ways masculinities and femininities are constructed within these clusters. *Premier knows too well the damage done* (appendix A) is analysed in-depth as it is the only report in the woman of authority cluster. In the children's cluster, two reports are analysed in-depth (*Cops catch visiting pastor 'raping' teen girl* (appendix B) and *'Rapists told friends I was pregnant'* (appendix K)) as they present two distinct ways of representing child rape survivors. *Another gran attacked* (appendix C) is the primary text analysed deeply in the elderly women cluster. In the cluster dealing with men, instead of identifying a primary report, I identify different types of masculinities represented and foregrounded in order to demonstrate how gender is relational and that speaking of rape requires analysis of what masculinities are enacted in sexual violence.

Chapter 4: Analysis

My analysis of the *Sowetan*'s "Enough is Enough – take back your dignity" anti-rape campaign coverage is informed by a concern with gender justice. Thus the analysis of the 19 sampled texts in this chapter is framed by and responds to my research question: how do the campaign gender representations challenge or reinforce the social order? The focus on gender has been established in a theoretical framework that locates rape within the discursive production of violent masculinities in a particular postcolonial context of socio-economic marginalisation (see chapter 1 and 2). Hence this chapter presents in-depth analysis of the five texts identified as reasonably representative of each of the clusters pertaining to women and children identified in the previous chapter; less detailed analysis of ten texts that have some features which differ from the main texts in their clusters; and a discussion of masculinities as represented in the four reports in the men's cluster. Each cluster is treated separately and the more in-depth analyses mark the beginning of each section while the other articles in that cluster are then treated more briefly.

Woman of authority

In the campaign, Modise seems to be given prominence in order to support the anti-rape message. She appears in four articles related to the campaign (*Premier knows too well the damage done*, *Cops catch visiting pastor 'raping' teen schoolgirl*, and *Another gran attacked*) and at various times during the campaign period is depicted in other reports as a rape survivor and women's rights advocate with strong views about rape. That she is given so much coverage, with her account of her rape as a teenager presented in the early stages of the campaign (*Premier knows too well the damage done*) and being cited frequently in other reports, makes her appear as the face of the campaign. Her prominence as a survivor lies in the authority and power of definition the campaign allows her as made evident in the detailed analysis of the report establishing her stand against rape.

Premier knows too well the damage done

The 26-paragraph news report "Premier knows too well the damage done" (28 November 2012, page 8) (see Appendix A) is the most prominent of three rape stories on this page dedicated to the campaign. The premier is identified in the accompanying sub-headline,

“Modise was abused at 15” and this soft news, feature-styled article recounts Modise’s rape experience at age 15. As the only source accessed for the report her voice is consequently given prominence.

One cold night during the 1974 school holidays Modise sneaked out to the local cinema, an apparently popular thing to do at the time (paragraph 1).

Thus begins the account of Modise’s rape experience. Modise, presumably a fun-loving and perhaps strong-willed teenager (she “sneaked” out) who sought to experience the “popular thing[s] ... at the time”, came from a home where her movements were restricted. While not stated, it can be assumed that Modise grew up in an urban apartheid context as she went to a local cinema, access only available to black South Africans in some of the larger townships then. This is the context and it, deploying Todorov’s 5-stage model, constitutes the equilibrium of Modise’s rape narrative: she is a young, fun-loving girl and life was “kind” to her. It precedes her realisation that “life is never kind to you for very long” (paragraph 26).

The narrational disruption leading to this realisation takes the form of the rape by her brother’s friend. This disruption of childhood is evident in the material processes used to recount it: “damage”, “destroy” and “inflict”. These are transitive actions of which Modise is the recipient or object. The rape leaves her traumatised and fearful about speaking out about her experience (paragraph 9). In this “dark period [of her] life” (paragraph 15), the consequence of being raped, she unsuccessfully disguises the pregnancy that results from the rape; is blamed by her brothers on their discovery of the violation for sneaking out of home; is failed by the justice system as the attacker’s father knows the judge presiding over her rape case; and she fails to carry the baby to full term. A grave disruption has occurred in her life. The table below presents the five stages of the narrative as identified by Todorov.

Todorov’s 5 stage model	Todorov’s model applied to the campaign
A state of equilibrium	Living life as teenager, doing “popular” things
A disruption of that equilibrium by some action	Rape by brothers’ friend that then results in pregnancy.
Recognition of the disruption	She tells her mother who has noticed her getting “round”

Action to restore the equilibrium	She reports the matter to the police
A reinstatement of equilibrium	Modise “rise[s] above her circumstances”

Table 2: Todorov’s model applied to *Premier knows too well the damage done*

Modise’s mother is supportive: she takes her to the doctor, who confirms the pregnancy. Modise takes the action to restore her equilibrium by reporting the matter to the police. The re-instatement of Modise’s re-equilibrium is not accomplished by the justice system as she is neither given fair legal recourse (her rapist is never convicted or given a sentence by the judge presiding over the case since the rapist’s father knew the judge (paragraph 14)), nor is she given counselling (paragraph 19). Her new equilibrium comes about with her mother’s support and her return to school to live as much as possible like a “normal teenager” and hence managing to “rise above her circumstances” (paragraph 5).

This article, although presenting a lengthy account of Modise’s rape and its consequences, does not represent her merely as a victim. She is selected as the focus of this article at the point of re-equilibrium, when she has made something of her life. She can be identified as the Proppian victim hero as she pulls herself up by the bootstraps and establishes a new equilibrium, as part of the political elite, thanks to her supportive mother, who serves as the hero’s helper. The accompanying photo of Modise confirms her social and political standing. She is speaking into a microphone from a podium with the South African coat of arms, connoting her authority. The main headline also signifies her political office (premier), rather than her name or gender. This choice of naming and referencing is significant. “[B]y choosing one social category over another” journalists effectively place the person “within a category and exclude them from other different categories” (Richardson 2007: 49). This article constitutes Modise, an elite figure, as authoritative rather than a victim of gender-based violence. She is constructed as a survivor.

A transitivity analysis of the main headline similarly identifies the premier through a mental process: as a victim, she “*knows* too well the damage done” (Richardson 2007: 54). While “knows” constitutes a mental process, it is one of thought and not mere sentiment, therefore positioning her as a knowledgeable and authoritative victim hero as a result of her first-hand experience. Identifying the actors in the narrative in terms of their Proppian character functions enables interesting insights.

Character function	Purpose	Role player in the campaign
Victim hero	Seeks to restore equilibrium	Modise
Hero's helper	Helps and moves the action towards a resolution	Modise's mother
Villain	Causes harm to member of the family	Rapist
Villain's helper	Aids the villain in complicating the narrative	Modise's brothers, rapist's father

Table 3: Propp's character functions in *Premier knows too well the damage done* adapted from Wigston 2009: 285)

As the hero's helper Modise's mother acts to help her daughter to fix the "damage" to restore Modise's equilibrium. She reports the matter to the police (paragraph 13); ensures that Modise's education is not permanently interrupted (paragraph 16); and is "strong" for her daughter (paragraph 19). Importantly, the victim-hero and her helper are female, whereas the rapist and his helpers are male. The rapist is constructed as a villain as his attack on Modise produces the disruption. He preys on her, rapes her, denies abusing her when it is found that Modise is pregnant, then evades standing trial because of his father's relationship with the judge. His father is his helper/henchman as he assists his son to avoid responsibility for his crime. Yet the rapist's father is not the only villain's helper. Modise's brothers "were slow to come around". "Their first reaction was 'why did you sneak out of the house'" (paragraph 12-13). By implying that she went out looking for trouble, they allocate the blame for the rape on Modise, the object of the rape, instead of on their friend. These actions of men are used to legitimate Modise's argument made in the second part of the article that men cannot be trusted.

Part 2 (paragraphs 16-26)

Having established Modise as authoritative in part 1, paragraph 16, which reads "The trauma of that night has stayed with her ever since", presents a turning point in the narrative. At this stage, Modise is represented as having made "something of [her] life" as a prominent politician. The narrativisation in part 1 of her as rape survivor works to legitimate

(Thompson 1990) her role as adviser: she is equipped to dispense advice to girls. Her forensic argument (Richardson 2007) refers to her past trauma and rape to justify her counsel: “you must never trust a man”. Modise thus presents a polemic, telling girls how to behave in order to avoid being victims of men. Essentially her advice pertains to persuading girls to keep away from men and she advocates fear and distrust of men. Men are constructed as potential rapists, “Whenever you see an older man coming closer to you, you think he will do the same [rape you]” (paragraph 17). Her experience enables her to advocate this distrust using this deliberative argument (that proposes future ways of being (Richardson 2007)).

Modise’s advocacy of fear of men is significant in relation to the focus of my thesis. Modise argues that girls must “never trust a man nor give yourself completely to him” (paragraph 21); not date until they are mature enough to make informed decisions (paragraph 22); “get an education and know their rights” (paragraph 24) and “abstain from sexual activity for as long as they can” (paragraph 22). Modise also advises girls to “learn from negative experiences in their life” (paragraph 25). She tells them: “Life is never kind to you for very long. Always know who you are” (paragraph 26). Her counsel seeks to “discipline” (Foucault 1979) young girls to be particular female subjects. Two contrasting sets of conduct are referred to: empowered girl versus unempowered girl. The empowered girl follows Modise’s advice and lives a life of segregation from boys, including being asexual.

It is significant that the campaign selects Modise, whose stand against rape essentially entails “disciplining” (Foucault 1979) girls as asexual subjects. She is directly quoted in 13 of the 26 paragraphs of the article. Hers is a voice of authority and her views are given prominence. She thus defines acceptable behaviour for girls through her advice. Notably her attitude to gender relations are separatist ones; men are presumed dangerous. Just as in explicit radical feminist positions, “[p]atriarchy is seen as a trans-historical, all-embracing structure, which necessitates women’s withdrawal into a separatism from which to develop a new women’s culture independent of men” (Weedon 1987: 17). Her rhetoric reinforces the myth of men’s uncontrollable sexual desire (Jewkes et al 2005). Ironically, if Modise’s brothers blamed her for leaving the “safe” domestic sphere the night she was raped, it is this attitude she endorses, namely that the “responsibility for preventing a socially unacceptable act, such as rape” (Jewkes et al 2005: 1814) lies with the girl/woman. This view partially mitigates

responsibility on the rapist's part as it assumes he is unable to control the (natural/biological) desire to have sex.

Although Modise's argument about girls' empowerment is ostensibly progressive, it actually advocates a type of feminism that urges girls/women to form "strategies for self-protection" and place "apparently voluntary limits on their behaviour and mobility" (Jewkes et al 2005: 1814), including the injunction to be asexual. This self-imposed limitation on interactions with boys/men cannot be construed as freedom or equality with boys/men. Modise's seemingly rational argument legitimates (Thompson 1990) patriarchal discourse of potent male sexual desire that demands that girls modify their conduct to prevent being raped. The recourse provided by the courts is similarly ineffective, as even the justice system failed Modise as a teenager, but is not challenged here. She accepts gender inequality as a fact of life and, in so doing, accepts violent masculine behaviour while she paradoxically vilifies men. She implicitly ascribes to the collective defeat (see chapter 1) shared by society when it comes to combating rape.

While masculinity is singular and dangerous, according to Modise's construction, ideal femininity is defined by asexuality. In addition to these constructions, this article counters the myth of stranger rape in line with the realisation that perpetrators can be people known to the victim, whether family, neighbours or intimate partners (Jewkes et al 2005; Klevens et al in Waddell 2010). Modise's advice, however can be seen to reinforce the discourse of silence between generations which regulates sex conversations. This presumes girls' innocence in matters pertaining to sexuality and fails to challenge this discourse (see chapter 1).

Girl children

While other articles within the campaign report on the rapes of children, they are excluded from this cluster as children are not the primary focus. Unlike the treatment of other sections, here I conduct an in-depth analysis of two reports as the reports in this cluster represent children in two distinct ways. While some represent the girls as vulnerable and passive (see Appendix B, E and O), others construct the girls with agency (see Appendix K, S and T) and I contrast these two types of narratives. It is also noteworthy that children are defined as anyone under the age of 18 by the Times Media publication policy guideline.

Children with agency

'Rapist told friends I was pregnant'

The report published on 31 July 2013 (See Appendix K) framed as a hard news story details the rape of a 16-year-old girl from Orange Farm near Soweto, Gauteng, three years ago by two men. The criminal case against them has dragged on for years, with the investigating officer and one of the rapists' family members attempting to interfere with justice. In the 15-paragraph report which occupies the top fifth of page 7, the rape survivor says one of the rapists told his friends that she was pregnant with his child and this detail serves as the headline: "Rapist told friends I was pregnant".

Paragraphs 1 to 5 detail the girl's rape on 16 December 2011 by the men who are neighbours. "They allegedly raped her that night and she opened a case the next morning at Orange Farm police station." They were arrested the next year at a shebeen (paragraphs 4 and 5). The teenager's trauma and suicide attempt are described in paragraphs 6 to 9, and the rest of the report details the legal processes with regards to the rape case and the attempts made to delay them. I analyse the report according to two sections: part 1 (paragraphs 1 to 5) and part 2 (paragraphs 9 to 15).

Part 1

"On December 16 2011, a 13-year-old girl was allegedly raped by two men who lived in her neighbourhood at Orange Farm near Soweto." This introduction marks the point of disruption in the teenager's narrative. She is walking with a friend, enjoying her freedom of movement, on the street when she is "grabbed by the two men" (paragraph 2). The teenager cannot but recognise the disruption and attempts to resist the attackers, who overpower her forcefully, threatening her with a broken bottle. The details are not clear but we are told that she was raped that night and went to report the matter to the police the following morning, a deliberate attempt to address the disruption after her freedom of movement was curtailed. Her actions position her as the seeker hero as she recognises the disruption and acts to restore it.

Todorov's 5 stage model	Todorov's model applied to the campaign
A state of equilibrium	Teenager freely walks with friend on the streets of her Orange Farm home

A disruption of that equilibrium by some action	“She was grabbed by ... two men while walking down the street with her friend.”
Recognition of the disruption	She resists
Action to restore the equilibrium	“she open[s] a case the next morning at Orange Farm police station” “The men were finally arrested the next year while they were drinking at a shebeen.”
A re-equilibrium	In abeyance

Table 4: Todorov’s model applied to *‘Rapists told friends I was pregnant’*

Part 2

While the first part of this report establishes the teenager as the seeker hero, the second part focuses on the other characters involved in the narrative as well as their character functions.

Character function	Purpose	Role player in the narrative
Seeker-hero	Seeks to restore equilibrium	Teenager
Hero’s helper	Helps and moves the action towards a resolution	Counsellor/s
Villain	Causes harm to member of the family	Rapists
Villain’s helper	Aids the villain in complicating the narrative	Police and justice system Rapist’s friends Rapist’s relatives People on the streets

Table 5: Character functions in *‘Rapists told friends I was pregnant’*

Having initially experienced the trauma of rape, the teenager experiences further societal traumatisation, the secondary trauma rape survivors go through in trying to restore their equilibrium (see chapter 2), as the actions of the police, the rapist’s friends and relatives, and the people on the street are essentially complicit with those of the rapist-villains. Although the men live in the same neighbourhood as the teenager and she reports the rape the day following the rape, the police only arrest the perpetrators the following year (paragraph 5).

The investigating officer specifically is accused of sabotaging the case. “He would not tell my witnesses when to come to court. He even told my friend not to go and testify because I was dating the guys who had raped me” (paragraph 11). The justice system is similarly represented as tardy and complicit with the perpetrators. More than a year and a half later, the “court case is still pending” (paragraph 14).

Not only the police or justice system, but the wider society within which the rape survivor is located can also be complicit in this second rape. This is evident in that residents of Orange Farm further stress the girl: “Whenever I walked down the street or went to school, people would look at me and make comments” (paragraph 8). She becomes self-conscious, saying: “When people look at me they look at me like I’m strange” (paragraph 17). The secondary traumatising results in her becoming suicidal. She “took rat poison” after being “terrorised by friends of her alleged rapists” who accused her of aborting the baby” (paragraph 9), a response consistent with the theorisation of shame being “an expression of trauma” as victims are blamed for speaking up. It is those identified as the villains who cause her shame for identifying the rape as unjust.

It is productive to pay attention to the transitivity employed in representing her. A range of mental and material verbs are used in her account. The mental ones refer to her state in the secondary traumatising. She is “distressed” and “fear[ful]” (paragraph 14) that in spite of her efforts “she would never be the same again” (paragraph 14), a recognition that in spite of receiving counselling, her new equilibrium would be different. This expected shift is made evident by the two different references to material process of walking in her neighbourhood streets. During her equilibrium, she was “walking down the street with her friend” (paragraph 2) implicitly unafraid of disruption and unhindered by fear. But after the disruption, her material action of “walk[ing] down the street or [going] to school” is complicated by “people [who] look at [her] and make comments” (paragraph 8). Another material action, an effect of her curtailed freedom, is her attempt at suicide.

While her suicide attempt indicates that she is also a victim, other material actions demonstrate her agency to a certain extent. She “refused” to be abducted, “opened a case” after her rape, and is “receiving counselling” – all efforts to try to restore her equilibrium. Therefore, although she is acted upon by the men in their material act of rape, she is not

passive. Her agency indicated by her verbal processes which include references to “she said” as she is constantly cited as the only source in the report, highlights an important and first step to restoring equilibrium: disclosure, although disclosure does not necessarily mean resilience as her suicide attempt shows. Another synonym for “said” which is used in attributing quotes to her is “revealed”. These verbal processes indicate her agency as she is vocal to police and to the *Sowetan* about the injustice of her treatment in relation to the delayed criminal justice processes and police attempts to silence her and her witness. Operating within a human rights discourse, she has an understanding of the injustice of rape and recognises her own agency in getting justice, whereas the villains and their helpers enact patriarchal behaviour within a traditional discourse which legitimates abduction and rape similar to the customary endorsement of *ukuthwala* (see chapter 1).

The girl’s agency and construction as a seeker hero clearly challenges two discursive practices which are both rooted in traditional patriarchy: *ukuthwala* and an adult-child hierarchy which requires unquestioning obedience from children. While the report locates itself and the teenager’s actions within a human rights discourse, the contesting discourse presented by many in her community and her rapists’ friends and relatives is that if a man seeks to be in a romantic relationship with the girl he rapes, then it is not rape but culturally sanctioned practice which is legitimated by damages pay (see chapter 2). The presumption of proprietorial rights is evident in this report in the offer made by the family of one of the rapists to “pay [the teenager] off to withdraw her case” (paragraph 12). Interestingly, the discourse of gender-based violence researcher Lisa Vetten is articulated in an unrelated article on the same page. In relation to the accusations of rape made against the then Cosatu secretary-general Zwelinzima Vavi by a junior employee at the federation, Vetten says damages claims or payments are common, especially when the rape survivor comes from a poor family and those families have no faith of finding recourse in the criminal justice system.

Child rape is an enactment of gender power also made permissible by the hierarchical adult-child relations that demands a form of respect that silences children (“children ought to be seen and not heard”). When children are denied the right to speak or to speak to adults about certain topics (taboos), they are made vulnerable to falling prey to rapists. They are able to get away with the crime, while the child maintains the violation as a shameful secret they do not share. This report counters this discourse as it endorses the teenager’s quest for justice

consistent with a human rights discourse. The report mentions that she received counselling, a non-traditional healing practice to address rape trauma. “The court case is still pending but the teenager said the counselling she has been receiving had helped her tremendously, although she feared she would never be the same...” (paragraphs 16 and 17) the report ends.

‘Raped own daughter’

This 23-paragraph report (see Appendix R) published on 26 November 2013 details the assault of a 10-year-old girl by her parent in an open field, an incident captured by the headline “Raped own daughter”. As the perpetrator is a prominent political figure, his title indicating his political status is declared in the sub-headline: “ANC councillor accused of assault on 10-year-old”. This breaking news story is placed on page 2, which has the anti-rape campaign logo.

The report has a four-part structure. The first part (paragraphs 1 to 6) identifies the man as an ANC councillor and recounts the rape. The aunt is the main source of information in the second section (paragraphs 7 to 13), which deals with the steps taken by the child and the family in seeking justice. The third section (paragraphs 12 to 16) focuses on the ruling party and its stand regarding sexual assault committed by members. Finally, Vincentia Dlamini of Women and Men Against Child Abuse is critical of the justice system (paragraphs 17 to 23).

In this report the child rape survivor is once again the victim hero. She tells her friend at school that her father raped her, hence recognising and disclosing this narrative disruption as the first step to restore her equilibrium. This disclosure to a peer is possibly linked to the customary taboo of talking about sex across generations (Delius and Glaser 2002; Mkhwanazi 2014). We do know that “the girl did not report the rape immediately” (paragraph 9), as indicated by the aunt, who as the primary source, provides insight into the child’s state: the child has “become very withdrawn ... cries a lot and ... regrets ever getting into her father’s car” (paragraph 8). The restoration of the girl’s equilibrium is in abeyance as indicated by her mental processes (she is “withdrawn”; “cries a lot” and “regrets” trusting her father) and the police’s inaction in arresting him.

Interestingly, the police are described as tardy in arresting the rapist and are thus constructed as the villain’s helpers. The report is critical of the criminal justice system’s inaction in rape cases involving powerful men. The rapist’s position as ANC councillor and relatively

powerful political is foregrounded. Consistent with the monitorial role of journalism to check the abuse of power, the report queries why the police “had not yet made an arrest” (paragraph 4).

The report further challenges the ruling party to show commitment to gender justice as the reporter seeks comment from the ANC about its stand regarding sexual assault committed by members. ANC regional spokesman Jolidee Matongo distances the party from such members. If guilty, they would “proceed to expel them from the ANC” (paragraph 16). This then is an important public statement for it reinforces the values of South Africa’s progressive and liberal constitution. Rapists who hold prominent positions of authority tend to get away with it as they are seen to be powerful enough to obtain sex from any woman they desire without having to resort to force (Gqola 2015). Dlamini provides an authoritative voice that also expresses a lack of faith in the justice system. The use of rhetoric drawing on present actions (or inaction in the case of the police) is used to both censure the father as a villain who will probably get away with his crime with the collusion of his henchmen, the police.

Lover ‘ordered’ to rape teen

“Lover ‘ordered’ to rape teen” (see appendix S) is the last report in this cluster which foregrounds a child with agency, a Proppian victim hero. The all caps headline breaks the news of a landlady who tried to force her tenant’s 13-year-old daughter to have sex with her lover. Running along the top of page 2, the 19-paragraph report (published 2 December 2013) is laid out as a campaign story with the relevant logo, although the rest of the page is not part of the campaign, and has a sub-headline in the same red colour as the logo, reading: “Woman ‘beats’ girl with broomstick”.

Paragraphs 1 to 7 introduce the background details of the sexual assault of the teenager while home alone in a Zola 3, Soweto, backyard dwelling where she lives with her mother and baby sibling, both of whom had gone to hospital that day. The landlady, living on the same premises in the main house, had been “drinking liquor in the yard” (paragraph 7) with her boyfriend subsequent to the assault. The role played by a relative, who is the main source quoted in this report, living in the main house with the landlady, who is the relative’s aunt, in helping the girl is recalled in the second section (paragraphs 8 to 15). The third part of the

report (paragraph 16 to 17) establishes the landlady's aggressive behaviour towards other females around her lover. The last part (paragraphs 18 to 19) gives an account of the landlady's arrest and her lover's evasion of arrest.

The fact that the girl lives in a backyard dwelling suggests that the teenager has to abide by the rules, spoken and unspoken, imposed by the owner of the property. The equilibrium is implicitly established as the point when the girl can sit outside their backyard dwelling in her nightclothes before the "landlady ... accuse[s] her of wearing a nightdress in order to seduce her boyfriend" (paragraph 9). Clearly, the girl's freedom to sit outside her room wearing what she wants to becomes restricted by the fear (real or imagined) that the landlady has of her live-in-partner's eye wandering in the "yard" which presumably has several female tenants as noted by the relative: "She [the landlady] is always accusing me of seducing her boyfriends. Women are forbidden to wear short dresses in this yard..." (paragraph 17). Since the girl fails to make herself invisible in order to ease the landlady's insecurity, she experiences the narrational disruption, being accused of "having sex with older men" (paragraph 16) and sexually harassed by the landlady.

What stands out in this report is the rejection of the clothing myth that mitigates perpetrators' behaviour by blaming women's choice of dress for sexual harassment (see chapter 2). It does so drawing on the news value of unexpectedness. While male sexual aggression towards women is not unusual, it becomes shocking when it is a woman who initiates the rape of another by a man. The girl's choice of clothing is established as the trigger to the landlady's aggression, which is manifest through the material processes attributed to her: she had been "drinking" and "approached" the girl to force her to have sex with her boyfriend. The lover is acted upon by the landlady as she is the one who "unbuttons" his trousers, "undressed" the girl, and "dragged him towards the girl" (paragraph 13). The woman also "assault[s] [the girl] with a broom until it broke into pieces when she refused to have sex with the man" (paragraph 14). The landlady's verbal processes also construct her as more active in the assault than the man. She "told her boyfriend to have sexual intercourse with [the girl]" (paragraph 11) and levels accusations of promiscuity against the girl.

Primarily, the landlady fits the role of the "phallic woman" established in chapter 1. She "performs" this role (Butler 1988) that validates men's rights to female bodies. Hence when

she questions the girl about wearing a short nightdress, she presumes the child's dress is indicative of her sexual availability and desire for this older man, presuming that when women dress "inappropriately" they "ask for it" (Bonnes 2013: 211; Ardovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald 2002: 6). The relative who lives with her similarly recounts the landlady's suspicious and sexist behaviour (paragraph 17). The report implicitly rejects the discourse of girls' or women's clothing as justifying rape. Rather it censures the woman's aggression and validates the girl's resistance to being coerced into sex with the man. This representation challenges gender injustice.

Children without agency

Cops catch visiting pastor 'raping' teen girl

In contrast to the above reports, in this report about a 17-year-old girl raped by a pastor who offered her a lift to school (see Appendix B), the survivor is constructed in a way that reduces to her to being a passive object. She is acted upon first by the pastor who rapes her, then by the police who rescue her. The headline reads, "Cops catch visiting pastor 'raping' teen girl". The girl remains unnamed; we read that she is a schoolgirl who is actively engaged at her church. The facts chosen in this short article include that the "rapist" held a position of trust as a clergyman; he got "the 17-year-old and her friends to help him clean the church premises in the evenings" (paragraph 3) and offered the girl a ride to school, only to breach that trust by turning into the bushes and allegedly raping her. The article includes the main five-paragraph report (part 1) and an additional paragraph (part 2), bulleted to indicate it is separate from the main story and refers to the rape of another child. As the latter makes reference to Modise she is pictured here again, as she was in the article analysed earlier. I discuss these two sections separately, starting with the main report.

Part 1

The disequilibrium of this narrative is evident in the first paragraph where the main characters involved are introduced: a teenage girl, a pastor and the police. Attributing the information to the police ("North West [Province] police said yesterday"), the article reports that a teenage girl was raped by a pastor the previous day. Paragraph two presents police spokesman Brigadier Thulani Ngubane's account of the rape. The pastor, seconded to a Phokeng parish near Rustenberg for a week, "had the 17-year-old and her friends help him

clean the church premises in the evenings”. According to the information given by the police, on Monday morning (February 11 2013) the “29-year-old pastor offered [the girl] a ride to school” (paragraph 3). On the Monday morning, “Instead of driving to the teenager’s school, the suspect turned to nearby bushes where he allegedly raped the victim,” Ngubane is quoted in paragraph 3.

In this report, while the girl is constructed as passive, the police, her Proppian heroes, are constructed as active. Rape is a material transitive process, but she is the object and the pastor is the agent of the action. The police swoop in on the scene and save her, another material process in which she is the object thereof. Identifying Propp’s character functions is useful here to make the framing of this text clear, which is based primarily on police reports. The recognition of the disruption by the police, alerted by the residents, results in the police acting to restore the equilibrium, thus the Proppian heroes. The girl’s place in the narrative is clearly defined as being in the “domesticated public spaces of church and school (Bowman 1993: 530). It is her presence in a space other than these raises suspicion. The residents of Phokeng, the hero’s helpers, alert the police who catch the pastor sexually assaulting the girl, arrest him, and charge him with rape. The pastor, caught red-handed, is constructed as the villain. Although a man ‘of the cloth’ and as such ordinarily presumed to be a moral and spiritually pure man, he is constructed in binary opposition to the innocent girl.

The compliant girl, involved in church activities, is presumed innocent. This “innocent victim” (Kitzinger 2004: 30) goes to church and school, acquiesces to authority, helps at church at night and is unsuspecting when the pastor offers her a lift to school. She thus inhabits the two public spaces where a girl is presumed safe: school and church.

Paradoxically, although a stranger, the 29-year-old man has access to teenage girls at various times because he is a pastor. They help him to clean (a ‘feminine’ role) the church at nights. The girl is not blamed for the rape because she was violated in the process of enacting the discursive subject position of the good girl, unlike teenage Modise (*Premier knows too well the damage done*) who is censured by her brothers for sneaking out of home at night.

This report refutes the notion of church as a particular kind of public space which is safer for women than other spaces. Because of the moral stances taken by religions consistent with religious doctrines pertaining to chastity and celibacy among the unmarried and commitment

to single marriage partners, churches are presumed to be beyond sexual predation¹⁶. In constructing the pastor as a paedophile, the girl becomes presented as an innocent unheeding victim of a sexual predator. It is not her as a sexual being that is in question here. This construction is consistent with that of traditional normative femininity which is “associated with sexual naivety and chastity” (Bray et al 2010: 262). Girls assumed to be innocent and the violation by an older man of virgins is constituted as more deeply repugnant than the “hard-to-believe” rapes of women who are sexually active.

The eleven-year age discrepancy between the rapist and the teenager is significant for child rape is characterised by “critical axes of difference between victim and perpetrator of age and gender” (Jewkes et al 2005: 1813). Not only that though. The alleged perpetrator holds a position of authority which he uses to gain the girl’s trust. Then he rapes her. In cultures where the relations between children and adults, particularly men, are governed by submission and respect, girls are made even more vulnerable to predatory behaviour as seen in this report as indicated in the analysis of *Premier knows all too well damage done*. There is no indication that the girl at any point resisted any of the pastor’s requests.

Part 2

This single paragraph bullet-pointed additional report again presents North West premier Thandi Modise as the central character. This use of Modise conforms to the news value of elite figures being able to attract readers. As the only voice in the report, she is placed at the centre of the narrative. She condemns the rape of a seven-year-old girl who was playing alone in a park on a Saturday in Ganyesa, south-west of Mafikeng, the capital of North West province and urges residents to provide police with information that may lead to the arrest of the rapist. The short report identifies Modise as the central character who recognises the disruption in the girl’s narrative and acts to restore it by calling on residents to contact the police should they have information about the rapist who has not yet been found. Unlike in

¹⁶Yet reports often expose clergymen sexually abusing children as is evident in the media attention given to the Catholic Church recently. In 2015, according to statistics released by the Catholic church, for example, it was found that 848 priests were defrocked and 2,572 “given lesser sanctions over the past decade”. Pope Francis was also last year widely reported as saying that 1 in 50 priests were paedophiles (Roberts 2014). “Many of my colleagues who are working against it tell me that paedophilia inside the Church is at the level of 2 per cent ... I have to say that they [the 2% figure] do not reassure me by any means. On the contrary, I find them deeply concerning. Among the 2 per cent who are paedophiles are even bishops and cardinals,” the pope was quoted as saying.

the previous analysis where the police are heroes, Modise is the hero and they are the hero's helper. The girl can be viewed as "a member of the family" (according to Propp) who the villain endangers and harms. Modise is engaged in verbal processes (such as "condemn" and "call on") which are aimed at leading to material processes by others ("help police", "lead to [an] arrest"), clearly positioning her as a figure of authority whose voice matters.

In addition to being an elite figure who is authoritative, Modise also has a recognisable face because of her public prominence as premier. While the main report above carries no image, this one-paragraph report is accompanied by an image of Modise which is anchored by a short caption with just her name and the kicker, "Angry". Modise is presented as aggrieved and wants action taken. Modise's voice makes intertextual links. Her personal story of rape was reported on previously in this campaign. Therefore, consistent with the aim of the campaign to create awareness, it can also be assumed that readers know that Modise, besides being North West premier, has been a rape victim. Through repeated reference to her for the duration of the campaign, she serves effectively as a face for the campaign. The inclusion of this one-paragraph report rehearses her condemnation of the rape and thus reinforces the campaign's own position and thus legitimates it. She comes to epitomise the campaign.

There are two other reports in this cluster where girls are constructed as vulnerable and passive, and the recognition of their disruptions and the action to restore are taken by someone else. As a consequence, such representations are not empowering. Understandably, there are very strict laws and guidelines around reporting on children in South Africa, but generally overlooked in this campaign's representation of children is the facilitative potential of journalism (which the campaign claims to play, see chapter 2) relating to covering sexual abuse. The narratives, although foregrounding the girls, construct adults as the ones with agency, whether as villains or as heroes.

5-year-old left for dead in bush

What is striking about the second report (published on 15 May 2013) which rehearses the discourse of girls' passivity is that although it presents no evidence of rape, it is positioned as an anti-rape campaign report. Headlined "5-year-old left for dead in bush" (see Appendix E), it is packaged as part of the campaign although in this instance it is not known for sure whether there has been a rape. The sub-headline consequently reads: "Fears that she might

have been raped”. As the report concerns a girl child who was kidnapped for a number of days and was found in a bush, and in many of the reports in the sampled texts the rape location is a bush, the location is consistent with this modus operandi and the possibility of rape is taken for granted as is the sex of the kidnapper based on the pattern of sexual violence in the current gender order.

The introductory paragraph paints a picture of panic overtaking Capricorn Park village following the discovery in the bush of the girl who was attacked and abducted. The next four paragraphs relate the circumstances regarding the girl’s abduction. The rest of the report can be divided into two parts. Paragraphs 6 to 12 focus on police actions and their version of events and paragraphs 13 to 18 present residents’ responses and their commitment to fighting crime.

The Grade 1 pupil was walking alone on a route involving gravel road and bushy areas, returning home from her school (one kilometre from the village) on Thursday afternoon when she was abducted and “severely assaulted and left for dead” (paragraph 3) in the bush. Her narrational equilibrium is evident when paying attention to the material verb of “walking” used to describe her actions prior to the attack. The disruption is introduced when while “walking alone” back home from school, she “disappear[s]”. As the narrative unfolds, she is acted upon by her kidnapper and also by the police who find her. The girl “was reported missing [to the police] on the same day when she did not return home and a search for her ensued” (paragraph 8). Although she is foregrounded, it is as a helpless victim.

This report, like the previous one, constructs the police as heroes and the girl as passive. It is presumably the girl’s caregivers who alert the police of the girl’s absence and the police recognise the disruption and then act. In this case, as well as in the previous one of the “cops” catching the pastor raping a teenager, the police act swiftly and are the Proppian heroes. Their material processes (“investigating”, “search”, “went” and “found”) constitute them as seeker heroes, who act to restore the equilibrium which in this case can only be partial. The missing girl has been found three days after the police search ensues and, even though she was “severely assaulted and left for dead” (paragraph 3), she is found alive. Besides the several references to them being engaged in the material process of “investigating”, the police are foregrounded in the large accompanying image of a South African Police Service member wearing surgical scrubs in the dense bush area where the 5-

year-old girl was found. The police do not work alone. They have a hero's helper in the form of the villager who calls and makes them aware of the child's body found in a dense bush after he/she "discovered" (a material process) her and engaged in the verbal processes of disclosing, on the girl's behalf, the assault, "called" and "telling" police. Hence the girl child is acted upon, acted on behalf of and spoken for.

Consistent with the *Sowetan*'s nation builder positioning and its commitment to "community" established in chapters 1 and 2, in this report the village which the child is from is described as a "community", thus a collective whole with shared values (Fourie 2008). The term "community", as opposed to "residents" or "neighbours", is value-laden and what is interesting about its usage in this report is that the representation of this community contrasts with the one presented in the earlier report discussed of the teenager whose community is complicit in her secondary traumatising (see *Rapist told friends I was pregnant*). This report presents an idealised version of "community". However, the campaign coverage presents a recurring contradiction where the location of the sexual violence crimes reported on are occurring in these marginalised black locations such as villages and townships. Sadike, described as a community leader and as a mother, expresses shock "about the ugly incident that happened to one of our own" (paragraph 14). She is constructed as representative of the village, "... the whole community is not sure whether their children are safe or not anymore (paragraph 13)," because of her local secretary role in South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco), a civil society movement to which various groups across the country are affiliated. Employing epideictic rhetoric, Sadike makes two claims: that residents were certain that children were safe in the area before the incident occurred and that "the whole community" is law-abiding and thus the perpetrator must be from outside this community which is now worried about its children's safety. Implicitly the kidnapper is dishonourable and the community is honourable (Richardson 2007: 157).

Mom hits raped girl

The discourse of children's passivity and vulnerability is rehearsed again in this report (published 22 October 2013). Prominently placed on page 2, a prime page reserved for breaking news, the startling headline shouts in all caps black letters: "Mom hits raped girl", and below it is the sub-headline, "Stepfather 'caught red-handed'" in white mixed case letters on a red box (see Appendix O). Written in a hard news style, this 17-paragraph report

relates the assault of a 12-year-old girl by her biological mother after she “caught her husband red-handed ... on top of her child” (paragraph 4). It is the child’s relative, who gives an account of the child’s rape and subsequent assault. She fears for the safety of this child who still lives with her mother on two counts. First, this is “not the first time” he raped her. Second, it will continue as “the mother is protecting her own child’s abuser” (paragraph 7).

The structure of the report consists of two parts. Paragraphs 1 to 10 describe the relative’s version of events and professional voices are foregrounded in the second part (paragraphs 11 to 17). While social development spokesman Ronnie Masilela promises the department will try to help the family, Teddy Bear Clinic director Shaheda Omar makes a case for the mother’s arrest as a “colluder” in the child’s rape. Police spokesman Sergeant Gerald Sedibe’s lack of communication is also highlighted in this section.

“In yet another shocking case of child abuse, an Mpumalanga mother is accused of beating up her daughter after she allegedly caught her husband raping the child” (paragraph 1) is the introduction to the first part of this report which, although foregrounding the relative’s voice, focuses on the mother’s actions. Again, the news value of unexpectedness informs the newsworthiness of this report as the mother is constructed as colluding with the rapist (her husband). She is in Proppian terms represented as the villain’s (the stepfather’s) helper and her actions are given more prominence than his as she fails to fulfil the role of the caring and concerned mother when she catches her husband raping her child.

It is productive to focus on the transitivity employed to see how the framing of the report vilifies her, consequently validating a dominant discursive subject position of the nurturing mother, which this woman does not fulfil. She is engaged in material actions (she “caught” him in the act; “beat” the child and “is protecting” her man). This conduct brings to mind the landlady (*Lover ‘ordered’ to rape teen*) who attempts to compel her lover to rape her tenant’s child. If patriarchal discourse validates sexually aggressive forms of masculinity (as enacted by the stepfather), it is also productive of emphasised femininity which supports the dominant masculinity. The mother’s behaviour thus need not be so “shocking” (paragraph 1) when understood in the context of the current gender order which legitimises the myth of male’s uncontrollable sexual desire and women’s consequent responsibility to “avoid”

sexually arousing men by modifying their behaviour (Jewkes, et al 2005). The woman is enacting the subjectivity of the “phallic woman” as she endorses her husband’s right to female bodies. The woman instead of faulting her husband for raping her child, “fail[s] to listen to her child” (paragraph 6) and “protect[s] her own child’s abuser” (paragraph 7), essentially blaming the child for being raped. The man is the Proppian villain who disrupts the girl’s narrative as made evident by his material processes (“raping the child”; “on top” of her; and “giv[ing] [her] R20 to silence her”). His wife assists him in complicating the girl’s narrative as she ignores his material actions despite recognising the disruption when she sees him “on top of her child” (paragraph 4).

What is arguably really shocking is neither that the mother beats up her child for being raped by her stepfather nor that the stepfather abuses the girl. Rather it is the broader societal factors which are productive to these mutually reinforcing behaviours consistent with the gender order which make stories like these not as unexpected as the journalists framing suggests. This idea is echoed by Teddy Bear Clinic¹⁷ director Shaheda Omar, in the second part of the report, who locates the mother’s behaviour in the broader socio-economic context, saying that women dependent on their partners for financial support turn a blind eye to the abuse of their children. “They fear being victimised. Such cases [of child abuse] are most common in cases of domestic violence. They are a strong risk factor,” (paragraph 16) he says. This argument is consistent with the one made in the earlier chapters about how provider love and transactional sexual relationships reinforce patriarchy and gender-based violence. The inclusion of this expert voice is illustrative of progressive gender reporting as it creates awareness. It conforms to the facilitative role of journalism in which the campaign locates itself (as the *Sowetan* as “taking a stand against rape”). While social development spokesman Ronnie Masilela promises the department will try to help the family, what is more significant is how Omar makes a case for the mother’s arrest as a “colluder” in the child’s rape.

Having discussed six samples of text within the campaign coverage which either foreground a child’s agency or their passivity, it is evident that the coverage has transformative potential

¹⁷ Teddy Bear Clinic provides child protection services, including medico-legal aid, forensic and psychological assessments, counselling and assistance in preparation for trial. The non-governmental organisation identifies its mission as being “to minimize the secondary harm to children and their families when they enter the child protection system” (Teddy Bear Clinic: 2014).

which is not fully realised. While it does at times create awareness through the inclusion of voices of child abuse experts and sometimes child rape survivors themselves, it does not play a facilitative journalistic role in much of the coverage, but remarks on the sensational. However the two opposing constructions identified of foregrounded children make it apparent that, while male rapists are the recurring villains, the girls can sometimes be their own heroes. This is a significant construction in relation to a rape campaign on account of its transformative possibilities. Its transformative potential lies in the resistance to a narrative that renders the child as only passive and invisible, while the voices and actions of adults prevail. However, none of the narratives in this cluster achieve a new equilibrium. Thus in spite of this being constituted as a progressive campaign little difference exists between reportage within the campaign and other daily breaking news rape reports.

Elderly women

Elderly women are represented differently to 20-something-year-old women, but quite similarly to children. The most prominent similarity between this cluster and the previous one is the general swift justice. Consistent with Gqola's theorisation of some women (married, sex workers and slave women) being "impossible-to-rape" because they are seen as always sexually available (2015: 31) myths of elderly people as asexual give the women in this age group credibility which is not so automatically assumed of young women who are sexually active.

Another gran attacked

The first report (see Appendix C) in the cluster foregrounding elderly women is announced by the headline, "Another gran attacked" in all caps, indicating that this report is the page lead. This 19-paragraph report was published at the top of page 12 over five of the six-column grid page. The Enough is Enough/ Say No To Rape page strap runs above the report as it is laid out across the top of the page. The strap signals that this page is part of the anti-rape campaign and the sub-deck reads, "Ninety-year-old violated in her North West home".

Much space (paragraphs 1 to 10) in the report gives details of the rape of the 90-year-old who, it is emphasised, lives alone. The account of the rape is indirectly reported until the eleventh paragraph where the woman is quoted, making it explicit that she was interviewed.

Paragraphs 11 to 16 turn to the broader context of elderly women being raped in the North West province, beginning with a direct quote from the woman who expresses her hope that the police will find her attacker, noting that she is not the only elderly woman to be raped in the area. The closing three paragraphs (17 to 19) refer again to North West premier, Modise, calling for action “against crime and the scourge of rape”.

Part 1

“A 90-year-old North West woman says she will never forget the trauma she experienced when a man broke into her house, raped her and threatened to kill her (paragraph 1).”

Written in a hard news style, this dramatic sentence immediately introduces the disruption in the life of this 90-year-old woman. While this woman has not been named consistent with legal requirements, she is referenced (Richardson 2007) according to her age as well as her reproductive position. Her age is mentioned twice (in the headline and in the introduction) and she is referred to as a grandmother twice in the first part. This naming constructs the woman as a frail, defenceless, aged person and appeals to the news value of bad news. It is shocking that someone would break into the house of a pensioner, rape her and threaten to kill her.

This disequilibrium is elaborated upon in the next eight paragraphs through a chronological account “[T]he grandmother from Coligny [a small farming town] near Lichtenburg” is awakened at 4am on Sunday (7 April 2013) by a man “on top of her” who enters through a window of her house. Threatening to kill her if she screams and placing a panga “near her head”, he rapes her. Her recognition of this disruption occurs at this point, but she is unable to act immediately. She manages to crawl away when the rapist temporarily leaves. At this stage, she is acting to restore her equilibrium, her personal safety in her own home and she shouts to her neighbours for help and is thus a victim hero.

Todorov’s 5 stage model	Todorov’s model applied to the campaign
A state of equilibrium	90-year-old woman lives alone in her house
A disruption of that equilibrium by some action	Rape by stranger

Recognition of the disruption	Clearly she wanted to flee, but could not move because of the rapist's force and the panga
Action to restore the equilibrium	"She shouted to her neighbours for help" and was presumably assisted As a consequence of reporting, the police have opened rape case
A reinstatement of equilibrium	In abeyance

Table 6: Todorov's model applied to *Another gran attacked*

The woman's neighbours presumably recognise the disruption and offer her protection from the rapist. That this 90-year-old woman living by herself "no longer [feels] safe living in her house" (paragraph 9) indicates that the equilibrium that exists in her freedom and independence exercised through living alone is disrupted by the stranger rapist.

Part 2

The woman's words, "I pray that God gives the police wisdom and clues about the suspect's whereabouts" (paragraph 11), indicate she has reported the incident to the police. Her neighbours and the police are constructed as her helpers, attempting to move the action towards resolution to protect her from and find the rapist, the villain in the narrative. The police are represented as normatively heroic (it is expected that they are the "good guys" who will apprehend the rapist), while the neighbours are constructed as innately good and helpful. This sentiment is repeated in the third part which foregrounds Modise's views.

A trend of elderly women rape is assumed in this article. The article employs a symptomatic argument to argue that because this 90-year-old woman is the third rape victim in the area in the space of four months, there must be rapists targeting elderly women. Another "grandmother was allegedly raped at the same time at Mmakou outside Brits" (paragraph 13). The third elderly rape victim cited in this report is "a 98-year-old woman from Tloung village in Mahikeng [who] was also raped and murdered" (paragraph 16). The inclusion of the details that the rapist did not use a condom is unusual in the campaign reports. That it is mentioned in this particular report, along with the detail that the rapist left the woman during the rape to go get a lubricant, is what is striking. The rapist's need for a lubricant implies

that she was difficult to penetrate and this interfered with his satisfaction. This enactment couples the rape as an act of taking power and a form of sexual gratification¹⁸. It is an enactment of a violent masculinity as theorised in the earlier chapters.

Part 3

I have identified that the three rapes are tenuously linked together to argue that there is trend of elderly rape. In this section, North West premier Thandi Modise serves again as another official source, who makes connections between the rapes. Consistent with the moralising tone of the report, Modise makes both an ethotic and pathotic argument. Rather than the newspaper itself editorialising in this space about the repugnance of the violence, her ethotic argument relies on Modise as a spokesperson for the campaign. She repeats verbatim its slogan “enough is enough” (paragraph 19). As a rape survivor whose story has been already presented Modise is positioned as someone whose “wisdom or experience or virtue are grounds for trust” (Richardson 2007: 160). Pathos is also used to persuade the reader to be shocked by this assumed trend of elderly rape. Modise employs a pathotic mode of persuasion for she herself has “expressed shock at the rapes” (paragraph 17), and intends to illicit shock and indignation in the reader through the argument she makes. The emphasis on the shocking nature of rape is consistent with the “gradation of rape” (Gqola 2015), whereby rape of some women are viewed as more horrifying than others.

Granny (84) raped, attacked at home

“The blood-soaked bedding told the horror of the brutal attack by a rapist on a defenceless 84-year-old grandmother,” is the gory introduction to the second report (see Appendix F) in this cluster, recounting the rape of an elderly woman from Botshabelo, Bloemfontein. This 20-paragraph report, while part of the campaign, is positioned on page 2, which is usually reserved for breaking news. The prominent two-deck all caps headline states: “Granny (84) raped, attacked at home”. Below the main headline, also are two decks of headline reading: “Family and neighbours in shock after brutal attack”. A pull quote reads: “He took out a big knife and threatened to kill me.” The article is accompanied by an image of the woman, seated with her arms crossed over stomach. The caption below the picture says: “VIOLATED: An 84-year-old woman was raped at her home in Botshabelo, Bloemfontein”.

¹⁸ This is consistent with the theorisation in chapter 2 of how rape is understood by sex by men enacting violent masculinity within the margins of the “sexual economy” (Hunter 2010).

The sidebar of the report is headlined: “MEC calls on citizens to be vigilant.” The article which occupies two thirds of the page has a grey colour wash and a red border that links it to the campaign, signalled also by the logo and page strap.

Written as a hard news story, the report recounts the rape of a woman inside her bedroom just after midnight. The article has a two-part structure. The first ten paragraphs focus on the rape itself. The second part (paragraphs 11 to 20) focuses on the broader context and the traumatic effects of the attack on the woman’s family and on the other residents of Botshabelo, Bloemfontein. Other rumoured and reported incidents of rape are mentioned too. The sidebar recounts the MEC’s call for activism against rape “365 days in a year” (paragraph 3 of the sidebar) and urges anyone with information that may lead to the arrest of the rapist to contact the police.

The report reinforces a particular construction of elderly women as frail and intrinsically worthy of respect because of their age, hence reinforcing an age hierarchy. It is productive to pay attention to the predication employed in the representation of the elderly woman to identify the pattern of constructing elderly women as weak. She is described as a “defenceless 84-year-old” and a “frightened pensioner”. She is constructed as a frail, vulnerable elderly woman, which clearly is not the case according to her family who say they never worried about her living alone as she was “self-reliant and still quite agile”. The naming and referencing (Richardson 2007) employed also makes constant reference to her age and her familial role. Consequently, even though it is not known whose grandmother she is, she is constantly referred to as “granny” and “grandmother”, a social categorisation which is accompanied by much prestige in some African cultures (Fajemilehin, et al 2006: 162 and Mchunu 2005) and is reflective of the “black opinion” and values the *Sowetan* seeks to represent (Cowling 2014: 138).

The choice of naming, referencing and predication draw attention to the woman’s character to induce outrage in the readers and are part of the usage of epideictic rhetoric whose “means are praise and censure, and its special topics are honour and dishonour” (Richardson 2007: 157). In addition, it presents a pathetic argument through the use of emotive language (reference to the “horror of the brutal attack”) and metaphor (“... her nightmare began” (paragraph 4)) which are intended to invoke horror in the readers. The woman is also

described as having been “violated” and the rape is thus constructed as a senseless, violent crime and the perpetrator is “pathologis[ed] ... as monstrous” (Boshoff and Prinsloo 2014:11) even before he has been found and charged. By using pathos, the report incites readers’ emotions and avoids the broader social issues which would contextualise the violence (Boshoff and Prinsloo 2014: 2) as a “particular enactment of masculinity within a specific gendered space” (Boshoff and Prinsloo 2014: 3). The inclusion in the report of the detail that the rapist initially “demanded money from the frightened pensioner” (paragraph 3) might suggest the socio-economic marginalisation of these young black men. The current gender order, whereby hegemonic masculinity validates the man as provider who is able to obtain sex in transactional relationships, has been theorised in chapter 2 as productive of this sexually aggressive. The description of the elderly woman’s blood-soaked sheets legitimises the myth that when someone has been raped, they will have injuries to prove it although this is not always the case however. The inclusion of this description therefore does not take the story further, but merely validates “stereotypical beliefs about rape ... which ... arise through media amplification of sensational cases of rape” (Norton and Grant 2008: 276).

The report also makes reference to other rumoured and reported incidents of rape, inciting a moral panic which is captured in the words of the woman’s neighbour, “We do not know where to hide because criminals are now breaking into our houses” (paragraph 16), as well as the words of her daughter-in-law, “My daughter is aware of what happened and she is very scared. The other day she said she was scared to go to school because the same could happen to her” (paragraph 12). Hence the dangerous young male subject roaming around, seeking someone to rape is constructed, echoing the radical feminist discourse of Modise (see appendix A) which both advocates that females fear the opposite sex as well as constructs men as rapists or potential rapists, reinforcing the myth of men’s uncontrollable sexual desire (Jewkes et al 2005). This report, by merely depicting the horror of the rape in a sensational manner reinforces the passivity and vulnerability of women living alone and fails to realise the transformative potential of identifying the contributing socio-economic factors in the particular context in which rape is prevalent.

Granny (71) now lives in fear

The introduction, “A 71-year-old Mpumalanga grandmother, who has been raped twice in just over a year, now lives in fear of further attacks,” sums up the last report, 17 paragraphs long (See Appendix N), in this cluster. It details the assault of an elderly woman by two different rapists. The report, headlined “Granny (71) now lives in fear”, was published on 3 October 2013 on page 9. It is accompanied by a sidebar which summarises prominent rape cases of elderly women. “Raped twice in 12 months,” reads the sub-headline. A photo of the rape victim taken from a high angle so her face is not visible occupies the top third of space allocated to the report. She is seated, barefoot and clutching a bottle of snuff. The caption reads, “VIOLATED: An elderly woman fears she may be raped for the third time after two ordeals.”

There are three sections in this report. Paragraphs 1 to 8 describe the woman’s first rape by a stranger during “broad daylight” (paragraph 7) who used a knife to cut her vagina. The second section (paragraphs 9 to 13) recollects the second rape almost a year later, this time at night and by someone known to the woman’s family. The last section deals with (paragraphs 14 to 18) pays attention to the legal process that has taken place to give the woman justice and, consequently, the police spokesman’s comments are foregrounded.

This report is different from the rest in this cluster as it focuses on the psychological trauma caused by rape. The woman’s daughter, describing her eyewitness account of her mother’s rape says: “My mother seemed confused. Now people think that my mother is mentally unstable but she is fine. She is still traumatised by what has happened to her” (paragraph 13). While there have been steps taken to move her narrative towards a new equilibrium, the focus is on the trauma of the attacks and a “male/female dichotomy is presented where men are portrayed as violent and unable to control their lust, while females are demonstrated as sexually passive, vulnerable and weak” (Bonnes 2013: 212).

The detail that the first rapist cut the woman’s vagina suggests that he did so in order to penetrate her more easily and thus achieve his sexual gratification in this violent act. The reports in this cluster make it clear that elderly women are raped, not because they are sexually desirable but because they are women. The coverage implicitly assumes that “grannies” are not sexually desirable, hence only a morally deviant person could rape them.

Elderly women living in these areas may be seen as easy to rape, especially when they live alone, and targeted also because of pension money that they receive. The fact that they are all raped in their homes also debunks the myth that rape occurs in the public space. Rape is a threat for women anywhere, especially in socio-economically marginalised areas where violent masculinities are produced.

Women in their 20s

The term “impossible-to-rape” (Gqola 2015: 31) has been used (chapter 2) to explain how some women are viewed as ‘impossible’ to rape because they are assumed to be insatiable and permanently sexually available. Consistent with the enduring colonial construction of black women having a voracious sexual appetite, I argue that their rape becomes newsworthy when it is more graphic, violent or unusual than ‘ordinary’ rape between acquaintances or intimate partners — the more common sexual violence to which society is inured and about which media has become lethargic to reporting (Ar dovini-Brooker and Caringella-MacDonald 2002). The rape stories pertaining to this cluster are generally sensational. Here I analyse five reports, the first in depth to establish the main tendencies. I then analyse the additional reports in less detail, mainly to demonstrate what they do differently in their work of representation within this cluster.

Doctors say I sleep around — Survivor

This 19-paragraph report on page 9, published on 8 May 2013, is the page lead indicated by the four-deck main headline reading: “Doctors say I sleep around — Survivor” and a single deck sub-deck: “But I haven’t had sex since the attack”. The article (appendix D) reports on the initial and the secondary and continuing rape trauma experienced by a woman, given the pseudonym Buyisiwe, from Tembisa, a township in Gauteng’s East Rand. This is primarily an account of her experience and the article recounts a series of violations that Buyisiwe experiences, both sexual and health-related. The first section (paragraphs 1 to 7) recounts her rape. The first three paragraphs present her current dilemma: “her life has been hell since she was raped” (paragraph 2). She was attacked by “five men” inside her home at 5am. Then, on her way to seek assistance, another group of men “dragged her into bushes near a train station” where they attacked and raped her (paragraph 5). The second section describes her ill-treatment by the police and justice departments (paragraphs 8 to 10) and subsequent ill-

treatment by the health institution and its debilitating consequences for her health (Paragraphs 11 to 16). Her sense of vulnerability and fears that just as she has not been able to help herself overcome the rape trauma, she may not be able to do anything to help her daughter too should she also be raped are recounted in paragraphs 17-19.

The first rape

Eight years after a Tembisa woman was gang-raped by eight men who were later sentenced, she has yet to find closure (paragraph 1).

Consistent with the news criteria of negativity and sensationalism, the opening sentence provides an abstract of what the article covers (Bell 1994). Thereafter, Buyisiwe's story follows chronologically.

Todorov's 5 stage model	Todorov's model applied to the campaign
A state of equilibrium	Buyisiwe is sleeping in her home
Disruption 1	She is raped by 5 strangers inside her home
Recognition of the disruption 1	She realises she needs to get help
Action to restore the equilibrium 1	Buyisiwe leaves her home to seek help
Disruption 2	She is gang raped by another group of men in the bushes and she becomes incontinent as a result
Action to restore the equilibrium 2	Buyisiwe reports the matter to the police.
Disruption 3	Community unkind to her because she is a rape victim
Action to restore equilibrium 3	She moves to another section of Tembisa
Disruption 4	She discovers that a part of the plastic inserted by the second gang rapists is still inside her
Action to restore equilibrium 4	She also has two operations to try to remove the plastic inside her
A reinstatement of equilibrium	In abeyance

Table 7: Todorov's model applied to *Doctors say I sleep around*

Like most “bad news” reports, the initial equilibrium is implicit here, a presumed time when Buyisiwe had a sense of personal security inside her home. As the grid indicates, Buyisiwe’s narrative is a complex one. Her trauma is a cyclical process, a series of disruptions and attempts to resolve them. She is gang raped twice and when she acts to restore her equilibrium, her efforts are foiled, initially by the second gang of rapists, and subsequently (and presently) by the police, justice and health systems which do not enable her to move on with her life. For eight years she seeks to restore her equilibrium, but her narrative is further complicated by the police, lawyers, neighbours and by the doctors and nurses who blame her for the body deformation and incontinence she lives with.

The narrational disruption, the gang rapes, occurs in the private space of her “home” and later “in the bush” (a public space) when she attempted to protect herself. Applying the Proppian character functions indicates a clear gendered division. While Buyisiwe is the victim hero as she is the one who both recognises her disruption and acts to restore it by seeking help from police and doctors, it is the woman who “witnessed the [second gang rape] and screamed for help” (paragraph 7) who is the hero’s helper. Hence females are represented as positive characters. It is therefore productive to pay attention to the transitivity employed to see how women in this first part of the narrative are presented in binary opposition to the men.

Buyisiwe’s material processes, and the mental effects thereof, are the central focus of this report. Her relationship to sleep changes in a cyclical manner from an implicitly restful state of being “asleep” (a material process), when her equilibrium is disrupted and she is first raped, to a suicidal desire “to sleep and never wake up again”, when her narrative is repeatedly complicated and the reinstatement of her equilibrium perpetually deferred. This recognition of the motif of sleep draws attention to Buyisiwe’s limited agency. Her material processes (“moved to a different section” and “went out to seek help”) and her verbal processes (“[r]eporting” and “testifying”) “are ineffective in bringing her the “closure” she wants.

The verbs that relate to her mental processes indicate her deep level of trauma Buyisiwe: [I] “think”; “[am] ashamed”; “hate”; “worry”; “fear”; and “[feel] trapped”. All we are presented with is her insecurity, a sense of lack of agency and her own negative self-construction. A transitivity analysis reveals Buyisiwe as being acted upon and denied agency. While the

rapists' actions are material, hers are largely mental processes of thinking and feeling. They include "think[ing] about [the rape] every time..." (paragraph 11); being "remind[ed] of the incident" (paragraph 14); and "hav[ing] constant nightmares" (paragraph 19). She is presented as a victim trapped in her circumstances. She herself also articulates a self-construction of victimhood. She uses the metaphor of rape as death when she says the rapists "killed" her (paragraph 11): she has not 'lived' since that day eight years ago when she was gang raped twice. She describes herself as being "trapped" in a life she no longer wishes to live. She sounds suicidal. Other imagery used in Buyisiwe's construction of herself is simile. She compares herself to a toddler because of her incontinence. She sounds defeated and like someone who has lost her agency, being caught up in multiple disruptions which the report merely recounts without offering a way forward for her.

The material processes which have a significant impact in changing the narrative are confined to the men's actions, while the women's actions are reactions to these material processes. The only other woman, the hero's helper, mentioned in the report is engaged in the verbal process of "scream[ing] for help". If the men are villains, they act: the first gang "attacked her [Buyisiwe] at about 5am at her home"; they "left" (paragraph 4); another gang "grabbed" her; "dragged her into bushes"; and "raped" her (paragraph 5); they also "pushed a plastic bread wrapper into [her] vagina and continued to rape [her]" (paragraph 6); most of them are "serving various terms in prison" but "[o]ne ... is ... still on the run" (paragraph 9). While the women are constructed as vulnerable but empathetic, the men are constructed as dangerous and callous. That the second group of men rapes Buyisiwe regardless of her trauma, is arguably an enactment of the myth that men cannot control their sexual desire (Jewkes et al 2005). She is relegated to the status of an object: in their pursuit of sexual release they insert a plastic bread wrapper in her vagina because she is "too wet". That these men callously insert any item available in that bush where the rape occurs inside her to is indicative of how to them she functions as a mere receptacle for their sexual release.

This account counters the myth of the domestic sphere being a safer place for women than public spaces as Buyisiwe is attacked both inside her home and in the bushes near a railway station. The news report constructs these black men as rapacious consistent with constructions of black men as criminal and hypersexual (chapter one and two). Furthermore, both attacks reinforce the "dangerous man" construction articulated by Modise (see *Premier*

knows too well the damage done) that all men are potential rapists. The decontextualisation (see chapter 2) and lack of information about the rapists and their identification only by their actions operates to rehearse the idea of rapists as monstrous (chapter 2).

While the gang rapes are material acts they are discursive acts of gender embodiment: the perpetrators' performance is gendered (Butler 1990). They enact a particular type of tough masculinity within a patriarchal gender order which presents normative possibilities of ways that the society, including women, responds to rape. This is evident in the way that Buyisiwe is victimised by the broader society. This victimisation is the secondary traumatisation.

The secondary traumatisation

The second section (paragraphs 8 to 19) of this report recounts Buyisiwe's secondary rape trauma when she attempts to restore her equilibrium or find a new equilibrium. Firstly, the residents are not sympathetic or helpful: "she was forced to relocate because people called her names, especially her attackers' families" (paragraph 19). Secondly, the police act as the villain's helper as they "did not treat the case with the sensitivity it deserved" (paragraph 9) and the forensic investigators fail to do their job properly as for three years after the rapes and reporting them, Buyisiwe lives with part of the plastic still in her. Thirdly, the rapists' lawyers also aid the villains in complicating her narrative by causing her to regret reporting the rapists during the trial. And lastly, the doctors and nurses too question her sexual behaviour by accusing her of sleeping around instead of helping her. In this case, whether the doctors and nurses are men or women is immaterial as their behaviour is in accordance with the patriarchal gender order in which a woman is to blame for being raped.

In relation to Buyisiwe's rebuttal of doctors' accusations that she sleeps around, the choice of words used in the headlines provide insight into the discursive positioning of this particular work of representation. The doctors judge sexually active women, thereby acting as gatekeepers of women's sexual activity instead of being medical professionals. "Doctors say I sleep around" is the main headline. Then the sub-deck contradicts that: "But I haven't had sex since the attack". The headlines are direct quotes from paragraph 16 in the article. The selection of Buyisiwe's words to provide the abstract of the story as headlines do (Bell 1994) recognises the common construction that links a woman's sexual activity to rape (Jewkes et al 2005). However, this article does not blame the victim for the rapes: she has

not been sleeping around. Here the reporting avoids “depict[ing] female rape victims as either ‘virgins,’ ‘fallen angels’ or ‘whores’” (Bonnes 2013: 211). It challenges the sexist attitude that women are to blame for rape.

However, whilst countering this patriarchal myth in this way, Buyisiwe’s plight remains dire as there is no indication of support or succour she may find within the system. Paragraphs 17 to 19 close the report with her deep sense of isolation and depression. She is worried about what would happen to her 13-year-old daughter if she died. Buyisiwe sometimes wants to “sleep and never wake up again” (paragraph 19), but she can’t give up on life because of her child. Instead of providing possibilities for gender justice and rape survivors overcoming, Buyisiwe’s negative self-construction is foregrounded. The report in terms of its positioning within an anti-rape campaign misses an opportunity to, instead of merely rehearsing the horror of the gang rapes and the emotions, provide solutions. Not only is Buyisiwe denied agency and constructed as a victim, but her narrative is constructed in a very fatalistic way. The report reinforces the notion of victimhood that violent men seek to impose on women in their aim to use rape as a tool for social control.

This primary text in the cluster of women in their 20s makes evident a representation that seeks to detail the unusual rapes and controversial rape stories rather than “routine abuse” (Kitzinger 2004: 23) which for this age group is not as newsworthy as it is when children and elderly people are raped, the possible-to-rape categories. The following reports similarly frame the experiences, whether during the rape or afterwards, of the women as unusual.

Sodomised as cops passed by

This sensational 11-paragraph report published on 17 July 2013 (see Appendix H) is the second lead in a page dedicated to the campaign to the right of the page lead (“Alleged rapist dies in custody”) on the top half of page 7. The two-deck headline reads: “Sodomised as cops passed by”. This hard news story details the anal rape of a 22-year-old woman by a stranger in bushes as police, unaware, pass by in vans with sniffer dogs. The report is structured in two sections. Paragraphs 1 to 8 detail the rape of the woman, highlighting that police were in the area where the assault happened. Paragraphs 9 to 11 foregrounds the voice of the police and both their action and non-action in the matter.

The disruption is the point of departure for this news story. A rapist approaches a woman and her friend and initially tries to mug them, but later rapes the victim. The initial equilibrium again is one of freedom of movement. The women walk from one village to the next without threat. However, when the stranger “demand[s] money and cellphones” (paragraph 4), danger is introduced. Recognising the disruption, the pair run away, but he catches up with the 22-year-old. The rape is described graphically and characterised by rough violence, for when the perpetrator realised she was menstruating, he penetrated her anally. He threatens “to kill her after the ordeal” (paragraph 5). The woman, unable to get the help she hopes for from the police “with sniffer dogs passing by in vans on the road” (paragraph 2), prays that the man will spare her life. This is her action to restore her equilibrium. “I prayed to God to save my life. And when he [the rapist] was done [with the assault], he had a change of heart and accompanied me to the road” (paragraph 6). He also stabs her, leaving her with injuries which require her to go to hospital (paragraph 8).

The rapist causes harm to the woman and is thus the Proppian villain. She constructs the police as the villain’s helpers for failing to do their job thoroughly. “If they had released the dogs, they would have found me,”(paragraph 3) the woman says. As seeker hero she recognises the disruption and acts to restore her equilibrium by attempting to run away from the man. While the report makes a sensational attack on police, representing them as inept (“passing by”; “did not realise that she was being sodomised”), the construction of them as the villain’s helpers is the woman’s (paragraph 3). The headline echoes her words and seems to take that positioning (Bell 1994). However, there is the danger of focusing too much on the role of the police in preventing or fighting crime while missing the point that attitudes which are productive of gender-based violence need to be addressed at a broader societal level. In censuring the police for incompetence this report, merely reproduces the dominant patriarchal discourse that women need protection from violent men. This type of reporting limits the campaign’s transformative potential as it fails to properly probe the more important issues; how women are not free to walk freely in the streets.

‘This will stay in my mind forever’

“This will stay in my mind forever” is the striking headline in white text on a black box for the third report (see Appendix L) in this cluster. Below it is the sub-headline “Gang-rape victim ‘just wants to forget’”, followed by the 31-paragraph report which occupies about

two-thirds of page 11 dedicated to the anti-rape campaign. The report (published on 28 August 2013) includes a picture of a 25-year-old woman who was gang raped five months back. The dramatic portrait format photo in the two right hand columns depicts the woman in silhouette. Photographed from a low angle against a window with bars, she appears to be seated and wearing a hat. None of her facial features are distinguishable. The kicker of the picture caption says: “Traumatised”, and the caption reads: “This woman was allegedly repeatedly raped by nine people, including two minors, at Phiritona, Heilbron in Free State. The suspects are expected to appear in court soon.”

Written as a feature article, this report foregrounds the voice of 25-year-old rape survivor. In addition, her words, “This will stay in my mind forever” and “[I] just want to forget” are used as headlines, both main and sub-headline. The first half of the report (paragraphs 1 to 18) recollects the gang rape which happened five months earlier. Her husband was assaulted as well. The gist of the second part of the report is encapsulated in the woman’s words, “I want them to spend the rest of their lives in jail” (paragraph 19). Paragraphs 19 to 23 section relates the woman’s search for justice and the report ends (paragraphs 24 to 31) with comments by Heilbron station commander Lieutenant-Colonel Theledi Gopane who praises police for their work on the case.

Unlike in the previous two reports about the rape of adult women, the police are positioned as Proppian heroes in the narrative of the 25-year-old woman whose equilibrium is disrupted when she is gang raped. The woman, whose voice is foregrounded, describes her initial equilibrium: “While walking to our shack from my parents’ house, I saw this group of young boys” (paragraph 5). The woman was with her husband, brother-in-law and sister-in-law. The disruption is constituted by the “group of young boys” who attacked them “without any provocation” (paragraph 6). That she was in the company of two men while walking in public works against the popular idea that women need to be in the company of men to be safe from violent men outside the private sphere. While her brother- and sister-in-law managed to flee, her husband was assaulted violently. He was “shocked ... with a cattle prod” (paragraph 6) by the gang which “then grabbed her and dragged her to a quarry outside the township, where they raped her” (paragraph 8). The disruption is recognised by the police, who rescue her husband (paragraph 15), and act to restore her equilibrium by

“arrest[ing] all the nine¹⁹ suspects” (paragraph 15). The re-instatement of the woman’s equilibrium is in abeyance as months have passed since she was raped, but the culprits have not yet appeared in court and two are not in jail as they are minors.

If the police are the Proppian heroes, the woman’s mother and brother who alerted them about the rape are their helper. The woman is constructed without agency. She is not represented as a survivor, but as a hapless victim, from dropping out of school in Grade 6 and being diagnosed with HIV at the age of 19 “when the woman was pregnant with their second child” (paragraph 16) to having that child die “last year” (paragraph 17) and being gang raped. All of these misfortunes are recounted, thereby representing her as atypically unlucky. This construction, along with Heilbron station commander Lieutenant-Colonel Theledi Gopane’s assertion that “rape was not rife in the Phiritona/Heilbron area” paragraph 27, construct a bad luck story in the first instance which in effect minimises the rape. Attention to how the woman is predicated in the text is instructive. She is referred to as: a “bitter Free State HIV-positive woman” (paragraph 2); “25-year-old” (paragraph 3); and “young mother” (paragraph 19). While the reference to her as “woman” is consistent with journalism rules not to name rape survivors, the inclusion of her HIV-positive status and her youth is consistent with the stereotyping of young township girls dropping out of school, fall pregnant as a teenagers and contract HIV.

Similarities exist with “Doctors say I sleep around”. The highly sensational reports focus on gang rape and take the form of profile feature articles which foreground the voice of the survivor. They focus on the trauma experienced by a rape survivor and, perhaps unwittingly, rehearse the horror of rape and the rape survivor as a helpless victim. This victim’s words, “This will stay in my mind forever” and “[I] just want to forget” are used as headlines, both main and sub-headline to indicate the woman’s state of being unable to move on with her life. It is fatalistic and there is no attempt to take the issue further and deal with rape in a more constructive or healing way. In the previous section, I argued that the inclusion of the voices of professional organisations which deal with rape cases introduce transformative and educational elements. Here it is just the voice of the survivor and the police and no NGO

¹⁹ This figure seems to be in dispute as the woman is reported to have said she was raped by nine males, while Heilbron station commander Lieutenant-Colonel Theledi Gopane later says in the report that the police arrested five people for rape. As I am working with the narratives I presume the rapes to have happened rather than referring to “alleged” rapes or “suspects”. I use the number given by the woman as well.

spokesperson to suggest ways in which the survivor can be rehabilitated. The exclusion of these critical voices serves to construct rape as the single act that defines these women, reinforcing the stigmatisation that makes many women afraid to speak out about having been raped.

Still terrified of the dark

Challenging this stigma falls here to the rape survivor identified in the fourth report (See Appendix M) in this cluster. Phindile Mahlangu, who, in addition to being named, is identified in a picture in which she is seated on the arm rest of a couch with her legs crossed and her hands folded on top of her right thigh. She is dressed formally and has a stern look on her face. The caption below her picture reads: “COPING: Phindile Mahlangu from Soshanguve says she’s moving on with her life after her rape ordeal five years ago.” As naming of rape survivors is discouraged, except where the survivor gives consent, this report (published on 4 September 2013) is unusual.

“Still terrified of the dark” are the words of a rape survivor who has not found closure as the police have not identified or arrested the perpetrator five years after her attack by a stranger outside her home one night. The sub-headline expresses this, “No justice for rape victim”. The report pays attention to her psychological journey through the years, including her fear of the dark and being raped again as well as her counselling and catharsis she experiences from teaching children to dance and act.

Written as a profile of the rape survivor, the single source profile-styled report has a three-part structure. The first section (paragraphs 1 to 6) recalls the sexual assault Mahlangu experienced five years ago. The second section (paragraphs 7 to 11) pays attention to her psychological journey. The last section (paragraphs 12 to 18) deals with the denial of justice.

While the rape is recounted, the report goes beyond recounting the horror of Mahlangu’s rape to focus on her achievements. While Mahlangu is referred to as a “rape victim” (sub-headline) she has some agency, the reference to her as a “27-year-old business administration graduate” (paragraph 4) indicates that she has not allowed the rape to define her. Though unemployed she teaches primary school pupils dance and drama, which in addition to six months of counselling, she experiences as therapeutic. Consistent with the

understanding that the new equilibrium is not the same as the initial one, Mahlangu has reached a partial one. She voices her fear of being raped again and of the dark, “I only feel safe when there is light and people around ... I am still terrified of strangers,” (paragraph 8 and 9) she says.

Similar to Modise whose narrative reaches a new equilibrium but changes her attitude towards men (see appendix A), Mahlangu too experiences seemingly irrational fears that many trauma survivors can relate to. The emphasis on her fear of the dark is consistent with the news value of unexpectedness. It is unusual for a 27-year-old woman to be afraid of the dark. However, her narrative is represented in a way that is more empowering and that offers hope: “Mahlangu still lives with the scars and psychological hurt, but her faith and family support have given her strength over the years” (paragraph 12). This is an empowering representation of a rape victim who has overcome the trauma to be a survivor, hence challenging the gender inequality reproduced by reinforcing women’s passivity.

Woman tells of ‘horny’ pastor

Another report (See Appendix P) which employs the news value of unexpectedness to make the story of a young woman’s rape newsworthy is headlined, “Woman tells of ‘horny’ pastor”, with the sub-headline, “He held me very tight”, signalled as a quote from the sexual assault victim by the single quotes around it. The report (published 31 October 2013 on page 6, a campaign page), which is the last in this cluster, details the indecent/sexual assault of a 22-year-old woman by her pastor.

The four-part story written as a hard news story exposes attempts to hide a pastor’s assault on a 22-year old who has since left the Methodist Church of South Africa in Mamelodi East Extension. Paragraphs 1 to 6 detail the events leading up to the assault. Paragraphs 7 to 10 turns attention to the woman’s unsuccessful attempts to have the incident dealt with in the church. Paragraphs 11 to 16 relates her unsuccessful interaction with the police, while the last section (paragraphs 17 to 21) includes the comments of Bishop Mntambo Themba as well and the rapist pastor.

Among the many attributes conventionally associated with pastors, horny is not the most common although paedophile pastors preying on young boys in their churches is an open

secret in prominent Christian sects. This report is the second in the sampled texts to implicate a pastor in a sexual attack (see *Cops catch visiting pastor 'raping' teen girl*). In addition to being attacked by her pastor, an assumed “paradox”, this young woman is attacked in a private space, a guest house while on a church trip with the pastor.

The equilibrium of the story presents the woman as a church-going young woman, devout, involved in church activities and belonging to its youth organisation. She gets nominated by Reverend Zacharia Mthombeni “to join him at a three-day synod of the church in GaRankuwa [a township north of Pretoria]” (paragraph 3). The disruption occurs when the pastor “lifted her up and pressed her against his crotch” (paragraph 1) when wishing her goodnight at the guesthouse. Looking at transitivity allows an insight into her processes as the seeker hero. She engages in a verbal process and “pleaded” with Mthombeni to put her down. She acts to restore her equilibrium by “ignor[ing]” the pastor’s knocks on her door the following evening and engages in multiple verbal processes of disclosure, an important step in attempting to restore the equilibrium. She “*report[s]* the matter” at a church youth league meeting; “*took it* to the church elders”; and goes to the police to “report” the matter. She additionally “told Sowetan” and “given [the paper] details, indicating her determination to expose the attempts by the church to hide the pastor’s assault. This is captured in the headline “Woman tells of ‘horny’ pastor”.

If the pastor is the villain, the church elders, church disciplinary committee, police and church officials are villain’s helpers. The church elders and committee minimise the import of the pastor’s sexual assault. The police also work with the pastor and other church officials to avoid opening a criminal case against the pastor, presumably a well-known figure in Mamelodi East Extension: they agree the sexual assault should be dealt with by the church (paragraph 14).

This type of non-penetrative assault is not taken seriously. The woman is not helpless however. She is a seeker hero determined to restore her equilibrium despite opposition. The *Sowetan* takes the unusual step of naming the perpetrator even though he has no charge brought against him. This is possibly informed by the watchdog role of journalism which aims to check the abuse of power by those in positions of authority. This type of reporting

which focuses on rape survivor's agency is arguably challenging of the patriarchal myth of female passivity.

In the main the reports in this cluster tend to be fatalistic. Rehearsing the tragedy of rape and not moving beyond it, they present rape victims not survivors. These women are further victimised by the criminal justice system. From the woman gang raped twice but further violated by the police, criminal justice system and doctors who refuse to remove the plastic bread wrapper used as a condom during her gang rape, the 22-year-old sodomised as police patrol the area, the 25-year-old who was gang raped but still continues to be further victimised by two of the rapists released into their parents' custody, the 27-year-old whose rapist has still not been arrested to the 22-year-old whose violation by a pastor is played down by the church leaders and police, the women are all discriminated against by the justice system.

This demographic of women, in comparison to the elderly, for example, who are mostly raped in their homes, tends to be attacked in public spaces. Women in their 20s are more free to move around outside their homes and likely to claim public spaces, hence risking attacks on them by men who seek to limit their freedom of movement. While within the sample, this cluster is represented by five reports, it is the second highest group of rape survivors after the children. With the exception of one woman, all the locations identified in the rapes of these women are outside the private sphere associated with the domestic and women. The fifth 20-something year old woman is, however, sexually assaulted in a guesthouse.

Men

In talking about rape and strategies to fight it, the spotlight ends up being fixed so much on survivors' stories that we risk representing rape as a perpetratorless crime (Gqola 2015: 7) or as "a crime with a perpetrator that is so strange, so foreign to our senses of what is human, that we cannot but be puzzled and rendered helpless to fight rape" (Gqola 2015: 7). The four clusters I have discussed seem to reinforce this idea of rape as so horrifying and senseless that indeed it does seem as though the perpetrators who remain nameless, faceless, and in many cases, on the loose and at large are a sub-human species. They appear out of nowhere to attack vulnerable women and children. However, there is more to our rape scourge than brutalised, traumatised victims and survivors and demented perpetrators. What is left out of

these narratives is as telling as what is included.

What is omitted is any recognition of how the current patriarchal gender order is productive of rape, and how various masculinities are produced within the margins of a socio-economic context that defines material success and access to women (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005 and Ratele 2006) as the ideal of manhood. If masculinity is generally constructed as violent and sexually predatory²⁰, then femininity is generally constructed as passive and vulnerable (see footnote 20). Such a representation of masculinities and femininities is very problematic for it obscures the plurality of masculinities and femininities that are discursively produced within a gender order that privileges patriarchy. Thus this section also presents a reflection on various masculinities and attempts to give deeper insight into how they operate and are arguably complicit in the problem of rape established in chapter 1.

Brittle masculinity

Boy (16) held over attack on girl (4), which recounts the rape of a 4-year-old by the friend of her teenage uncle presents a further example of this masculine cruelty. At face value, it seems like only a monster would rape a 4-year-old. However, a closer look at the this 16-year-old rapist foregrounded in this report (see Appendix G) enables deeper insight into this boy's enactment of violent masculinity within the emasculating contexts of socio-economic marginalisation and living in an implicitly matriarchal setting, where women are in authority.

The first section (paragraphs 1 to 19) recounts the events leading to the girl's rape in Ivory Park, near Tembisa, Gauteng by her 18-year-old uncle's friend. The child was picked up from crèche by her uncle and his friend, the rapist, and the three spent the afternoon together until the rapist left to go home and cook, while the uncle went to buy airtime. It was when the child was dropped off at the rapist's house later in the afternoon by a well-meaning neighbour that the attack happened. The second part (paragraphs 20 to 24) focuses on the advice of professional experts from Teddy Bear Clinic who suggest the child should be moved as although the rapist has been arrested he was released after his first court appearance.

²⁰ See *Cops catch visiting pastor 'raping' teen, 5-year-old left for dead in bush, 'Raped own daughter', Sodomised as cops passed by, Another gran attacked, and Granny (71) now lives in fear*, for example).

While the mother is at work, the girl's 18-year-old uncle, who is friends with the 16-year-old who rapes her while she is left in his care, is expected to assist with childcare by fetching the girl from school and keeping her preoccupied presumably until the mother comes back home. This scenario, although counter-discursive to rural, traditional patriarchal values, is not unusual in townships where many young women are single mothers and draw on their parents' and/or siblings' support to help raise their children while they work in order to support their offspring financially (Mkhwanazi 2014). As there is no mention of the child's father or grandfather, we presume that this is a matriarchal home where the grandmother and mother are in a position of authority and the mother's brother is entrusted with parenting duties in the absence of another carer. The gender relations seem to be similar in the rapist's home where he is expected to cook. It can be presumed that his parents, if he has any, are at work.

These 16 and 18 year old young men are involved in household responsibilities while women work to bring in money. The flimsy edifice of ideal black masculinity of men as providers is undermined by the challenge to men's "traditional roles" that women pose in these circumstances. The rape of the 4-year-old by the 16-year-old boy is not unconnected then to the "materiality of everyday relationships" (Hunter 2010). He inhabits Ivory Park, a place of high unemployment and overcrowded homes with many backyard dwellings (City of Joburg [undated]). Township life is shaped by socio-economic marginalisation and is thus productive of "brittle masculinities — defensive and prone to violence" (Morrell 2001: 18). These particular masculinities are produced in these marginalised spaces as there are "many young women [who] actively choose partners who are able to provide them with food, money and clothes [and there] the poorer boys [face] particular difficulties in acquiring partners and gaining status with peers" (Wood and Jewkes 2001: 232). This report, like the rest in the campaign, does not acknowledge the role played by the socio-economic context in the production of "brittle masculinity", so easily represented as the sub-human. Yet, context notwithstanding, this construction of masculine aggression presents a single type of masculinity.

Chivalrous masculinity

Mentally disabled woman 'raped' (see Appendix J), makes evident a construction of a man who is a good father. The article reports the rape of the mentally ill 28-year-old by her

neighbour in Snake Park, Soweto. The first four paragraphs detail the recognition of the rape by the girl's father who arrives "home to find his daughter being consoled by her friends" (paragraph 2). She had been lured by a man into his house by promising her a kota²¹. Paragraphs 4 to 9 describe the steps the father takes to deal with her rape. Paragraphs 10 to 15, the second part, detail the medical procedures the daughter endured after the case was opened. It is noteworthy that below this report is also an article which provides information on the treatment steps administered to rape survivors at clinics.

While the 28-year-old woman is constructed as passive and voiceless, the father is the active agent with material processes attributed to him. He "*arrived* home"; "found" his daughter distressed; "went" to the rapist's house; and "went" to the police station. The headlines reference the woman in terms of her disability ("mentally disabled") and renders her as the object upon which the active agent (rapist) acts ("raped"). The rapist thus also has agency, representing violent masculinity, with his actions identifiable within the context of the "materiality of everyday sexuality" as he makes a false promise of a kota to the woman, rehearsing the discourse of provider love whereby men expect to be rewarded with sexual favours when they provide materially for women, while the father represents chivalrous masculinity.

This report draws attention to the existence of a different masculinity. While the rapist's actions fit a brittle masculinity enacted by rapists as violent and sexually predatory, the father embodies a chivalrous masculinity: he takes care of his mentally disabled daughter and acts to restore her disruption, thus serving as the seeker hero of the narrative. The representation of this type of masculinity, while protective and caring, does not however necessarily serve as a challenge to gender inequality, the root of rape. The role of protector is not outside of the hegemonic gender order. The legitimation of gender inequality "constrains" people's behaviour along gendered patterns (see chapter 2) but does not simply validate a single form of masculinity. It present roles for men either as predators or protectors (Moffett 2006) and so provides a cultural context that is enabling of rape. While men might be enraged at the incidence of rape, it does not mean that they radically oppose the gender order that gives rise to it. They become unwittingly complicit in the conditions

²¹ This is a popular township dish which is typically a quarter of a loaf of bread with a hole in the middle that is filled with Russian sausage, fried potato chips and a pickled mango relish, among other ingredients

under which South African women and children live and where rape effectively serves as a form of “social control” (Moffett 2006).

Two reports foregrounding fathers who rape their children make evident that rape, rather than being “a crime with a perpetrator that is so strange, so foreign to our senses of what is human, that we cannot but be puzzled and rendered helpless to fight rape” (Gqola 2015: 7), is actually an enforcement of the patriarchal gender order (Connell 1987: 107) through the enactment of various masculinities, all linked together by the common thread of entitlement to women’s bodies as an embodiment of power and manliness (see chapter 2).

“Superman” masculinity

In the first report, *Man ‘raped’ daughters* (see Appendix I), we are presented with a man who is a male nurse and has been raping his daughters in the presence of their mother since they were children. This hard news story is structured in two parts. The first section (paragraphs 1 to 7) details the arrest of a 46-year-old man from GaMothapo, Thoka section, Limpopo, who is to appear in Mankweng Magistrate’s Court for a bail application in connection with the rapes of his now 21- and 25-year-old daughters over 17 years. The rest of the report focuses on the police report and investigations and the involvement of the mother in the crime.

The man seems to use his position as the patriarch to “take” sex from the women in his household; an abuse of power. He thus presents another type of masculinity: the “superman” “with unfettered access” to women’s bodies (Gqola 2015: 35). The mother in this report serves as the “phallic women” who enables violent masculinity. In this report, we are also told of the father’s occupation (professional nurse), but there is no mention of what the mother does for a living. It is possible that her silence may be caused by her dependence on the man. “When women are acquiescent and accept male control and violence, their behaviour is considered as a trade off made from an expectation of social (or financial) reward. The degree to which women feel able to risk loss (or non-acquisition) of these rewards differs according to other dimensions of their material and emotional vulnerability” (Jewkes and Morrell 2010: 7). It has been argued that where South African fathers sexually have abused their children and their mothers were silent, it was this trade-off that was at

stake as these mothers are “worried about who would provide for the family if the husband went to jail, or was angry with her” (Jewkes et al 2005: 1816).

In *Dad rapes his one-month-old*, the second report, “A father has been arrested after he allegedly raped a month-old baby and her two-year-old sister,” serves as the introductory paragraph to this 15-paragraph breaking news report (see Appendix Q) on page 2, echoing the previous report. First, paragraphs 1 to 4 relate the rape of the two young sisters by their 39-year-old father and his subsequent arrest after the mother becomes aware of the assaults. Blame for the rapes is attributed to the mother in the second section (paragraphs 5 to 8) by the police spokesman who accuses her of negligence. Second, paragraphs 9 to 15 present the views of political organisations and civil society on the issue.

When applying Todorov’s model, the initial equilibrium can be presumed to be the time when the one-month-old baby and her two-year-old sister’s were in the care of the mother. When she leaves them in their father’s care to attend to attend church at night, he rapes them, hence introducing the disruption. The recognition of the disruption is made by the mother who “noticed blood clots on their private parts the next morning” (paragraph 3). She acts to restore the children’s equilibrium by taking the “girls to the Tshilidzini Hospital where a doctor who examined them confirmed they had been penetrated” (paragraph 4).

The father is constructed as a moral deviant who “must be sent to rot in jail” (paragraph 15) as the official opposition party, Democratic Alliance, provincial spokeswoman on social development Desiree Van der Walt suggests, a common response to rapists. This sentiment is echoed by Masikwa who says that “that such people ‘must be removed from society completely’” (paragraph 9). It is productive to pay attention to the transitivity processes through which he is represented. The material processes of “rape”; and “violated” are both explicit acts of aggression. He is censured as “such people” and “a danger to society”, thus as deviant, a convenient construction that reinforces the misapprehension that rape is committed by monstrous rather than “ordinary men” (O’Hara 2012: 248).

The response by Van der Walt is a typical response to these types of rape. The shock expressed is not so much that rape has occurred rather than that it involves atypical actors (in this case: two babies and their father): she is “shocked to hear that ‘any individual can go to

the extent of raping his own children' (paragraph 14). This response reinforces the collective helplessness (Gqola 2015) experienced by society in reaction to rape. Further, although rape by people known to survivors is more common than stranger rape, the rapist of the two children is their biological father, an act of incest.

The theme of the absent mother is important here. She is blamed for leaving her baby in the care of her father late at night. It is unsettling that police spokesman Brigadier Hangwani Mulaudzi describes the mother's action of leaving the children in their father's care at night as "pure negligence and irresponsible of the mother," (paragraph 8). This report is similar to "Man 'raped' daughters" where the mother is criticised for her complicity in her children's rape, but in this case where the mother immediately acts when she recognises the disruption, she is censured for not fulfilling her gender role of always being at home, caring for her children. The attribution of responsibility of the rape to the mother arguably reinforces the myth of black men's rapacious sexual appetite, suggesting that even a one-month-old child is sexually desirable to a grown-up man when left alone with it. This is the myth that goes unchallenged in this report. The campaign's aim is stated as to challenge rape. Yet, if the reports do not critically engage with the gender myths that enable rape, such as that of the absent mother being to blame for her children's rape, the intervention remains a "symbolic expulsion". Such broad concerns are addressed in the final chapter.

Having presented a reflection on masculinities, I want to point out what might appear a contradiction in my discussions in relation to all the coverage I have analysed. It might seem that the attention to context and the forms of masculinities frequently produced thereby mitigates these violent and abusive acts that have such grave consequences for the women described. What my aim has been is to recognise that these masculinities must be recognised and located within the postcolonial context that has given rise to the conditions in which gendered identities are constituted. The intention is not to excuse such acts but to deepen understanding (chapter 1). If there are countless stories of survivors of rape to draw upon to indicate how prevalent rape is, then rapists are not so strange and unusual as sensationalism-driven reports would have us believe. Rather they are men enacting a particular type of masculinity within a patriarchal gender order that defines material success and, subsequent, access to women as normative masculinity (Hunter 2010). For some of those many men excluded from enacting this hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) due

to socio-economic marginalisation, and hence marginalisation from the “sexual economy” (Hunter 2010), violently “taking sex” becomes legitimate. The colonial history has rendered black women’s bodies as “docile” (Foucault 1979). This attitude is argued to be exacerbated in “white capitalist, white supremacist, heteropatriarchal societies” (Gqola 2015: 38) as is flagged in the consumer advertising that surrounds us. While the campaign may ostensibly have socially transformative goals, these are not and, cannot be, realised without helping the reader understand patriarchy, how it is productive of rape, masculinities and why rape occurs.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The advance of critical men's studies has been to ... show that not all men have the same amount of power or benefit equally from it, and that power is exercised differently depending on the location and the specific arrangement of relations which are in place (Morrell 2001: 9).

Acknowledging different forms of masculinities helps situate different forms of intimate and sexual behaviours ... Material resources remain a prerequisite [in particular circumstances] for men to establish intimate relationships with women as sex for men is made more possible as a consequence of material resources (Boshoff and Prinsloo 2015: 3).

Concerned with the socially transformative potential of the *Sowetan's* sustained anti-rape coverage in their "Enough is Enough – take back your dignity" campaign, I set out to investigate the gendered representations in the reportage. As a black woman living in South Africa, I felt implicated in this coverage by my raced and gendered identity as it pertained to black victims and perpetrators. Conducting qualitative research through a critical discourse analysis approach, I investigated whether the campaign challenged or reinforced gender injustice. If there was a recognition that there are shockingly high incidents of rape in South Africa, was the campaign an adequate response to the root cause: gender inequality? As it sought to "move beyond just telling the horror stories of rape and to take a stand using our available resources – print and online" (Mkhabela 2014), what stand was it taking? I pondered whether the campaign expanded how we think about rape, and how to counter it (Gqola 2015: 7); whether it takes on "the more radical critiques of how society supports and perpetuates sexual violence" (Kitzinger 2004: 33) and if it, in this regard, facilitated deeper understanding of violent masculinities as well as the gender order that produces them.

In the first chapter, I established the context for the current patriarchal gender order that is productive of rape in South Africa. The historical context traced back the specifically violent patriarchal attitudes towards women to colonialism and indirect rule which endorsed the "masculinisation" of power (Amadiume 1987) in indigenous societies. The discussion of the prevailing context identified the existing tension between a human rights discourse, which constitutionally guarantees the equality of all, and the customary which articulates a proprietorial rights discourse legitimising men's rights to women's bodies. The campaign was run by the *Sowetan*, which has historically positioned itself in relation to nation building, drawing on notions of *ubuntu* with its insistence on conceiving of its readership as a

community (Cowling 2014b: 147). I argued that the idea of a “community” is a discursive strategy of unification that draws attention away from the fact that we live in a masculinised world where rape is routinely enacted as a strategy of social control (Moffett 2006).

The second chapter presented the four strands of theory that inform my study. A cultural studies paradigm informs my work and so presumes a constructionist approach informed by Foucauldian understandings of discourse, knowledge/power, truth, the subject and governmentality. The poststructural feminist approach to gender I adopt is informed by Connell and Butler in particular. It proposes recognition of the body and sexuality as historically constituted and specific (Foucault 1979 and 1982) and the deployment of rape as a form of “social control” (Moffett 2006). Postcolonial studies, the third theoretical strand, enables insight into the way that colonialism has re-shaped the gender order of indigenous societies, endorsing, through indirect rule, a severe form of patriarchy constructed as intrinsically traditional (Mamdani 1999). It simultaneously addresses shifting understandings of masculinity and romance in relation to materiality and identifies the constitution of violent masculinity within the margins of a “winner-takes-all sexual economy” (Hunter 2010) that emasculates poor, unemployed or working class men in local contexts. Journalism studies, the last strand of my theoretical framing, established the importance to interrogate *how* the news media represent what they constitute as news if we wish to nurture the media’s transformative potential in challenging gender injustice.

My research methodology (chapter 3) is qualitative and takes the form of a case study of the anti-rape campaign that required rigorous sampling to achieve a manageable corpus of texts for analysis. The decisions led to a sample of 19 articles for analysis from the initial 157 in the data collection period. To enable a holistic analysis I employed Fairclough’s three-dimensional CDA model (Fairclough 1995) where attention is given to the text; discursive practice (the production and consumption of texts); and social practice (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 68). The analysis of the 19 selected articles was structured according to the subjects foregrounded, which resulted in five clusters: woman of authority, elderly women, children, women in their 20s, and men. For each cluster a primary text was analysed in depth to establish the main themes and patterns in the coverage of that demographic. I then conducted analysis of the additional texts to give a sense of the scope of the individual clusters in their similarities and differences.

The fourth chapter presents my analysis of the *Sowetan's* “Enough is Enough – take back your dignity” campaign that investigates how it challenges or reinforces gender inequality, as well its possibilities and limitations for social transformation. To challenge gender inequalities would require that it challenge the rape “myths” that legitimate rape. The analyses in fact show that while the representations mainly challenged the more common myths, they still reinforced the idea of the monstrous rapist, hence limiting the campaign’s potential for social transformation by failing to engage with the social production of various masculinities. The research process described in the four chapters leads to a discussion of the main findings of my investigation of the socially transformative possibilities and limitations presented by the constructions of masculinities and femininities in the anti-rape campaign representations.

Challenging the social order: possibilities for social transformation

Inclusion of voices or experts and activists in the rape crisis field

Consistent with the facilitative role the campaign seeks to play, the type of authoritative voices selected and whose voices are included can actually play a function in assisting survivors. I am not referring to the politicians or police here but prominent people in non-governmental organisations, or anti-rape and gender activists as being key voices in making sense of rape. They provide the type of information and help that is useful for the survivor and her family, as well as readers. For example, in *Mom hits raped girl* and *Boy (16) held over attack on girl (4)*, the Teddy Bear Clinic director Shaheda Omar provides advice on child-related rape cases, even though the reports fails to either explain what the NGO does, nor how to contact it. In a report alongside *‘Rapist told friends I was pregnant’*, gender activist Lisa Vetten’s offers insights on damages pay. The report, *Mentally disabled woman ‘raped’*, sits alongside an article on the medical procedures taken to assist rape survivors. The inclusion of Vincentia Dlamini of Women and Men Against Child Abuse as an authoritative voice in the report about a 10-year-old raped by her father (*‘Raped own daughter’*) also conforms to the type of reporting that is socially transformative and offers tools to deal with rape trauma.

These examples of employing facilitative elements in the use of sources do occur but are, I argue, inadequate numerically if this constituted the full extent of the campaign’s strategies to provide practical, helpful information for survivors, their families and readers. However it

is important to note that there are other campaign reports not included because they do not meet the sampling criteria that do serve this facilitative function at times. For example, a report headlined *Abuse mistaken for love* (19 December 2012) foregrounds the views on rape and sexuality of teenage girls from Soweto who are civic journalists working with the NGO Global Girl Media. The accompanying sidebar presents a directory with numbers and details about organisations to contact if raped, namely iThemba Rape and Crisis Centre, Peas-in-a-Pod, People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA), and Rape Crisis. At other moments the campaign includes the views of activists and lobby groups such as Women and Men against Child Abuse (WMACA), the work of Gay rights activist Ndumie Funda and her NGO Luleki Sizwe, as well as coverage of anti-rape marches organised by various civil groups, and academic research conducted on rape.

Sexist cultural practices problematised

The campaign explicitly problematises customary practices that violate women's rights such as *inhlawulo* or “damages pay”. In *‘Rapist told friends I was pregnant’* the report endorses the rape survivor's challenge to a proprietorial rights discourse and her rejection of the offer to “pay her off to withdraw her case” (paragraph 12). The idea of paying damages is culturally entrenched and presumes a submissive form of femininity associated with the proprietorial rights of the head (the patriarch) of the household. The claims made by patriarchs to rights to the bodies of the female members of their households are also challenged (see *Man ‘raped’ daughters, Dad rapes his one-month-old, Mom hits raped girl, and Raped own daughter*)²². In chapter 1 and 2, it has been argued that customary discourse exists in tension with human rights discourse, with proponents of the former assuming that culture is static, primordial and thus beyond reproach even if it denies girls and women the same rights as men. The traditionalist view has been established as assuming a patriarchal hallmark within the particular recent colonial history which saw the “masculinisation” of power (Amadiume 1987) in indigenous societies with the imposition of indirect rule that in “regulating relations between men and women, as between generations ... privileged one of several points of views — a view both male

²² While this does not presume that customary discourse summarily endorses rape, it is important to note that validation of men's rights to women exists on a continuum, from protector to predator, all masculine subjectivities within a gender order that is productive to rape. Understood in this sense, rapists are as patriarchal as men who enact chivalrous masculinity.

and senior — as traditional and enforced it as law” (Mamdani 1999: 873-874). The construction of children rape survivors as active subjects challenges this traditional hierarchy.

Children with agency

Although the campaign coverage emphasises respect for the elderly, as is traditionally validated, it also, to an extent, challenges the traditional child-adult hierarchy that legitimises the passivity of children and agency of (particularly male) adults. The representation of children with agency in ‘*Rapist told friends I was pregnant*’, ‘*Raped own daughter*’ and *Lover ‘ordered’ to rape teen* make it evident that children can act to restore their equilibriums by disclosing that they have been raped. In other words, this representation challenges the traditional normative ideal of children as silent and submissive. When taboos exist that prevent children’s right to expression or to speak to adults about certain topics they provide the enabling context for rapists to get away with their crimes, while the children are left nursing a “shameful” secret. Hence the inclusion of representations of children within this campaign who are the seeker-heroes, rather than the police, “community” or their parents, facilitates understanding that children *can* and *should* speak about rape.

Counselling as a crucial post-trauma process

Some reports recognise rape as a traumatic experience, which requires the survivor to receive psychological support from professionally trained experts preferably and this is valuable for it moves the story beyond a life destroyed to allow for survivor resilience. For instance, the report about the 16-year-old who was raped by men from her neighbourhood (‘*Rapist told friends I was pregnant*’) mentions that she received counselling, which “helped her tremendously”. We are also told that rape survivor Phindile Mahlangu has undergone counselling. Counselling is also mentioned in *Premier knows too well the damage done*, but as a process which Modise did not go through after being raped as a teenager as well. In *Boy (16) held over attack on girl (4)*, counselling is recommended by the Teddy Bear Clinic. Hence there is recognition within the campaign, albeit limited, that counselling is an important strategy for recuperation. However the fact that only four of the sampled texts mention counselling makes it evident that the campaign does not prioritise developing coping strategies. One needs to question why this detail occurs so infrequently. Take the example of the shocking account of multiple gang rape survivor Buyisiwe (*Doctors say I sleep around – survivor*) which neither makes mention of counselling, nor whether the

Sowetan would facilitate access to or information about access to psychological support. This is a notable omission in other stories which particularly recount deep levels of psychological trauma in the rape survivor, presenting a fatalistic narrative which suggests that a consequence of rape is perpetual secondary traumatisation (see *Mentally disabled woman 'raped'*, *This will stay in my mind forever*, *Granny (71) now lives in fear*, *Woman tells of 'horny' pastor*, and *Raped own daughter*).

Countering rape myths

Rape myths have been identified as reinforcing the social order as media draw on them unreflectively in reporting sexual abuse (see chapter 2). However this particular campaign to a great extent challenges the prevalent and more easily identifiable myths. It debunks the myth of stranger rape (*Premier knows too well the damage done*, *Cops catch visiting pastor 'raping' teen, schoolgirl*, *Boy (16) held over attack on girl (4)*, *Man 'raped' daughters*, *Granny (71) now lives in fear*, *Mom hits raped girl*, *Woman tells of 'horny' pastor*, *Dad rapes his one-month-old*, and *Raped own daughter*); the myth that women and girls are only vulnerable in public spaces (*Another gran attacked*, *Doctors say I sleep around – survivor*, *Granny (84) raped at home*, *Man 'raped' daughters*, *Still terrified of the dark*, *Granny (71) now lives in fear*, *Mom hits raped girl*, *Dad rapes his one-month-old*, and *Lover 'ordered' to rape teen*); the myth that when women dress “inappropriately”, they invite rape (*Lover 'ordered' to rape teen*); that women can invite rape through behaviour that does not conform to patriarchal codes of conduct (*'Rapist told friends I was pregnant'*, *Premier knows too well the damage done*, *Still terrified of the dark*, and *Lover 'ordered' to rape teen*); and implicitly challenges that a woman's sexual history can mitigate rape (*Doctors say I sleep around – survivor* and *Lover 'ordered' to rape teen*). It would be misleading to argue that the campaign by challenging these myths summarily rejects all rape myths. The unchallenged myths which limit the campaign's transformative potential are discussed in the next section dealing with the way in which the campaign reinforces the social order.

Reinforcing the social order: limitations on social transformation

Collective sense of helplessness

The reportage largely “talk[s] about rape as a series of isolated, puzzling horrors that happen to women and children” (Gqola 2015: 7), rather than viewing it as an enforcement of the

patriarchal gender order which needs to be rejected. More focus is paid to narrational disruption than to establishing new equilibriums as indicated in the grid below. The authoritative woman cluster largely highlights this sense of collective helplessness with Modise ironically encouraging girls to know their rights, but not the right to be in the world equally with men (*Premier knows too well the damage done*). The women in their 20s cluster repeats this sense of collective helplessness. These narratives tend to be fatalistic rehearsals of the horror of their rape and the tragedy of their inability to get justice. *Doctors say I sleep around – Survivor* serves as the clearest illustration. This rape survivor is gang raped twice and further victimised by the criminal justice system and hospital staff, presenting a narrative comprising multiple, never-ending disruptions with no sense of hope of a new equilibrium.

The search for justice by survivors, who both recognise their disruptions and their actions taken to restore their equilibriums, is generally well documented in the campaign coverage. This is made evident in nine out of 19 reports which identify rape survivors who are seeker heroes. However, the search for justice is represented mainly as a fruitless one as only two out of the 19 texts represent rape stories with new equilibriums. While one report has a partial restoration of equilibrium, the majority focus on the disruption. This finding makes it evident that the campaign, while ostensibly seeking to be transformative, is generally focused on disruption more than recuperation. This means that while the coverage advocates disclosure and reporting it does not take the narrative beyond the trauma of the survivor. The campaign coverage highlights the horror of rape, often in highly sensational ways, but fails to create narratives of resilience that seek solutions. Instead it reinforces collective helplessness (Gqola 2015).

Profiles can give survivors a voice

Related to this finding it is interesting to note that of the 20 sampled reports, the two that present the survivors achieving new equilibriums are profiles in which survivors disclose their identities with their names and through images (*Premier knows too well the damage done* and *Still terrified of the dark*). While there are legal limitations to representing rape victims, this finding identifies that reports written in the style of profiles play a valuable role within anti-rape campaigns as they recognise that the disruption of rape is not the sole moment in a survivor's narrative. They recount how survivors cope and overcome their deep despair and so offer a counter-narrative to collective helplessness. My advocacy of the use of

the profile genre in anti-rape campaigns is not an argument for avoiding breaking news articles based on police reports in an effort to seek stories that present a “happy ending”. Rather I would argue that these breaking news rape stories that focus on disruption should be positioned in the news pages and outside of the campaign. The campaign potentially can play a more transformative journalistic role if it articulates discourses that seek to challenge patriarchal society. Profiles lend themselves more easily to this role. In addition to enabling a narrative which exceeds recounting the horror of disruption, they constitute survivors as active agents in their recovery and thus they offer alternative survivor scripts rather than the repetitive victim one. I argue then that profiles which emphasise perpetual disruption (*Doctors say I sleep around – Survivor*, ‘*This will stay in my mind forever*’, and ‘*Rapist told friends I was pregnant*’) should be balanced with rape narratives which include a level of re-equilibrium as illustrated by *Premier knows too well the damage done* and *Still terrified of the dark*.

Elderly women constructed according to their reproductive position (“grannies”)

While the campaign coverage rejects sexist customary practices as argued earlier in this chapter, it still draws on some aspects of traditional discourse, specifically the idea of treating elderly people with deference because of their age. All the reports in the elderly women cluster refer to elderly women as gran, granny or grandmother and their ages are emphasised. In addition to reference to their social stature to position them as elders in their respective communities, this particular representation is emotive, evoking a sense of familiarity as well as empathy in the reader, and also emphasises the “otherness” of the rapist. Because older women are presumed to be sexually undesirable it reinforces the myth that such rapists are monsters. There is no attempt at deeper analysis of “the location [where rape occurs] and the specific arrangement of relations which are in place” (Morrell 2001: 9), and how this context is productive of violent masculinity which challenges the myth of community.

“Community” myth reinforced

Consistent with the aim of newspapers to act as “community commandos” (Richardson 2007:117) when they run campaigns, the *Sowetan*’s anti-rape campaign seeks to encourage

its readers, which it imagines as a community, to “take a stand” against rape. Reports refer to townships and villages in which the rapes occur as communities and the residents are referred to as community members. The politicians whose voices are included in reports (*Cops catch visiting pastor ‘raping’ teen schoolgirl*) presume these “communities” are homogenous entities with a shared sense of morality where rape is “strange ... [and] foreign to our senses of what is human”. This reinforces the idea of rape as a foreign act outside of “community” values or morality. This focus on community is rooted in the paper’s positioning as a nation builder and the *ubuntuism* framing of stories, which the paper tends towards. However, the focus on “community” in this coverage contradictorily situates itself within the reality of the prevalence of rape in the self-same “communities” who are meant to be the guardians of shared morality and *ubuntu*. The production of “brittle masculinities” in these locations makes it evident that “not all men have the same amount of power or benefit equally from it, and that power is exercised differently depending on the location and the specific arrangement of relations which are in place” (Morrell 2001: 9).

Women in their 20s denied swift justice

Consistent with the focus of the coverage on the point of disruption, rather than re-equilibrium, the reportage represents the criminal justice system as being slow in cases of 20-something-year-old women. From the woman gang raped twice but further violated by the police, criminal justice system and doctors who refuse to attend to her adequately, the 22-year-old sodomised as police patrol the area, the 25-year-old who was gang raped but still continues to be further victimised by two rapists released into their parents’ custody, the 27-year-old whose rapist has still not been arrested, to the 22-year-old whose violation by a pastor is played down by the church leaders and police who refuse to open a case, 20-something-year-old women are consistently discriminated against by the justice system. In contrast, the three reports which foreground elderly women indicate that women in this cluster seem to receive swifter justice, as do the child sexual assault victims in the five of the six reports in the children’s cluster. While the attempt to achieve justice generally constitutes a secondary trauma or the women in their 20s, the other reports do not focus on the delays (if there are), with the exception of *‘Raped own daughter’* where the police’s lack of action in arresting the ANC councillor father is highlighted.

Decontextualisation of rapist

The news reports construct the rapists in relation to their acts without providing any background information. While there are limitations to interviewing rapists and research (Worthington 2007) suggests that progressive rape reportage should foreground survivors while de-emphasising rapists in order to avoid mitigating their violence, this construction in effect reinforces the stereotype of the black township men as criminal and sexual (chapter one). The decontextualisation and lack of information about the rapists and their identification only by their actions operates to rehearse the idea of rapists as monstrous (chapter 2), rather than being members of the “communities” which enable rape.

Sensationalism

There are instances when the coverage responds to the news imperative of sensationalism (Richardson, 2007: 122) in constructing rape stories particularly in the 20s age group reports. A notable example is *Sodomised as cops passed by* which vilifies cops in a headline that plays down the fact that the police were unaware of the rape occurring. This report presents graphic details of the rape (anal penetration and menstruation). Gory and horrific details of their rape are presented, such as in the cases of gang rape recounted in *Doctors say I sleep around — Survivor* and ‘*This will stay in my mind forever*’, in the graphic depiction of the rape of elderly women with reference to “blood-stained sheets” (*Granny (84) raped, attacked at home*) and a woman’s vagina being cut (*Granny (71) now lives in fear*). These details are no doubt included to highlight the atrocity of rape, but the focus on them and little attention paid to survivors’ resilience merely rehearses the horror of rape, empowering rapists rather than survivors.

Concluding thoughts

This study has sought to present an analysis of the *Sowetan*’s “Enough is Enough – take back your dignity” campaign to challenge rape. The research question that framed my investigation is: how does the representation challenge or reinforce gender injustice? Specifically, I found myself questioning whether the reporting was empowering and whether it fulfilled a facilitative journalistic role which went “beyond recounting the stories of horror” (Mkhabela 2013) and actually addressed masculinities and their production in the gender system.

The answers to these questions established in my findings section in this chapter indicate that ultimately, if the women and children are primarily represented defined by the rape that leaves their narratives in perpetual disruption (hence, as victims), the representation of masculinities we are generally presented with is that they are violent and sexually predatory. The campaign then arguably does not go beyond the everyday reporting on bad news, consistent with the monitorial role of journalism, despite its intention to do something quite different. I have argued that the campaign plays a facilitative role in places. It occasionally includes the critical voices of gender activists, academics and NGOs. This facilitative role however is limited as it does not facilitate deeper understanding of the problem of gender inequality. There is no attempt to deal with rapists other than as monsters whose actions are senseless and foreign to the imagined community's morality. Thus the campaign seeks to expel these moral deviants from our midst (Kitzinger 2004: 33), a retributive response that fails to grapple with the underlying issues that if rape is prevalent, it is because the gender order enables it and it is the gender order that must change. Hence the approach taken by the campaign becomes reformist rather than transformative.

Based on my analysis of the campaign, which has identified the socially transformative potential of anti-rape campaigns as argued earlier, I close with two recommendations which can assist in developing more effective understandings and interventions in future campaigns. Firstly, to truly "go beyond the stories of horror" which are so prevalent in South Africa requires an understanding of patriarchy as the enabling cultural context and of hegemonic masculinity. Most important is the need to recognise "brittle masculinities" within their particular postcolonial contexts of socio-economic marginalisation where "[m]aterial resources remain a prerequisite for men to establish intimate relationships with women as sex for men is made more possible as a consequence of material resources (Boshoff and Prinsloo 2015: 3). The transformative potential of such campaigns also, secondly, depends on enabling scripts for survivors alongside guidance on how to find restoration beyond the disruptions evident in the breaking news.

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Appendices

8 **Sowetan** Wednesday November 28, 2012 News

Sowetan SAYS NO TO RAPE

PREMIER KNOWS TOO WELL THE DAMAGE DONE

Modise was abused at 15

Nomaswazi Nkosi

"WHEN you rape, you destroy."

These are the words of ANC deputy secretary-general and North West premier Thandi Modise.

Modise knows all too well what damage being raped can inflict on someone's emotional wellbeing.

She was raped by one of her brother's friends when she was 15 years old.

Luckily for her she had unwavering support that allowed her to rise above her circumstances.

"When a man looks respectable it is easy to believe he could never be a rapist," Modise said.

One cold night during the 1974 school holidays Modise sneaked out to the local cinema, an apparently popular thing to do at the time.

"After the movie this guy offered to take me home but instead forced me to go to his room where he raped me," she said.

Modise was too traumatised and afraid to tell her family because her attacker was well-known in the community and was a close friend of her brothers.

"During the December holidays of that year my family noticed that I was getting round.

"My mother took me to the doctor and it was confirmed that I was pregnant," she said.

Her mother supported her throughout the ordeal, but her brothers were slow to come around.

"Their first reaction was 'why did you sneak out of the house,'" she recalls. "My mother reported the rape to the police but my attacker

denied it."

The court case was also traumatic for her because "my attacker's father knew the judge, so the case did not go very far".

"It was a very dark period in my life," Modise said.

She did not carry the baby to full term as she was born three months prematurely.

Modise's mother made sure she returned to school as soon as possible. The trauma of that night has stayed with her ever since.

"Whenever you see an older man coming closer to you, you think he will do the same thing," she said.

Modise said she credits her mother with helping her overcome the tragedy.

"I did not get counselling. I was fortunate because my mother was very strong. I was very lucky that I had a supportive family who believed I could make something of my life" she said.

Despite the unconditional support her mother and

family gave her, the MK veteran said she became very scared of boys.

"I learnt that you must never trust a man nor give yourself completely to him," Modise said.

She advised young girls not to date until they were

mature enough to make informed decisions.

"As a woman I don't have to be second best to any man," she said.

"I take the view that girls must get an education and know their rights. Girls must also abstain from sexual activity for as long as they can."

She also advised girls to learn from negative experiences in their life.

"Life is never kind to you for very long. Always know who you are," she said. - nkosi@sowetan.co.za



FOUGHT BACK: North West Premier and ANC deputy secretary-general Thandi Modise knows the trauma of being raped by someone she knew.

PHOTO: KOPANO TLAPE

Appendix A: Premier knows too well the damage done

Cops catch visiting pastor 'raping' teen schoolgirl

A TEENAGE girl has been raped, allegedly by a pastor in Phokeng near Rustenburg, North West police said yesterday.

Brigadier Thulani Ngubane said the pastor, who was seconded to the parish for a

week, had the 17-year-old and her friends help him clean the church premises in the evenings. On Monday morning the 29-year-old pastor offered her a ride to school.

"Instead of driving to the teenager's school, the suspect turned to the nearby bushes where he allegedly raped the victim," Ngubane said.

He said residents saw a vehicle turning into the bushes with a young girl in school uniform and called the police. Police arrived and allegedly found the pastor sexually assaulting the girl.

He was arrested and charged with rape. The pastor appeared in the Bafokeng Magistrate's Court in Thabane yesterday.

● North West premier Thandi Modise has condemned the rape of a seven-year-old girl in Ganyesa. She called on local residents to help police with information that might lead to the arrest of the perpetrator. According to police, the child was raped while playing alone in a local park on Saturday. - *Sapa*



ANGRY:
Thandi
Modise

DLEKA STORE CC T/A A 5 Cash & Carry

Wholesale & Retail of Toiletries & Cosmetic Products

Requires: **COSMETIC DEPARTMENT
SALES AND MARKETING MANAGER**

Requirements: • Persons with high levels of honesty and integrity
• Efficient and customer orientated • Dynamic & self motivated person • Knowledge of Windows XP and Excel

Minimum Requirements:- • At least 2 yrs practical experience in Required field • Knowledge of cosmetics products. • Minimum Qualification - NQF Level - 2 • Letter of Skills & Experience

Duties: • Experience in cosmetics sales, merchandising. • Providing tips and passing on knowledge of brands and cosmetic techniques. • Improves product marketability and profitability • Implementing sales plans • Attend to Customers requirements • Perform basic office duties

Closing date for applications: 25 /02/2013
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If you do not hear from us within 7 days after closing date, regard your application unsuccessful.

Appendix B: Cops catch visiting pastor 'raping' teen girl

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

ANOTHER GRAN ATTACKED

Boitumelo Tshehe

A 90-YEAR-OLD North West woman says she will never forget the trauma she experienced when a man broke into her house, raped her and threatened to kill her.

The grandmother from Colligny near Lichtenburg said she was awakened at about 4am on Sunday and saw a man on top of her.

She said the man entered her house through a window.

He first stretched out her arms and threatened to kill her if she screamed. He had a panga that he placed near her head and

Ninety-year-old violated in her North West home

then raped her.

She said the man did not use a condom.

She managed to crawl out of the house when the man left to get a lubricant. She said she was too weak to walk.

She shouted to her neighbours for help.

The grandmother, who lives alone, said she no longer felt safe living in her house.

Her husband died 15 years ago. Three of her four children have died and the last one is married and lives in his own house.

"I pray that God gives the police wisdom and clues about the suspect's whereabouts.

"I understand that I am not the first grandmother to be raped in this area. He must be stopped," she said.

Another grandmother

was allegedly raped at the same time at Mmakau outside Brits.

Police spokeswoman Captain Adele Myburgh said that a 92-year-old woman was raped at about 2am on the same morning. "Both suspects are still at large and cases of rape are being investigated," Myburgh said.

In January, a 98-year-old woman from Tloung vil-

lage in Mahikeng was also raped and murdered.

North West premier Thandi Modise has expressed shock at the rapes.

She reiterated her earlier call for intensified united action against crime and the scourge of rape.

"When the elderly are living in fear of being raped by children old enough to be their grandchildren in some instances, society should stand up to stamp out the tide of the scourge of rape and say enough is enough," Modise said. - tshehele@sowetan.co.za

Sexually abusive dad gets two life sentences

Frank Maponya

TWO life sentences were handed down to a Limpopo father who allegedly raped his two biological daughters.

The 66-year-old man was sentenced in the Dzanani Regional Court on Friday.

Appendix C: Another gran attacked

DOCTORS SAY I SLEEP AROUND – SURVIVOR

'But I haven't had sex since the attack'

Portunia Ratsatsi

EIGHT years after a Tembisa woman was gang-raped by eight men who were later sentenced, she has yet to find closure.

Buyiswe* says her life has been hell since she was raped at the township's Temong section in 2003. She says people had expected that she would get over the attack after the case went to court.

But she hasn't. She even moved to a different section.

Buyiswe, 34, was asleep when five men attacked her at about 3am at her home in October that year. When they left, she went outside to seek help.

But she was instead grabbed by another group of men, who dragged her into bushes near where she was regularly raped.

"While they were busy, one of them said I was too wet. They then pushed a plastic bread wrapper into my vagina and continued to rape me," she said with tears running down her cheeks.

Buyiswe was rescued by a woman who witnessed the incident and screamed for help.

Reporting the matter to the police was difficult, she added.

"There was no privacy ... and the police did not treat the case with the sensitivity it being reserved. Teaching me being cross-examined was the most difficult part," she said. "I hated myself and I felt like I made a mistake by reporting them."

The group is currently serving various terms in prison. One of the accused is however still on the run.

"They killed me. I think about it every time I take a bath. I lived with the plastic

they left inside me for three years. I was not aware part of it was still there. I now wet the bed like a toddler. I can't hold urine anymore."

The mother of a 13-year-old girl said she was once arrested for urinating in public as she was pressed and wanted to relieve herself immediately. "I spent a night in jail for that."

She said she had gone to the hospital to get help to remove the plastic inside her.

"The operations did not help. I still wet the bed and I am ashamed. I am also unable to wear some types of clothes as I am disfigured."

"The operations left me with a bulging stomach, and the scars are a constant reminder of the incident."

Sometimes I break down and cry, and the pain won't go away. I have so much anger in me," she sobbed.

Buyiswe said hospitals and clinics do not provide her with help as she needs further surgery. "Doctors and nurses tell me that I sleep around, but they are wrong. I hate men more than I hate myself. I have never been sexually active since the attack," she said.

"I worry about my daughter, and I fear that if the same thing happened to her I wouldn't know how to help her because I cannot do that."

"I also worry that she will suffer when I die because I am unemployed."

She said she was forced to relocate because people called her names, especially her attackers' families. "I feel trapped. I have constant nightmares and sometimes I want to sleep and never wake up again."

— "Not her real name"

Appendix D: Doctors say I sleep around – Survivor

5-YEAR-OLD LEFT FOR DEAD IN BUSH

Fears that she might have been raped

Frank Maponya
Limpopo Bureau Chief

FEAR and anger has gripped the community of Capricorn Park village in Morebeng (formerly Soekmekaar) in Limpopo following the brutal attack of a five-year-old girl.

The young girl was allegedly abducted while walking home from school to the village alone on Thursday afternoon.

She was found three days later, severely assaulted and left for dead. Police are also investigating the possibility that she could also have been raped.

The victim was a Grade R pupil at a local primary school.

Pupils use a gravel road to walk to school, which is about a kilometre away, but they also have to pass through bushy areas.

Police spokeswoman Lieutenant-Colonel Ronel Otto said the girl was discovered by a fellow villager on Sunday evening, who heard her crying out for help.

"Preliminary investigations show that the girl was walking alone from school at around 12pm on Thursday when she suddenly disappeared," said Otto.

She said the girl was reported missing on the same day when she did not return home and a search for her ensued.

"A villager called us at around 9pm on Sunday telling us that a body had been found lying in an

area with dense bush. When we went there we found the missing girl," she said.

The girl was taken to Botlokwa Hospital and then transferred to the Polokwane Hospital in a critical condition.

By late yesterday, authorities at the hospital described the girl's condition as stable and satisfactory.

No one has been arrested yet in connection with the attack.

Community leader and a mother of three, Muofhe Sadike said yesterday that she was worried about her children's safety since the incident.

"I am shocked about the ugly incident that happened to one of our own and the whole community is not sure whether their children are safe or not anymore," said Sadike, a local South African National Civic Organisation secretary.

Another community member, Michael Malakalaka urged residents to unite to fight crime in the area.

"We must stand up and fight these criminals to make sure it doesn't happen again," Malakalaka said.

Modjadjji Malatji, a teacher at the girl's school, said she was saddened by the incident.

"I hope the perpetrator will be arrested and face the full might of the law," she said. — frankm@sowetan.co.za



CRIME SCENE: Edwin Bugana, of SAPS takes a sample at the scene where the five-year-old girl was kidnapped and possibly raped at Capricorn village, Morebeng in Limpopo. PHOTO: ELIJAR MUSHIANA

SOKE MOKAAR
Sowetan
**NO
TO RAPE
NO**

GRANNY (84) RAPED, ATTACKED AT HOME

Family and neighbours in shock after brutal assault

Mogomotsi Selebi
Free State Correspondent

THE blood-soaked bedding told the horror of the brutal attack by a rapist on a defenceless 84-year-old grandmother.

The rapist struck while she was fast asleep in her bedroom in Botshabelo, Bloemfontein, just after midnight.

First he demanded money from the frightened pensioner, who was all by herself.

She told him she did not have any, and then her nightmare began.

"He pushed me onto my bed and took my clothes off. When I started screaming, he took out a big knife and threatened to kill me," said the woman as she recounted her nightmare in tears.

The grandmother has been living alone since her grandchild who looked after her left after getting married four years ago.

At the time of the attack, her children, who have their own homes outside Botshabelo, were in the process of finding someone to live with her.

As she was self-reliant and still quite agile, they didn't worry much until the rapist struck.

When the rapist, believed to be in his 30s, finished vio-

lating the old woman, her bedding was soaked in blood.

Her shocked daughter-in-law said she received a phone call from neighbours informing her about the incident at about 3am on Monday.

The woman was taken to the police where she made a statement and was then taken to hospital.

The incident has left the family badly affected.

"My daughter is aware of what happened and she is very scared. The other day she said she was scared to go to school because the same could happen to her," the daughter-in-law said.

A resident said that at the weekend, another woman was nearly raped but screamed for help and neighbours came to her rescue. "It could be the same person, who knows?" said the man.

However, police spokesman Captain Tsheko Mokgahla said there was no record of such a case.

The grandmother's neighbours said they didn't feel safe after the incident and felt vulnerable to criminals.

"We do not know where to hide because criminals are now breaking into our houses. What happened to that woman is horrible and

shows that the same thing could happen to all of us. No one is safe," she said.

It was the second recent incident where a Free State pensioner had been raped.

Early last month, an 80-year-old woman was raped in the presence of her great-grandchildren in QwaQwa. Police have still not made an arrest in that case.

Mokgahla confirmed the incident and appealed to the community for assistance. Social development MEC Sisi Ntombela said communities held the power to stop the abuse of women and children. "We once again make a call to our communities to stand together and fight this scourge."

When the rapist, believed to be in his 30s, finished vio-



VIOLATED: An 84-year-old woman was raped at her home in Botshabelo, Bloemfontein. The woman said her attacker had demanded money before he raped her.

PHOTO: MOGOMOTSI SELEBI

**Sowetan
NO
TO RAPE
NO**

He took out a big knife and threatened to kill me

MEC calls on citizens to be vigilant

FREE State MEC for social development Sisi Ntombela reacted with shock to the incident.

Ntombela recently revealed that she received threatening phone calls telling her that she would be next after her unwavering stance against the abuse of children and the elderly.

"It is of concern and very worrying that the abuse of women and children, and rape in particular, seems to be on the rise. We have always made it clear that 365 days in a year must be dedicated to stopping the

violence against women, and not just the 16 days in December," Ntombela said.

Communities, Ntombela added, held the power to stop the abuse of women and children. "This is a clear indication that our communities are not united. We once again make a call to our communities to stand together and fight this scourge."

With the rapist still at large, Ntombela made a plea to anyone with information to contact the authorities and not take the law into their own hands.

A local told Sowetan that

on the same weekend, another woman was nearly raped but screamed for help. Neighbours came to her rescue. "It could be the same person, who knows?" asked the man.

Police spokesman captain Tsheko Mokgahla said he was not aware of such a case.

Now even the grandmother's neighbours said they didn't feel safe. Another pensioner said since the incident on Sunday, she felt vulnerable. "We do not know where to hide because criminals are now breaking into our houses..."

When the rapist, believed to be in his 30s, finished vio-

Appendix F: *Granny (84) raped, attacked at home*

BOY (16) HELD OVER ATTACK ON GIRL (4)

Nomaswazi Nkosi

A MOTHER is furious over the rape of her four-year-old daughter by someone she knew and trusted.

The mother, 29, of Ivory Park, whose name cannot be published to protect her child's identity, said she was at work when the alleged rape took place on May 8.

"My brother, 15, went to fetch my daughter from the creche and he was with his friend (the alleged rapist)," she said.

The two teenagers spent the afternoon in the house. At some point the 16-year-old alleged rapist said he needed to go home to cook while his friend, the little girl's uncle, left to buy airtime.

The four-year-old followed them outside and went to play in the street with her friends.

Later, a neighbour took the little girl to the suspect's house since it was known that he was a good friend of her family.

The boy lives six houses away on the same street as the little girl.

Not long thereafter, the

child's grandmother called the suspect teen, asking where her granddaughter was. He allegedly said she was with him and promised to bring her home.

The little girl walked home alone.

When the child got home, her grandmother noticed that she was in pain when she urinated. The little girl told the granny what had happened.

"My daughter told my mother that this boy kissed her and then raped her," the distraught mother said.

When the grandmother found out what had happened to the child, she called the police and an ambulance.

"She was taken to Tembisa Hospital and the doctor examined her.

"He said she had a tear in her private parts," the mother said.

The suspect was taken to Tembisa police station. He later appeared in the Tembisa Magistrate's Court.

Constable Tebogo Sesing, spokesman for Tembisa police station, confirmed the teenager's arrest.

"He was released into the

custody of his parents and will appear in court in October after the girl gets counselling from Teddy Bear Clinic," Sesing said.

The child's mother said the young girl had difficulty urinating for a while before she healed.

She said the girl also had nightmares and cried at night.

Spokeswoman for Teddy Bear Clinic Dr Shaheda Omar said it was important for the child to be removed from the area where she lived to avoid her being exposed to the alleged rapist.

"It is not in her best interest for her to be there. There is a risk of further trauma, confusion and a risk of her withdrawing disclosure of his identity," she said.

She added that the little girl required intensive therapeutic intervention, which would be play therapy for a child her age.

"Supportive counselling should also be given to the primary caregivers," Omar said.

The mother has decided to move her child away to live with her (the mom's) grandparents and has also changed the pre-school she was attending.

nkosin@sowetan.co.za



Sodomised as cops passed by

Benson Ntlemo

A LIMPOPO woman sustained injuries after she was allegedly stabbed and sodomised by an unknown man in the bushes on Wednesday last week.

The 22-year-old woman from Green Farm village said during her ordeal, she could see police with sniffer dogs passing by in vans on the road, but they did not realise that she was being sodomised just metres away from the road.

"If they had released the dogs, they would have found me. Instead, I was helpless and at the mercy of the man," she said.

The woman and a friend were on their way to Madonsi clinic in Giyani from neighbouring Green Farm village when the man appeared. "When he reached us, he hid his face with a hat and demanded money and cellphones."

The women started running, but he caught up with the victim. And when the man realised she was menstruating, he penetrated her in the anus. She said

he told her that he was going to kill her after the ordeal.

"I prayed to God to save my life. And when he was done, he had a change of heart and accompanied me to the road," she said.

"But that was after telling me that he was working with other men, and that if I ever reported the case and got him arrested, I would be killed."

The woman went to Malamulele Hospital where she was stitched and then transferred to Mankweng Hospital in Polokwane.

Limpopo police spokeswoman Lieutenant-Colonel Ronel Otto said: "A case of rape was opened but no arrest has been made as yet." Otto did not respond to allegations that police were in the vicinity during the ordeal.

Malamulele police spokesman Warrant Officer Alson Mapindani said the police did comb the area after the case was opened.

"It could be true that she saw the police but they could not see her as she was being held hostage in the bushes."

Appendix H: *Sodomised as cops passed by*

News Tuesday July 23 2013 **SOwETAN** 5

MAN 'RAPED' DAUGHTERS

Frank Maponya
Limpopo Bureau Chief

A LIMPOPO father is expected to appear in the Mankweng Magistrate's Court tomorrow for a bail application after he was arrested for allegedly raping his two daughters.

The 46-year-old man was arrested last week in connection with the incidents that allegedly started in 1996 and went on until recently.

Mankweng police spokesman Constable Moses Molepo said the victims are

Mom stood by as sisters suffered for 17 years

aged 21 and 25.

He said preliminary investigations had revealed that the rape of the women occurred in the presence of their mother without her reporting the matter.

The family lives in GaMothapo, Thoka section.

Molepo said the younger



woman took a decision to report the latest rape and that her sister, who is now married, did the same.

That was when the man was arrested.

Sowetan has also learnt that the man works as a professional nurse in one of the mobile clinics in the

Mankweng area.

"We are currently investigating the reasons why the man's wife did not report the rape of her daughters by their father," Molepo said.

He said they would also enlist the services of social workers to help counsel the women for the ordeal they had endured for the past 17 years.

"The suspect will be kept in

our custody until his next court appearance, where he will apply for bail," Molepo said.

He said they were also concerned that the rapes had taken place in front of the victims' mother who did not bother to report the matter to the police.

"We have since referred the matter of the women to the director for public pros-

ecutions to help us with a directive whether to charge her or not.

"We will only act against her once we have received a response," he said.

Molepo further challenged fathers to desist from taking advantage of their family situations to unleash their anger on their children.

"We view this matter in a very serious light.

"This is one case on its own and we will not rest on our laurels until justice prevails," he said. - frankm@sowetan.co.za

Appendix I: *Man 'raped' daughters*

12 **Sowetan** Wednesday July 24 2013 **ENOUGH IS ENOUGH** News

MENTALLY DISABLED WOMAN 'RAPED'

Nomaswazi Nkosi

A MENTALLY challenged woman was allegedly raped by a man in her neighbourhood in Snake Park, Soweto, on Saturday.

The 28-year-old woman's father said he came to know about the alleged rape when he arrived home to find his daughter being consoled by her friends.

"They told me they found her walking in the street crying," the father said. They told him that she said she was walking down the road when a man called her and said he wanted to buy her a *kota* (bunny chow). "I went with them to the house where this man lives but he wasn't there. His neighbours said he was out." A neighbour living opposite the house said she saw the woman coming from the house looking dishevelled and pulling up her pants. They then went to the nearby satellite police station to open a case, which was later transferred to the Dobsonville police station.

In her statement, the victim said the man accosted her while walking down the street and lured her to his house. "When they got to his house, he said she should take off her shoes and pants. He then said they should sleep together." By the time they finished at the police station, it was close to midnight and they were transported to a hospital in Florida for a medical check-up, but it was closed.

They returned to the hospital on Sunday morning but it was still closed, so they were taken to Chris Hani Baragwanath Academic Hospital.

"When the doctor tried to check her, she refused to be touched anywhere near her genitals. So we were transferred to a female doctor." But she also refused to be inspected by the doctor.

"They then decided to admit her so they could take her to theatre to check her," the father explained.

Police spokesman Kay Makhubela yesterday confirmed that a 26-year-old man was arrested. "He will appear in the Protea Magistrate's Court tomorrow [today]."



Appendix J: *Mentally disabled woman 'raped'*

News **ENOUGH IS ENOUGH** Wednesday July 31 2013 **Sowetan** 7



'Rapist told friends I was pregnant'

Nomaswazi Nkosi and Zama Mthethwa

ON DECEMBER 16 2011, a 13-year-old girl was allegedly raped by two men who lived in her neighbourhood at Orange Farm near Soweto.

She was grabbed by the two men while walking down the street with her friend.

When she refused, one of them broke a bottle and threatened her with it.

They allegedly raped her that night and she opened a case the next morning at Orange Farm police station.

The men were finally arrested the next year while they were drinking at a shebeen.

The two men, she said, were older than her, had finished school and had their own children.

The girl, now 16 years old, said she was so distressed by the ordeal that she tried to commit suicide.

"Whenever I walked down the street or went to school, people would look at me and make comments. He (one of the alleged rapists) told his friends that I was pregnant with his baby," she said.

In tears, she said she took rat poison when she was terrorised by friends of her alleged rapists, saying she had aborted her baby.

After her suicide attempt, the court case continued, where she said the investigating officer was neglecting his duties.

"He would not tell my witnesses when to come to court. He even told my friend not to go and testify because I was dating the guys who had raped me," she revealed.

The day before the court case was due to be finalised, the family of one of the alleged rapists visited her at her home and offered to pay her off to withdraw her case.

She said she told them she would live with her rape for the rest of her life, so taking their offer would not help her in any way.

The court case is still pending but the teenager said the counselling she has been receiving had helped her tremendously, although she feared she would never be the same.

"When people look at me they look at me like I'm strange," she said.

Appendix K: *'Rapist told friends I was pregnant'*

Appendix L: 'This will stay in mind forever'

'THIS WILL STAY IN MY MIND FOREVER'

Gang-rape victim 'just wants to forget'

Ntwaagae Seleka

Crime Reporter

"I WANT to close this horrible chapter of my life."

These are the words of a bitter Free State HIV-positive woman who was allegedly gang-raped by nine people.

The 25-year-old was attacked, assaulted, raped and later shocked with a cattle prodder by her assailants at Phiritona, Heilbron, in Free State.

She was in the company of her husband, brother-in-law and sister-in-law five months ago when the alleged rape took place.

"While walking to our shack from my parents' house, I saw this group of young boys," she said.

"Without any provocation, they tripped, kicked and punched my husband and also shocked him with a cattle prodder."

The woman said some of the boys charged at her brother-in-law and stabbed him in the hand. He managed to flee and her sister-in-law also escaped unscathed.

She said the gang then grabbed her and dragged her to a quarry outside the township, where they raped her.

"Some of them did not use condoms," she said.

"Some of them forced me to perform oral sex while others attempted to insert their penises in my ears."

"It was a painful experience. I was weak and vomiting."

"I prayed that they would stop but they did not."

She said after they were done, they repeatedly shocked her with a cattle prodder.

Her 27-year-old husband, who is also HIV-positive, was kicked in his genitals and the rest of his body.

The husband was rescued

after her mother and brother were woken up and called police, who managed to arrest all the nine suspects.

The couple, who dropped out of school in Grade 6, were diagnosed HIV-positive in 2007 when the woman was pregnant with their second child.

Their child died last year.

The couple also has an eight year-old daughter.

"I want them to spend the rest of their lives in jail," said the young mother.

"They have brought trauma to our lives."

"It is sad that some of the boys are roaming the streets."

Some of them make ugly gestures towards me," said the woman.

She said she wanted to move on with her life.

"I want to forget that night but I can't. This incident will probably stay in mind forever."

Heilbron station commander Lieutenant-Colonel Theledi Gopane praised the police for responding quickly and arresting the suspects.

Gopane said two of the suspects were minors and were released into the custody of their parents.

"Last year we arrested five people for rape. Two of them were minors and were also released into the custody of their parents," Gopane said.

He said rape was not rife in the Phiritona/Heilbron area.

The station serves Phiritona and Heilbron and 602 surrounding farms.

"A month can pass without a case of rape being reported. The majority of the suspects are related or known to the victims," Gopane said.

The nine suspects are expected to appear in court next month. —ntwaagae@sowetan.co.za



TRAUMATISED: This woman was allegedly repeatedly raped by nine people, including two minors, at Phiritona, Heilbron in Free State. The suspects are expected to appear in court soon

PHOTO: ANTONIO MUCHAVE

Still terrified of the dark

Dimakatso Motau

WHEN a man confronted her at the gate of her home in Sothanguve, north of Pretoria, some five years ago, Phindile Mahlangu thought it was a horror movie.

"I was chatting to a male friend at about 8pm at the gate of my family home when this thug pulled out a gun and ordered us to walk to a dark spot nearby.

"He asked my male friend to lie face down and asked me to take off my clothes, which was the most terrifying part of the ordeal," Mahlangu said.

The 27-year-old business administration graduate said she felt that she had to do what the gunman wanted or risk being shot.

To show how serious he was, the gunman hit Mahlangu on her forehead with the firearm.

"Although the rape lasted

NO JUSTICE FOR RAPE VICTIM

about 30 minutes, it felt like a lifetime. I walked back home bleeding and my family took me to the clinic



where the necessary health precautions were taken," she said.

Although it is now five years since the ordeal, Mahlangu said she was still terrified of the dark.

"I only feel safe when there is light and people around. I am probably

paranoid. I really fear being raped again.

"Although the six months of counselling sessions helped me get back to my normal self, I am still terrified of strangers," Mahlangu said.

She said her dance and drama group have helped her cope.

"I am currently unemployed but the love and appreciation I get from the primary school children I teach dance and drama to, dims the pain and bitterness in my life," she said.

Mahlangu still lives with the scars and psychological hurt, but her faith and family support have given her strength over the years.

"I am disappointed in the justice system because after laying a charge and helping the police with an

identikit, nothing has happened.

"In the five years since the rape, I've had only one visit from the investigating officer who told me that the police could not find the rapist," she said.

Mahlangu said rapists need to be dealt with harshly by the courts.

"As a victim I feel like I did something wrong while the rapist is still walking the streets and possibly raping other women and young girls."

"South African law needs to speed up rape cases so that rapists can get the heavy sentences they deserve," she said.

She said regardless of the trauma she experienced, being positive had helped her cope.

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COPING: Phindile Mahlangu from Sothanguve says she's moving on with her life after her rape ordeal five years ago

PHOTO: JOHNNY ONVERWACHT

Appendix M: Still terrified of the dark



VIOLATED: An elderly woman fears she may be raped for the third time after two ordeals

Granny (71) now lives in fear

RAPED TWICE IN 12 MONTHS

Siqonilo Mashaba
Mogamatlaga Correspondent

A 71-YEAR-OLD Mpumalanga grandmother, who has been raped twice in 12 months, now lives in fear of further attacks.

The first incident happened in the town of Mogamatlaga, where she was living at Sasale informal settlement outside Mashishing. She was raped by a man who used a knife to make an incision in her vagina when he struggled to penetrate her. She was taken to a clinic in Sasale for treatment.

Her daughter said she was raped again by a man who was her brother-in-law in March this year.

Today, the granny lives in a small shack in the town of Mogamatlaga. She says the two attacks had caused her to bleed regularly. "I was living with my companion. The man came into my room and raped me. He held a knife to my throat and threatened to kill me if I did not have sex with him. I was shocked by the fact that I was raped by my own brother-in-law. I thought she was going to die."

The woman was admitted to a hospital for several days. Almost a year later to the terrible day, the grandmother was raped during the night. She was raped by a man who was her second daughter for her security. Her 41-year-old daughter said she was raped by a man who raped her in 12 minutes to boy candles. "The man who raped me is known to my mother and she is his wife. Her main concern was that one both occasions the man did not use any protection when he raped me. She has received treatment."

Her daughter said she caught the man and handed him over to the police. She said she was still traumatised by what has happened to her. "Provincial police spokesman Com. Mphahlele said that two cases of rape had been opened. He said that the suspect is aged 41. He was arrested for another case of rape and was also charged to the granny's case. "He has three cases of rape pending against him. The suspect is facing and he is currently out on bail," Hlatshway said. "This is the only rape case he has been charged for. He is expected to appear in court later this month, on October 21 and 28 respectively." - mashabab@sowetan.co.za

Appendix N: Granny (71) now lives in fear

MOM HITS RAPED GIRL

Sibongile Mashaba
Mpumalanga Correspondent

IN YET another shocking case of child abuse, an Mpumalanga mother is accused of beating up her daughter after she allegedly caught her husband raping the child.

A relative said the incident happened at the 12-year-old girl's home in Croquetlawn, Bushbuckridge, on Monday last week.

The man is the child's stepfather. "The mother caught her husband red-handed. He was on top of her child. As if she (the girl) had not suffered enough, the mother chose to ignore what was happening and beat up the child," the relative said.

The child, a Grade 4 pupil, was allegedly given R20 to keep quiet on the several occasions that she was raped. It was not clear how long the

Stepfather 'caught red-handed'

abuse had been going on.

The relative said this was shocking because the mother had failed to listen to her child.

"I fear for this child's safety. This was not the first time he had raped her. The abuse will not stop because the mother is protecting her own child's abuser.

"What is happening is sad. How is this girl expected to live a normal life?" the relative asked.

The relative said it would be better if the child were taken to a place of safety.

"I could take her but I fear what will happen if I do. I'm just scared. I do not know what they (mother and

stepfather) will do once I have taken the child," she said.

Provincial department of social development spokesman Ronnie Masilela said they would try and help the girl.

"We will visit the family and talk to them and assess the whole family situation and then develop a plan of action. Once we have visited the family [which will be quite soon], we will know exactly how we will intervene," Masilela said.

Teddy Bear Clinic director Shakheda Omar said the safety of the child was critical.

"The child was subjected to further trauma. The mother shifted the blame. She held her child responsible for what had happened. The mother violated her child and should be seen as a colluder. She should face criminal charges as well," Omar said.

She said there were many cases like this one.

"Mothers are in denial [that their partners are abusing their children].

They have a fear of losing financial support. They fear being victimised. Such cases [of child abuse] are most common in cases of domestic violence. They are a strong risk factor."

Police spokesman Sergeant Gerald Sedibe was contacted for comment numerous times, but failed to respond.



Appendix O: Mom hits raped girl

Woman tells of 'horny' pastor

McKeed Kotlolo

A YOUNG female congregant has given details of how a "horny" pastor lifted her up and pressed her against his crotch, telling her how he felt about her.

The 22-year-old, who no longer goes to the Methodist Church of South Africa in Mamelodi East Extension, told Sowetan about her alleged experience at the hands of Reverend Zacharia Mthombeni during a church synod in May 2012.

She said Mthombeni nominated her and another member of the youth organisation to join him at a three-day synod of the church in GaRankuwa. They slept at a guesthouse in Rosslyn, north of Pretoria. "He asked me to give him a good night hug. He held me tight and lifted me. I pleaded with him to put me down. He also said if I felt cold at night, I should join him in his bedroom."

The woman told Sowetan that "while he was holding me tight, I could feel that he was horny".

"His private parts were

'HE HELD ME VERY TIGHT'

hard. He then left the room."

On the second night, Mthombeni again knocked on her bedroom door but she ignored the knock, she said.

A few days later she attended a youth league meeting where she reported the matter.

"Someone from that meeting told the reverend. He came and pleaded with me not to talk about it anymore. We then took it to the church elders who treated it lightly."

She said the matter was then taken to the office of the superintendent.

"A disciplinary hearing was held and I was not happy with the outcome because nothing was done to him."

The woman said she also went to the Mamelodi East police with her uncle to report the matter.

But a police captain helping her to open the case then called Mthombeni, she said.

She said the priest later arrived at the police station with other church officials.

She said the church lead-

ers convinced the officer that the matter should be discussed internally and "we left without the case being registered".

Spokesman for Mamelodi East police Warrant Officer Mike Mbewe confirmed that no case had been opened but said they were investigating the woman's allegations.

He appealed to the woman to come forward and provide them with information and possibly identify the officer.

Bishop Mntambo Themba, of the Methodist Church of South Africa, confirmed there were problems at church but said they were dealing with them.

He said a disciplinary hearing was held after the allegations of sexual abuse.

He said Mthombeni was not suspended.

"We will continue to hold consultations until the matter is resolved," he said.

Mthombeni declined to comment, saying he had no powers to speak about matters involving the church.

Appendix P: Woman tells of 'horny' pastor

DAD RAPES HIS ONE-MONTH-OLD

Frank Maponya

Limpopo Bureau Chief

A FATHER has been arrested after he allegedly raped a month-old baby and her two-year-old sister.

The incident happened at Tshilidzini village near Thohoyandou last week Wednesday. The children's mother told police that she had left them in the care of their 39-year-old father and gone to attend a church service at night.

Police spokesman Brigadier Hangwani Mulaudzi said the mother only discovered her daughters had been raped when she noticed blood clots on their private parts the next morning.

She took both girls to the Tshilidzini Hospital where a doctor who examined them confirmed they had been penetrated. Mulaudzi said police were called and the father was arrested immediately. He is expected to appear in the Vuwani Magistrate's Court this morning on two counts of rape.

"Preliminary investigations have indicated that the victims' mother was away on church matters between 9pm and 1am on that day and she had left the children in the care of their father," said Mulaudzi yesterday.

Father 'must be sent to rot in jail'

"We are concerned that the suspect was supposed to look after the children since they are his own but instead he violated them."

He said they were also concerned that the mother could leave a one-month-old baby to go to church "at night for that matter".

"This is pure negligence and irresponsible of the mother," Mulaudzi charged.

Tshilidzi Masikhwa, manager at the Thohoyandou Victim Empowerment Centre, said yesterday that such people "must be removed from society completely".

"We are worried that such people, despite having committed serious crimes, end up being released on bail. We also urge communities not to take the law into their own hands."

Masikhwa said they would mobilise support for the family of the



victims to ensure that they coped with life after the incidents.

Maleke Mokganyetji, provincial secretary of the ANC Women's League, said they were disappointed by the incident. "It is high time we form men's clubs to educate our men about how

best to conduct themselves."

She said the league would take it upon itself to ensure that social workers came on board to help the family of the victims.

The DA in Limpopo has condemned the incident. Provincial spokeswoman on social development Desiree van der Walt said she was shocked to hear that "any individual can go to the extent of raping his own children".

"That man is a danger to society and must be sent to rot in jail," said Van der Walt yesterday.

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Appendix Q: *Dad rapes his one-month-old*

'RAPED OWN DAUGHTER'

Zoë Mahopo

AN ANC ward councillor at Devland in southern Johannesburg has been accused of raping his 10-year-old daughter.

It is alleged that the councillor, who cannot be named to protect the identity of his child, took the girl to an open field where he raped her.

Police spokesman Captain Phillemon Khorombi confirmed that a case of rape had been opened against the councillor.

Khorombi said the case was being investigated by the Child Protection Unit. He also confirmed that the police had not yet made an arrest.

The child's aunt said the father

ANC councillor accused of assault on 10-year-old

had fetched the child while she was playing outside the house more than a week ago.

He allegedly asked the child to accompany him to the shops but instead took her to an open field where he raped her.

The aunt said she was concerned that the police had not made an arrest since a case was opened a week ago.

"She (the child) has become very withdrawn since the incident. She cries a lot and says she regrets ever getting into her

father's car," the aunt said.

The aunt added that the girl did not report the rape immediately.

She said the child shared the ordeal with a school friend who then reported the incident to a teacher.

The teacher then informed the family, who reported the case to the police.

The aunt said the child was taken to a local hospital for a medical evaluation.

The 10-year-old's mother was too traumatised to speak to Sowetan.



ANC regional spokesman Jolidee Matongo confirmed that he had heard of the alleged rape but said the party's office had no knowledge of the incident.

Matongo said the ANC did not accept such behaviour from its leadership.

"Issues of councillors involved in any form of wrongdoing are unacceptable," Matongo said.

He said the party would allow the law to take its course.

"If such a person is found to be guilty we will first remove them as councillor and then proceed to expel them from the ANC,"

Matongo said.

Vincentia Dlamini, of Women and Men Against Child Abuse, said the family had a genuine concern.

"We all know that such cases have a tendency of falling through the cracks," Dlamini said.

Dlamini said cases where a child was harmed by a relative were difficult and challenging.

He said the perpetrator in such cases used their knowledge of the victim's circumstances to manipulate and induce fear.

"Unfortunately, such incidents have a life-long effect on the victim. Such children cannot be completely rehabilitated but we try to help them become functional adults," Dlamini said.

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Appendix R: *'Raped own daughter'*

LOVER 'ORDERED' TO RAPE TEEN

Ntwaagae Seleka

Crime Reporter

A WOMAN accused of allegedly trying to force her 13-year-old tenant to have sex with her boyfriend has been arrested.

It is alleged that the 38-year-old woman forced her lover to have sex with a tenant's daughter on Sunday afternoon.

They all reside in Zola 3, Soweto. The woman and her boyfriend live in the main house while the tenants rent backrooms.

The girl's mother was at the Chris Hani Baragwanath Academic Hospital with her one-year-old child when the incident occurred.

A relative who lives with the couple said she had been out for drinks with another tenant from the same house.

"We left my aunt and her boyfriend drinking liquor in the yard. Later, while at a stokvel, the tenant received a call from the girl's mother to rush home," the woman said.

She said when they arrived, the teenager was crying and had locked

Woman 'beats' girl with broomstick

herself inside her mother's room.

"I asked her to come out. She told me that our landlady had accused her of wearing a nightdress in order to seduce her boyfriend.

"She added that after bathing at noon, she wore her nightdress and sat on a chair outside her mother's room.

"The landlady approached and asked why she was wearing a short dress and told her boyfriend to have sexual intercourse with her."

She said the woman then allegedly undressed the teenager and unbuttoned her boyfriend's trousers.

She also allegedly dragged him towards the girl and told him to have sex with her.

The teenager was then allegedly assaulted with a broom until it broke

into pieces when she refused to have sex with the man.

When they heard the police were coming, the boyfriend fled.

"The girl claimed that our landlady accused her of having sex with older men. The woman has a serious problem," the tenant said.

"She is always accusing me of seducing her boyfriends. Women are forbidden to wear short dresses in this yard. I am happy that she has been arrested ... there will be peace in this yard."

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Kay Makhubela said the woman was arrested at her home on Monday night and is expected to appear in court soon to face charges of sexual assault.

Her boyfriend is still on the run.

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NO
TO RAPE
NO

Appendix S: *Lover 'ordered' to rape teen*