

Constructing victims and perpetrators of sexual violence in Drum magazine between 1984 and 2004: A discourse analytical study.

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Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis reports on the ways in which rape perpetrated by males on females is constructed in news stories and the advice column, *Dear Dolly*, published in the South African publication, *Drum magazine*. The data collected for the study spans from 1984 to 2004, encompassing both 10 years before and 10 years after a democracy. The paper uses critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003) as main analytical tool and but also draws on critical feminist theory (Bourke 2007) and other strands of discourse analysis such as Van Dijk's (1998) socio-cognitive approach. The findings suggest that there is on the one hand a decrease in explicit victim blaming after 1994, but that subtle and opaque victim blaming is still evident in the news stories, letters to the advice column, and the responses from the columnist. These rape discourses presented in *Drum magazine* after 1994 are as Bakhtin (1981) suggests made up of multiple voices articulating different gendered discourses. Discourses that make women responsible for their safety and protection against rape are prevalent while at the same time rape is constructed as a "horror story" and the perpetrator as the "monster". In this thesis, I argue that even though the use of less explicit victim blaming might seem like a positive move in the representation of rape and gender, this is not always the case. The more subtle forms of victim blaming avoid contestation and consequently often go unchecked (Fairclough 2003: 58). This makes the manufacturing of consent easier and makes it more difficult to counteract dominant discourses. I subsequently call for more studies on this underrepresented topic in discourse analysis in South Africa.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis doen verslag oor die maniere waarop verkragting met mans as oortreders en vroue as slagoffer gekonstrueer word in nuus stories en in die advies kolom *Dear Dolly* in die Suid-Afrikaanse publikasie, *Drum magazine*. Die data verteenwoordig die tydperk vanaf 1984 tot 2004 (insluitend tien jaar voor en 10 jaar na demokrasie). Die tesis gebruik kritiese diskoers analise (Fairclough 2003) as hoof analitiese instrument maar leen ook van kritiese feministiese teorie (Bourke 2007) en ander tipes diskoersanalise soos Van Dijk (1998) se sosiokognitiewe benadering. Die bevindinge van die tesis stel voor dat daar aan die een kant 'n afname in is in die eksplisiete blamering van slagoffers na 1994, maar dat subtiele en ondeursigtige blamering van slagoffers nog steeds voorkom in die nuusstories, briewe na die advies kolom en in die antwoorde van die koloms krywer. Die diskoerse wat in *Drum magazine* na 1994 gevind word bestaan soos Bakhtin (1981) voorstel uit vele verskillende stemme wat verskillende diskoerse oor geslagsverhoudinge verteenwoordig. Diskoerse wat vroue verantwoordelik hou vir hul eie veiligheid en beskerming kom wyd voor, terwyl verkragting ook gekonstrueer word as 'n "erotiese riller" en die oortreders gekonstrueer word as monsters. In hierdie tesis stel ek voor dat hoewel die gebruik van minder eksplisiete slagoffer blamering lyk soos 'n positiewe beweging in die representasie van verkragting en geslagsgelykheid, is dit nie noodwendig die geval nie. Subtiele vorme van slagoffer blamering is moeiliker om te bevraagteken en word dikwels nie krities beskou nie (Fairclough 2003: 58). Dit maak die produksie van konsent makliker en maak dit moeiliker om dominante diskoerse teë te gaan. Gevolglik stel ek voor dat baie meer studies oor hierdie ondervteenwoordige onderwerp in diskoersanalise in Suid-Afrika gedoen moet word.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

It is a fact universally acknowledged that South Africa has one of the highest rates of male to female rape in the world, making sexual violence one of the country's most pressing social issues. While various psychosocial research projects have attempted to explain the dynamics behind this perpetual state of affairs, such as Abrahams et al. (1999) and Wood et al. (1998, in Petersen, Bhanna & McKay 2005: 1234), a review of the literature reveals that no projects have explicitly targeted the societal norms and ideologies expressed in public discourse as main focus. This thesis aims to fill the research gap, at least in part, by using critical discourse analysis (henceforth "CDA") to examine sexual violence discourses in *Drum*, a popular South African periodical.

In addition to its popularity, *Drum* was selected for this study for its interesting socio-cultural history and reputation for having shaped black South African culture and tradition (Odhiambo 2006: 157). Given the scope of a Masters thesis, the study is limited to an analysis of constructions of only male to (adult) female sexual abuse. This female-centered approach will allow the study to base itself in feminist theory which concerns itself with the eradication of gender-based discrimination against, and consequent subordination and dehumanisation of, women by men in society at large (Stacey 1993: 49, 50).

Media discourses from the 1984 to 2004 (ten years before and after the ANC first came into power) will be investigated as this turbulent stretch of South African history may show changes in public attitudes concerning issues such as crime, equality and reconciliation, all of which include male to female injustices.

1.2 Problem statement

The prevalence of male sexual violence towards women in South Africa is so high that Moffett (2006: 129) describes the situation as “an unacknowledged gender civil war.” Despite efforts to address this crippling social problem, South African women continue living in fear of violation by South African men. It is therefore imperative to investigate the ideologies fuelling sexually transgressive behaviour so that the problem may be addressed at its roots. The present study presents a linguistic analysis of public discourses, specifically *Drum* magazine, about sexual violence in an attempt to reveal the social structures which accept and perpetuate such behaviour. In order to fill the research gap, I will attempt to answer the research questions set out directly below.

1.3 Research questions

1. How did articles (primarily) and advice columns (supplementarily) in *Drum* published between 1984 and 2004 construct sexual violence perpetrated by men towards women in terms of (a) the act of rape and (b) participants of the act of rape (victims, perpetrators and peripheral participants)?
2. Do said constructions differ across the abovementioned genres?
3. Did any changes occur in said constructions between 1984 and 2004?

1.4 Research aims

The aims of this study are to:

1. Analyse the way(s) in which the victims, perpetrators and the act of male-female rape were represented in *Drum* articles and advice columns published between 1984 and 2004.
2. Compare the ways in which said participants are represented in articles and advice columns.
3. Determine whether said representations change between 1984 and 2004.

1.5 Theoretical point of departure

This study is located within two broad theoretical frameworks: CDA and critical feminist social theory.

CDA has moved the analysis of discourse from a descriptive agenda to a critical agenda. This is an important distinction as CDA analysts do not only seek to describe discourse but also to transform society through deconstructing normalising discourses used to perpetuate certain ideologies. From the late 1980s, linguists such as Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk have been developing the discipline of CDA – a set of linguistic principles for the analysis of relationships of dominance, discrimination and power, as demonstrated in language (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 447; Wodak 1995: 204). Simply put, CDA provides the necessary tools to examine how seemingly objective discourse may convey participants' beliefs, prejudices and relationships with other participants or groups. For these reasons, CDA lends itself perfectly to feminism or feminist theory – a movement concerned with the exposition of normalised misogynist beliefs and relationships.

One of the core concepts of feminism is the premise that women have been excluded from “codified knowledge, where men have formulated explanations in relation to themselves” (Spender 1981: 2). Consequently, societies have been created where women are portrayed and perceived as “other” to the (male) norm. Feminism, in each of its “waves”, has attempted to rectify this injustice by analysing and describing the omission of female autonomy in predominantly social contexts, including spheres of education, the workplace, the home and courts of law (Spender 1981: 2). Feminist theory generally suggests the critical analysis and explanation of women's subordination as well as strategies whereby this power imbalance may be challenged and, ultimately, the social position of women improved (Stacey 1993: 49, 50).

1.6 Research design

Archival data was collected from articles and advice columns published in *Drum* from 1984 to 2004. References to sexual abuse against women were quantified to indicate the proportion of media attention received by each of these issues. Only sexual violence perpetrated by men against women was discussed, focusing on the attribution of blame for such behaviour. Discourse strategies such as intensification, mitigation, referential strategies and predicational strategies used in reference to such violence were analysed to reveal potential causal relationships between social structures, practices, agents and the event of sexual violence. This thesis thus illustrates the way in which the critical analysis of texts may expose the underlying social structures of the society in which they are produced.

1.7 Chapter Outline

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 will contextualise the study around gender and sexuality, specifically focusing on feminist theory. The chapter will start with a historical introduction to rape discourses as part of the first-wave feminist movement, citing Mill (2001), Bourke (2007), Largen (1988), Hirshman and Larson (1998), and Richardson (1993). Second- and third-wave feminist movements resisting sexual violence will be summarised, with reference to the work of Richardson (1993), Maynard (1993), Bourke (2007), Hirshman and Larson (1998), Largen (1988) and Merry (2009).

The chapter will continue with theories surrounding sexual domination, including theories of patriarchy, sexuality, sexual domination, the cause of rape and society's response to violence against women as represented by Ackerman (1995), Millett (1970), Stacey (1993), Dimen (1989), Lottes (1988), Hanmer and Saunders (1984), Lerner (1986), Richardson (1993), Bourke (2007), Merry (2009) and Maynard (1993).

A discussion of blame attribution in sexual violence will follow, with reference to Lea (2007), Kelley and Michela (1980), Johnson, Mullick and Mulford (2002), as well as an explication of rape myths stemming from such attributions (Richardson (1993), Bourke (2007), Ackerman (1995), Koss & Leonard (1984)) and the notion of the ‘ideal victim’ (Christie (1986), Smolej (2010), Randall (2010)). The chapter will be concluded with an introduction to the discursive analysis of sexual violence, citing Lea (2007).

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 will focus on CDA and sexual violence discourse in the media. CDA, as well as its theoretical predecessor, discourse analysis, will be explicated, drawing on the work of Fairclough (1989), Wodak (1995), Reisigl (2007), Van Dijk (2001), Hodge and Kress (1988), Kaplan and Grabe (2002), Kress (1990), Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) and Blackledge (2005). Fairclough’s (2003) framework of CDA will then be unpacked, and its selection as theoretical basis for the present thesis justified. Examples of said framework will be provided.

The latter part of chapter 3 will situate the thesis within the context of journalistic discourse, describing the mediating effect which journalistic practice has on news reports and showing the influence mass mediated discourse has on society. Scollon (1998) and Galtung and Ruge (1965, in Harcup & O’Neill 2001) will act as principal sources. A brief explication of magazine exceptionalism (Abrahamson 2007) and tabloid journalism (Harrington 2008) will follow. Media representations of female victims of sexual assault will be named (Smolej 2010), and common themes in media representations of crime listed (Wilczynski & Sinclair 1999). Chapter 3 will be concluded with the definition of relevant theoretical concepts as explicated by White (1997) and Scheufele (1999).

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 presents the methods used to collect data as well as background information on the South African legal context and *Drum* magazine in order to situate the data within the historical context. Chapter 4 will also discuss the methods used to analyse the data.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 reconnects the data with the theoretical framework by analysing and comparing *Drum* articles and advice columns both thematically and linguistically from the vantage point of Fairclough's (2003) CDA and feminist theory. The analyses illustrate an ideological basis for male sexual violence towards women which may contribute to the process of denaturalising sexual violence in South Africa.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 will present the conclusions of the study, discuss its limitations and finally make recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER 2

MALE TO FEMALE SEXUAL VIOLENCE: A THEORETICAL HISTORY

In order to provide a context for this thesis with regard to gender relations and sexual violence, this chapter will outline the premises and outcomes of the first-, second- and third-wave feminist movements, provide definitions and theories of male to female sexual domination, explicate the attribution of blame for said domination and briefly review studies that focused on the discursive analysis of sexual violence. The last section of the chapter will provide a link to chapter 3, which will focus on one particular form of discursive analysis, namely CDA.

2.1 Stipulative definition of sexual violence

According to Maynard (1993: 101), violence should be defined in three parts: according to law, professional opinion and the experience of the victim. Whilst legal and personal definitions are self-explanatory, it must be noted that “professional opinion” refers to views based on the collection of medical evidence, such as that of forced sexual penetration, regardless of the participants’ experience of the act (Maynard 1993: 103). These three distinctions are not always congruent. Personal experiences of sexual violence may be discounted, for example, by legislation which does not acknowledge marital rape or in cases concerning the legal age of sexual consent. Kelly (1989: 71) suggests that general and legal definitions of violence reflect male perspectives and ignore a significant range of male behaviour which women experience as abusive. This misconception then leads to women discounting their own experiences in favour of beliefs which classify such experiences as acceptable and inevitable. Maynard (1993: 106) notes that the feminist definition of violence, based almost exclusively on the experience of the victim, includes the threat or fear of force as well as the use thereof. Sexual violence against women may therefore take on a physical, verbal or psychological form. Maynard (1993: 103) also comments that legal definitions of violence invariably take precedence over victims’ definitions, giving legitimacy to the actions of (generally male) perpetrators.

Before sexual violence may be contextualised in the existing literature it is necessary to establish what is referred to as “sexual violence” in the chapters that follow. Bourke’s (2007: 8-9) definition of rape seems most appropriate for the purposes of the current study. She stipulates that for the purposes of, and in the realm of, her publication, “rape” – or more broadly, sexual violence – refers to “any act called such by a participant or third party”. This would require an act, firstly, to be identified as sexual, and secondly, to be pinned as non-consensual or coerced (Bourke 2007: 9). It is stressed that the given definition is in no way normative, and merely holds for the purposes of her publication. This definition of rape will be upheld throughout this study.

2.2 First-wave feminism and early rape discourses

Bourke (2007: 404) notes that although sexual abuse has uniformly been regarded as wrong, the boundaries separating such acts from “bad sex” have not been constant. Sexual violence has consequently been discounted, mitigated, accepted or condoned in some form or another throughout history.

According to Largen (1988: 271-272), an early and prominent example of such mitigation is found in the pronouncements of 17th century American jurist Lord Chief Justice Matthew Hale and legal scholar John Henry Wigmore. Hale and Wigmore argued that women too readily made false accusations of rape, and that overwhelming physical evidence would therefore be required to support accusations. In his renowned legal text, *Evidence*, Wigmore emphasised the necessity of physical injury obtained through violent resistance to support accusations of rape. Both theorists made a significant impact on the ways in which sexual assault would be addressed in subsequent centuries.

These misogynist attitudes were first challenged in the mid-1800s with the bearing of egalitarian movements such as abolitionism and women’s suffrage (Hirshman & Larson 1998: 9). These first-wave feminists concerned themselves with how women’s lives were controlled by men’s “lust”, striving to change sexual politics between men and women.

Attention was drawn to the way men manipulated women by means of sexual double standards, as well as the medical dangers promiscuous husbands held for their wives (Richardson 1993: 76). The lack of autonomy women had over their own bodies was apparent in constant unwanted pregnancies and the lasting bodily damage women were forced to endure as a result. Feminists of the 1800s, however, condemned the notion of contraception as a solution to this problem. They argued that the fear of pregnancy would assuage many men at least from extramarital affairs (Richardson 1993: 76-77).

19th century feminist John Stuart Mill's sexual theory illustrated these and other clashes between egalitarianism and hierarchical gender (Hirshman & Larson 1998: 9). In *The Subjection of Women* (1859), Mill protested against the allowance of marital rape, whereby wives were "made the instrument of an animal function contrary to her inclination" (Mill 1859, in Bourke 2007: 308). Mill argued that marital rape placed a woman in a lower position than a slave, who had at least the right to "refuse to her master the last familiarity". A discourse was opened surrounding wives' rights to refuse unwanted sex that would bear fruit only in the late 20th century when marital rape was outlawed in most western societies (Richardson 1993: 77).

According to Bourke (2007: 317), these early feminists focused almost exclusively on compulsory maternity as the reason for condemning marital rape. Birth-related mortality rates were high. Women's agency in sexual satisfaction was largely ignored in favour of celibacy as a tool for self-preservation. First-wave feminists could not agree on whether women should be sexually liberated to match male standards, or men held in contempt for their sexual liberties (Hirshman & Larson 1998: 9).

The early 20th century saw the bearings of what would evolve into a female sexual revolution. Instead of condemning contraception for its encouragement of male sexual domination, feminists started advocating the role it might have in female sexual gratification (Richardson 1993: 77). Despite this revolutionary development, women's sexual and social

liberation took a backseat to other social movements, notably the World Wars and their repercussions, in the early- to mid-twentieth century.

2.3 Second-wave feminism and sexual equality

The feminist movement experienced a second surge in the 1960s and 1970s as the focus shifted to female sexuality and the way sex and sexuality had been defined in predominantly male terms. Women were encouraged to redefine themselves as people with sexual agency who had the power to engage in and enjoy their sexuality without being used as tools to procure male sexual satisfaction. Many of these feminists believed that by discovering their sexual potential, women would be given the confidence and agency to challenge their oppression in all realms of life. At the end of the 1970s, the focus of feminist theory shifted from female sexual liberation to the sexual oppression of women by men and the consequences thereof (Richardson 1993: 86). Feminists challenged traditional assumptions about sexuality and “normal” sexual conduct that had been taken for granted for generations.

The second-wave feminist movement brought about an additional revolution in the way of understanding sexual violence. It was not until the first phase of second-wave feminism provided a platform for issues such as rape, wife-beating and sexual harassment, that the severity of violence against women started to become apparent (Maynard 1993: 99, 100). Women began to demand that their narratives of rape and other sexual abuse take precedence over analyses of their rapists. Feminists’ presentation of rape narratives gained popularity in the 1970s, providing a new profile for the rapist which placed him within a gendered material reality. According to this account, sexual violence was a by-product of male domination (Bourke 2007: 140).

The dramatic increase of recorded rapes from around the 1960s seems counter-intuitive when presented against the backdrop of second-wave feminism. This increase may be clarified, Bourke (2007: 15) argues, when regarded as a result of the increased efficiency of

reporting sex crimes which stemmed from feminist-led campaigns to promote women's rights to safety and to encourage women to reclaim their agency and speak out against victimisation. Another theory prevalent in the 1970s asserted that by reclaiming their autonomy, feminists were denying men their right to be a "man", causing the threatened men to rape in a frustrated attempt to regain the upper hand (Bourke 2007: 138).

The pervasiveness of sex-crimes illustrated that the core of violence against women rested in what society regarded as "normal" sex; and not a psychopathic disorder. According to Bourke (2007: 146), "rape flourished in the marital bedroom ... against the boardroom table ... in schools, universities, offices and factories". Second-wave feminism may be credited with the exposition of the violence "sustaining the most secure and respected patriarchal bastions" (Bourke 2007: 146). Prominent feminist Florence Rush argued that male sexual domination fulfilled such cultural functions as socialising girls into their adult female roles (Bourke 2007: 140). The feminist movement advocating women's rights to their own bodies thus faced the challenge of deeply engrained rape myths that have contributed to women's sexual suffering throughout known history.

Radical feminists such as Susan Brownmiller who exposed the ways in which women were intimidated into submission were heavily criticised for launching a "propagandistic attack on heterosexuality and marriage ... in the guise of an attack on rape" (Novak 1976, in Bourke 2007: 144) and feminist definitions of rape were dismissed as a "manifestation of female hysteria" (Schoenewolf 1991, in Bourke 2007: 144). According to Bourke (2007: 143), the viciousness of these attacks proved the success of feminist critique in threatening male-dominated power structures.

The feminists of the 1970s and 1980s also alerted the public to the shocking prevalence of date, acquaintance and marital rape (Bourke 2007: 47). In debates about date-rape, feminist definitions of rape faced opposition. Campaigns opposing date-rape were accused of redefining traditional seduction as rape (Bourke 2007: 143). Despite such protests, feminist narratives made a significant impact on the definitions of sexual abuse (Bourke 2007: 146).

Pornography was attacked by several feminist theorists for providing men with “rape scripts” which encouraged sexual aggression (Bourke 2007: 141). Their concern with pornography was not only the effect it had on consumers, but also the way it dehumanised women. Such views were expressed in works such as Robin Morgan’s *Pornography is the Theory, Rape the Practice* (Bourke 2007: 142).

2.4 Third-wave feminism and transformation

The modern or third-wave feminist movement advocated the reassessment of laws prohibiting rape to include all forms of sexual violation. Up until this point, marital rape, for example, had not yet been acknowledged as a social or legal reality. Despite efforts made to reform sexual assault laws in the 1950s and 1960s, it was not until the 1970s that the combination of certain factors instigated legal changes. These factors included public alarm about the increase of sexual violence; feminist research disproving many culturally entrenched rape myths; as well as an increase of women in the legal professions (Largen 1988: 273). With more women stepping into political roles, sex crime became recognised as a violation of human rights (Hirshman & Larson 1998: 2).

The basic goals of rape-law reformers included the recognition of rape as a violent crime; better administration of criminal justice; an increased ability of criminal law to act as deterrent; as well as an adjustment of the standards for proving rape to prevent the further abuse of victims during legal processes (Largen 1988: 274). These “rape shield” laws were heavily opposed, especially regarding the cross-examination of victims about their prior sexual conduct. The Women’s Rights movement fuelled the rape law revolution by encouraging victims to relate to the public their experiences of insensitive treatment or blame by the criminal justice system (Largen 1988: 273, 274). During the 1980s and 1990s, feminist movements made use of UN conferences on women in order to acquire political power (Merry 2009: 16). Such global campaigns, however, faced difficulties posed by cultural differences.

Largen (1988: 274) writes that both the goals and resulting processes of rape-law reform were established by feminists' instigation of gender equality. Such reform faced much criticism and predictions of failure as it entailed a departure from the legal tradition of over 200 years. The definition of rape broadened from an act of forced penetration of a non-consenting female by a male to a vast range of coercive acts perpetrated by or against people of any age or gender (Largen 1988: 275). According to Merry (2009: 1), gender violence was defined for the first time as a significant violation of human rights.

2.5 Feminist theories on sexual domination

Since the majority of rapes are perpetrated against female victims, feminism has always considered issues of sexual violation a primary concern. Countless feminists over more than a century have analysed such issues within social, political and cultural frameworks to produce a number of theories as to why men rape women and why such injustice is perpetuated and tolerated – in some cases even condoned – by present day societies. This section will briefly discuss prominent feminist theories surrounding sexual domination of women by men.

2.5.1 Patriarchy

Ackerman (1995: 12-13) attributes violence against women to the power structures within patriarchal society. The term “patriarchy”, originally used to describe the male-headed household, resurfaced in the second-wave feminist movement as a struggle concept, serving to conceptualise the male dominance seen in countless societies. In the patriarchal institution, gender denotes “a structure of political power masquerading as a system of natural difference” (Dimen 1989: 38). Merry (2009: 9) defines gender roles as sets of expectations rooted in particular socio-cultural systems based on physical sex differences. Millett (1970: 25) legitimises this notion by naming social sectors that have been shaped almost exclusively by male thinkers, such as industry, technology, the military, law, law enforcement, higher education, the economy and political office. It may thus be argued that society as a whole is founded on power relations, whether between organisations,

institutions or individuals. Men, in sum, have been almost exclusively in control of every avenue of social power throughout Western history (Millett 1970: 25).

The concept of patriarchy has been used in a variety of academic disciplines, including, for example, sociology, history and psychoanalytical theory (Stacey 1993: 54). In the study of social history, it has helped trace the establishment and maintenance of male-dominated social hierarchies and consequent female subordination. Psychoanalysis has similarly been deconstructed to reveal its misogynist theories on female sexuality (Stacey 1993:57). The valuing of men over women has thus been internalised and reproduced within the individual psyche (Stacey 1993: 58). Here the notion of patriarchy helped to explain the deep-rooted investment women had in their (subordinate) identities. As Dimen (1989: 38) writes: “patriarchy is, first and last, a system of domination”.

The above endeavours led to questions about the extent to which the subordination of women is universal (Stacey 1993: 59). A primary question involved the prevalence of male dominance in history and the common elements of societies which exhibit male dominance. Feminist anthropologists are divided on the subject. Universalists focus on cross-cultural common denominators, whereas cultural relativists study individual cultural meanings. Research surrounding universal and particular ideologies is relevant not only for the study of women’s subordination; they also illustrate similarities and singularities of women’s resistance to patriarchal rule (Stacey 1993: 60).

Feminist theory considers sexual violence to be a consequence of social traditions in which men have reigned over virtually all political and economic activities as well as a medium through which male dominance and female submission are enforced and maintained (Ackerman 1995: 99). Rape is therefore regarded as a direct result of women’s lack of political and economic resources, relative to men (Ackerman 1995: 99-100), allowing men to use sexuality to establish and maintain dominance and control over women.

According to Ackerman (1995: 85), patriarchy recognises the potential power of women and aims to destroy women's consciousness of their power in order to protect the appropriation of female sexuality and reproductive capacity. Man's right to control woman's body is integral to patriarchy and is manifested in women's sexual violation. Sexual gratification is consequently regarded as a secondary motivation for rape. Some feminists exclude it completely from their accounts of why men rape. Rape may even be described as a "pseudosexual" act driven by a desire for power, rather than by sexual desire (Ackerman 1995: 100).

According to Ehrhart and Sandler (1985, in Lottes 1988: 207), rape is primarily an act of violence and not an expression of sexual desire. Schwedinger and Schwendinger (1983, in Lottes 1988: 208) note that if rape were simply an act of sexual frustration, the legalisation of prostitution should eradicate sex-crimes. They use Las Vegas as an example of this – prostitution is legal in Las Vegas, yet it has one of the highest incidences of rape in the USA.

Hanmer & Saunders (1984:65-66) illustrate the ways in which women are disempowered by violence within patriarchal society in the following six points:

1. Women are expected to be more afraid of public places and alter their behaviour to such that does not "invite" violence. When violent crimes such as sexual assault are perpetrated against women, they are at least partly blamed for the attack as they were "looking for it".
2. Women's freedom is therefore restricted. The notion that women's place is in the home is reinforced.
3. This leads to greater dependency on men for protection.
4. A climate is created in which women may be violated by their own partners and cannot turn to the public sphere for assistance.

5. Reporting their violations to institutions of the public sphere such as the police or the criminal justice system does not relieve women of their experiences, whether their assailant is brought to justice or not.
6. Not only is their trauma irreversible, but it does not exempt them from subsequent attacks. They must continue to live in fear as the rest of their sex does every day.

Men can therefore be said to use “sexual terrorism” to frighten women into submission (Sheffield 1984: 3). According to Ackerman (1995: 87), the propaganda of sexual terrorism is evident in all ventures of popular culture: in films, advertising, literature, pornography, et cetera.

The term “patriarchy” is also used in a materialist framework, in the discussion of activities designated to men and women in society, regarding, for example, the division of labour. Such discussions often involve Marxist theory and debate the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy (Stacey 1993: 55). According to socialist feminist Susan Schechter (1982: 209), the abuse of women is an expression of male domination reinforced by the institutions, sexist division of labour and economic patterns within capitalist society.

Ackerman (1995: 87) claims that patriarchy, as the ideology of male supremacy, is justified within the disciplines of biology, anthropology and religion as follows:

1. Women are generally physically smaller and weaker than men.
2. Pre-historic societies almost universally rejected matriarchy in favour of patriarchy.
3. Western and non-western religious authority predominantly condones female subordination.

Ackerman (1995: 89) identifies implications of the male/female dichotomy of patriarchy which characterises women as weak/men as strong; women as unintelligent/men as

intelligent; women as followers/men as leaders; women as reproducers/men as producers; women as spectators/men as agents; women as body/men as mind; women as private/men as public; women as bad/men as good. Women are stripped of their natural power through intimidation and forced to rely on their male conquerors as a source of power (Gearhart 1982:196). In patriarchal, male-defined society, power will be power as defined by men and will take the form of a victor/victim design. As socialised beings, men and women will perceive their own power in these terms. If women are taught to believe that they are powerless and subordinate, their perceptions and experiences of their own power will be negative and “unfeminine” (Ackerman 1995: 234).

Feminist theory suggests that such patriarchal ideological beliefs may be altered. Lerner (1986: 242-243) suggests four stages of consciousness-raising whereby society may be rehabilitated from patriarchal submission. Here, “consciousness” is defined as a subjective state of mind in contrast to male perceptions of objectivity. These stages are:

1. Society at large must become aware of the wrongs that have been institutionalised and normalised within patriarchy. It must be recognised that gendered abuse such as rape is an expression of men’s power over women.
2. Women should realise that their experiences of subordination are not “private”; they are shared universally by countless women.
3. Women should reclaim autonomy over their lives and define goals and strategies through which change could be achieved.
4. An alternative vision must be developed for the future whereby women liberate themselves from their conditioned perceptions of powerlessness.

2.5.2 Sexuality

In order to analyse the concept of sexual domination, feminists have deemed it crucial to deconstruct and redefine male and female sexuality. As with most feminist definitions, this has proved to be a controversial endeavour, especially since it explicitly defies the work of revered academic authorities such as Sigmund Freud. Even within the feminist movement,

theorists are not always in agreement on the exact nature of male or female sexuality and where boundaries should be drawn between what is “natural” and what is “learned”.

Dimen (1989: 35), for example, claims that sexuality is one of the most personal and value-laden aspects of humanity. It can also be deemed one of the most theoretically demanding, since “sex stands at the crossroads of nature, psyche and culture”. She describes sexuality as being inextricably linked with intimacy and power. At the core of this filigree are domination, the gendering of the self, the gendered separation of want from need, the division of labour between women and men, and the use of social reproduction to control desire (Dimen 1989: 35).

Hirshman & Larson (1998: 3) point out that although the presence of human sexuality is constant, its nature is dependent on the societal values of the people involved. The notion of gender is built on the biological differences between the sexes, a highly variable and interpretable given. It is the way in which girls and women become most immediately conscious of the self. This is because the human experience is by and large linguistically, socially and ideologically constructed as male (Dimen 1989: 38).

An important distinction in feminist sexual theory is the dichotomy of social constructionism and essentialism. With regard to men’s and women’s social positions, especially relating to gender differences and sexual behaviour, essentialism refers to theory surrounding biological determinism or explanations based on the concept of ‘nature’ (Stacey 1993: 68). Extreme (albeit common) essentialist reasoning on gendered social positions includes arguments that all women in their natural state are heterosexual and want to have children (Stacey 1993: 68). Conversely, social constructionism is based on the idea that human sexuality, i.e. our sexual feelings and conduct and identity are not fixed or universal, but particular to their cultural, social and historical context. Cultural practices and beliefs such as religion, law, medical practice and popular culture all have an effect on our definitions of sexuality (Stacey 1993: 68, Richardson 1993: 78). Social constructionism includes an array of perspectives, including discourse analysis, psychoanalysis and symbolic

interactionism (Richardson 1993: 79). However, these perspectives all assert that patterns of sexual conduct may vary from culture to culture and over time. Sex acts that are physically identical may have different social and subjective meanings depending on how they are defined and perceived in different cultures and historical periods (Vance 1989: 19).

Although both approaches appear both inside and outside of feminist literature, feminists tend to oppose biological essentialism in favour of social constructionism because it may be used to manipulate the notion of what is 'natural' to justify social injustices. Instead they argue that the social position held by women is established through cultural forces (Stacey 1993: 68). Richardson (1993: 78), for example, explains that while our sexual desires stem from biological needs, our responses to these instincts are learnt. She uses the recent "discovery" of the G-spot as an example of sexual meaning constructed by culture. This part of the female anatomy remains the same as it was before its identification, yet it has gained social significance in many Western societies.

Many feminists use social constructionism to explain phenomena such as sexual orientation (hetero- or homosexuality) and sexual domination (Richardson 1993: 79). The assumption that sexuality is at least partially a product of social construction is central to feminist accounts of sexuality.

Radical social constructionism may be seen as the antithesis of the essentialist model. Where essentialism claims that socialisation serves to control natural sexual urges by teaching people to express their desires in socially acceptable ways, radical constructionists believe that it is society which elicits sexual desire by attaching meaning-laden scripts to sex acts which are naturally pleasurable, but not naturally central to one's understanding of desire. To these theorists, sexuality is produced, and not repressed, by society. In other words, sex-drive is a "learnt social goal" (Richardson 1993: 80). It is important to note, however, that not all feminist theorists associate exclusively with either constructionism or essentialism. Many theories of sexuality fall on a spectrum between these two positions.

2.5.3 Sexual domination of women by men

Feminist study not only concerns itself with the ways in which sexual relationships are cultivated by society, it also prioritises the connection between sexuality and the oppression of women (Richardson 1993: 83). As with most feminist issues, there is no single definitive conclusion. However, by discussing the most radical theories, the reader may observe the degree of resistance with which the oppression of women may be challenged.

In *Sexuality and Male Dominance*, Richardson (1993: 74) asks about the nature of the relationship between sexuality and gender inequality. Although explanations on the subject vary, a common thread in feminist theory is the belief that sexual relationships between men and women are affected by men's social (and, in traditional communities, economic) power. This means that women generally have less control of sexual interaction than their male partners (Richardson 1993: 74). The way women dress, communicate and conduct themselves is affected by the double standards of male sexuality. By these standards, women are expected to present themselves in a way that is sexually attractive to men in order to gain acceptance, while being held in contempt by the same men for their unchaste, "unfeminine" behaviour. Fears of rape or other physical domination affect women's choices as to what they do and when and where they go for both work and recreation (Richardson 1993: 75).

However, not all feminist theorists agree on the causality between male sexual dominance and women's oppression. Radical feminists attach unequivocal importance to sexuality and sexual conduct as both the cause and reflection of social inequalities. Many radical theorists argue that sexuality is constructed by society in such a way that it keeps women "in their place" (Richardson 1993: 74, 83). Contrarily, socialist feminists do not regard sexual domination as the cause of social inequality between men and women, but, rather, one of the results of these power imbalances as experienced in the household and workplace. Social theorist Sherry Ortner, for example, attributes gender inequality to a cultural association of women with nature and men with culture. Michelle Rosaldo similarly argues that such inequality was caused by women's entrapment in the private sphere while men controlled

the more power-laden public sphere (Merry 2009: 8). Despite these divisions in feminism, it may be deduced that feminist analysis of sexuality prioritises gender as the base from which sexuality is socially constructed (Richardson 1993: 83).

The association between heterosexual sex and masculine ideals of power and domination is a good vantage point from which to study sexual discrimination. This association is evident in the way some men brag to their peers of sexual “conquests” or harass women by means of whistles or sexual comments (Richardson 1993: 84). Empirical evidence to this effect was established in a 1981 American survey of self-reported college rapists (Lottes 1988: 199). This survey revealed that sexually aggressive men regarded sexual aggression as normal, held conservative beliefs about female sexuality, accepted rape myths more readily, considered heterosexual relationships a game, held women responsible for rape prevention and held traditional beliefs regarding the roles of women (Lottes 1988: 199). Person (1980: 619-20) contributes to the literature of male sexual dominance by referencing an overwhelming body of clinical evidence which suggests that genital sexual activity is instrumental in the maintenance of masculine gender, whilst only a variable in that of female gender. The link between male sexuality and male gender is so rigid that sexual conduct appears more driven than liberated.

An inseparable part of the custom of male sexual domination is that of female sexual subordination. Traditional sex roles have encouraged women to be submissive, passive, kind, weak, compassionate, patient, accepting, dependent, self-sacrificing and merciful, whilst men are socialised to be aggressive, strong, forceful, dominant, competitive and superior (Russell 1975). Whereas women have been socialised not to make sexual advances, acknowledge sexual enjoyment or to respond to sexual advances without at least some degree of resistance, men have been taught that in order to achieve their sexual goals, they must initiate sex and often overcome their partner’s resistance (Lottes 1988: 200). Within sexology, it is thus often claimed that women seek sexual fulfillment through “surrendering” to their male partners, while men have a desire to “conquer” their sexual partners. Such beliefs rest on the assumption that male sexual domination and female sexual submission are natural and inevitable. Men’s power over women is often seen to be attractive to both

groups (Richardson 1993: 84). It is also believed that women's sexuality is more "controllable" than men's, and that men are naturally more sexually dominant than their "submissive" female partners. Sex, as it were, is believed to be something that a man "does" to a woman (Richardson 1993: 84).

One of the messages deduced from such argumentation is that women should be wary of men's "uncontrollable" urges for sex and remove themselves from situations where men might be provoked beyond their control (Richardson 1993: 85). The naturalisation of male sexual dominance is thus often used to blame women for their own rapes and violations. Within the constructionist assumption that sexuality is largely conditioned by a male-dominated society, it makes sense that both male and female sexuality are constructed according to male experience and almost exclusively serve the interests of men (Richardson 1993: 85). Russell (1975: 275) argues that this lack of symmetry in the ways in which men and women are socialised will invariably result in male to female sexual violence.

2.5.4 Theories on why men rape women

Across a range of disciplines such as sociology, biology and psychology, theorists have attempted to account for the occurrence of rape by devising explanations as to why people commit sexual violence and why such behaviour is tolerated within society. Such theories are generally formulated within a socio-cultural framework with the assumption that rape is an assertion of male dominance.

According to Merry (2009: 19-20), anthropological analysis of gender violence has the following four dimensions: the view of gender violence as a variable social-based phenomenon that changes over time; the assumption that gender is not fixed, but constructed; the notion that interpersonal violence reflects wider contexts of power; and the knowledge that different cultures portray violence in different ways. Local manifestations of violence against women vary based on particular kinship structures, social inequality between the sexes, structures of power, definitions of gender and gender-roles, legislation,

the incidence of general violence in the relevant society as well as resources available to the abused (Merry 2009: 1-3).

Of theories on the cause of rape, Bourke (2007: 121) argues that all theorists believe that biology exists outside of culture, and that there is constant interaction between the two. Bourke opposes (yet explicates) essentialist theories such as those of evolutionary psychology and degeneration theorists, who claim that rape is natural and expected, along with the radical feminist view that rape is an “ahistorical phenomenon” (Bourke 2007 : 7), which asserts that all men are sexual abusers or beneficiaries of rape cultures. The degeneration theory of the 20th century, drawing on the theory of evolution, classified rapists as degenerate or as remnants from a primordial past in which sexuality and violence were the two most crucial survival instincts (Bourke 2007: 97). This theory claimed that because of their ancient primacy, these instincts have intertwined and remained present in the human subconscious. Degeneration theorists therefore prioritised the forces of nature in their instinctual account of rape. Bourke writes that, contrary to the above theories, rape and sexual violence are rooted in *specific* cultural environments. “‘Men’ are not rapists. Some men are. A few women are.” (Bourke 2007: 13).

Bourke (2007: 121) mentions an alternative discourse which accounts rape to the influence of the rapist’s environment. According to this theory, rape and other sex crimes must be attributed to the destructive influence of corrupt societies. Both these theories, Bourke notes, ignore the roles of women who have throughout history shared social environments with men, yet exhibit no “rape instincts” or sexually violent reactions to their environments.

A common theory held by legal and other professionals in the early 20th century was that rape was a crime committed almost exclusively by people who were poor and uneducated as a result of their brutal environments (Bourke 2007: 98). By the late 1960s, a theory called “subcultures of violence” expressed fears that young men raised on urban streets were acquiring aggressive “scripts” which they invariably enacted. Rape was simply a lifestyle (Bourke 2007: 130). Accompanying this notion of ‘subcultures of violence’ was that rape

within such “rough” areas was to be expected, and that women victimised in such areas were responsible for their own violation as they had been forewarned.

According to Maynard (1993: 109), there are three main perspectives from which the occurrence of violence towards women (both sexual and non-sexual) is explained. These are liberal/psychological, social structural (not to be confused with social constructionism) and feminism.

The first perspective – the liberal/psychological – asserts that violence is caused by innate or acquired psychological “derangement” of either abusive male perpetrators or flirtatious females who invite abuse by deviating from the norm of “femininity”. Social, cultural and contextual factors surrounding incidents of woman abuse are ignored. Men who beat women, for example, are believed to do so as a result of mental illness. Rapists are said to be acting on sexual frustration due to troubled family backgrounds and therefore rape to achieve sexual gratification. It is often suggested in psychological theory that men who abuse women have themselves been victimised. Maynard notes that while such explanations may apply to specific cases of abuse, they do not account for the vast incidence of abuse evident in society. Obvious gender discrimination in the majority of abusive acts is also ignored. Furthermore, the liberal/psychological perspective not only attributes violence to the “inappropriate” behaviour of the victim, it goes so far as to sketch the perpetrator of the crime as the helpless victim of women who invite such acts (Maynard 1993: 111).

The second perspective, according to Maynard, from which violence towards women is explained – the social structural – regards male violence towards women in terms of social class (Maynard 1993: 111). This approach argues that men from lower social classes who are generally not as financially successful as they would like to be, reject the values of the higher social classes and turn to violence in order to achieve superiority. Rape is one way of doing this. Some Marxist feminists adhere to this approach, blaming gendered violence within the lower social classes on the inequality of capitalist society (Maynard 1993: 112). However, this approach does not explain the fact that domestic violence and sexual abuse,

including child sexual abuse, happen in all social classes. Maynard attributes perceived higher abuse rates in lower social classes to the fact that lower-class men are easier to arrest and more likely to be used for criminal statistics by upper/middle-class academics than their upper/middle-class counterparts. This perspective also fails to address the gendered aspect of male-female violence.

The third perspective from which gender violence is analysed and explained, is feminism (Maynard 1993: 114). Feminists have worked for decades to establish the issue of violence against women as a major social problem, challenging myths of woman abuse being trivial, natural or provoked (Maynard 1993: 113). Feminist researchers and theorists have shown, for example, that rapists are more often than not known to their victims that domestic violence and marital rape are serious criminal offenses, and that child sexual abuse has a profoundly traumatic lasting effect on adult survivors (Maynard 1993: 113). Although there is no one feminist perspective explaining male violence towards women, several theories have become synonymous with the feminist movement.

Radical feminism, for example, claims that gendered violence both reflects and maintains unequal distribution of power between men and women both in society and in personal relationships. Some radical feminists go so far as to claim that all men keep all women in a constant state of fear by the (conscious or unconscious) threat of rape and other forms of abuse. Intimidation by men forces women to modify their behaviour in order to avoid abuse, which in turn perpetuates the myth that women, not men, are responsible for women's violation. It must be noted that this approach does not claim that all men are abusers; it merely exposes how, through societal imbalances, all men have the symbolic power to abuse women. Despite differences in feminist theories surrounding the cause of rape, it can be assumed that the majority of feminist theories take a social constructionist approach.

Perper (1985: 195) argues that rape is a result of men's responses to women's sexual rejection. When a man's sexual advances are rejected by a woman he is attracted to, he feels sexually devalued and powerless, leaving him "begging" for sexual favours. By raping the

woman who rejected him, a man steals what he could not possess in reality and punishes the woman for her resistance. Groth (1979) similarly claims that the goal of the rapist is to sexually dominate his victim as evidence of conquest. Such sexual conquests compensate for the rapist's feelings of inadequacy while validating his masculinity.

Ellis (1989) identifies five assumptions drawn from prominent feminist theories of rape:

1. Rape is the manifestation of male social dominance. It may therefore be assumed that if women's social status was raised to that of men, rape would be eradicated.
2. The motivation for rape is the assertion of power, rather than an expression of sexuality.
3. Both pornography and prostitution promote the objectification and dehumanisation of women, which in turn promotes men's perceived entitlement to the use women's bodies.
4. The feminist-inspired egalitarianism of the late twentieth century should result in a lower incidence of rape.
5. Attitudes towards rape are conducive to its occurrence.

2.5.5 Society's response to violence against women

When confronted with the notion of perpetual female subordination, one often wonders why such exploitation has been "allowed" by women and men through the ages. Some theorists assert that violence or the threat thereof has been the main tool used against women in their oppression, whilst others advocate the theory of social conditioning as the chief cause of gender-based power imbalances (Stacey 1993: 66). This model claims that women learn their subordinate roles within familial contexts and educational contexts by receiving approval or disapproval for "gender-appropriate" behaviour.

Societal reactions to second-wave feminists' assertions about violence towards women are generally those of disbelief and agitation (Maynard 1993: 115). Victims are usually at least

partially blamed for their rape by social institutions such as the police, the media and courts of law. They may be accused of being either a seductress or a pushover (Lottes 1988: 208).

Feild (1978) notes that people with more traditional opinions of the roles of women were more likely to blame a victim for her violation, consider sex as the motivation for rape, and regard the victim as less attractive or respectable after her rape.

Medical professionals, police personnel and even social workers have in the past seemed to reject the significance of abuse such as rape and battery, encouraging women to maintain relationships with abusive partners in order to spare their children the trauma of a broken home (Maynard 1993: 116).

Legislation too has in many ways failed female victims of male violence. Women communicating the severity of their abuse were accused of exaggeration, lying or provocation. Public attitudes towards rape often result in the alienation or condemnation of the victim. According to Williams (1984: 68-69), society's treatment of victims of rape may be described as a secondary victimisation. This "second assailant" phenomenon is an example of how victims of violence are treated like criminals in courts of law, facing cross examinations intended to discount their experiences and prove the legitimacy of their violation (Maynard 1993: 116).

In the subsequent decades, awareness about woman abuse has increased significantly. It has, however, by no means reached a point at which such issues are obsolete or even unusual, especially when studied within a South African context. Maynard (1993: 119) writes that until violence towards women is acknowledged as a gender-based issue reflecting the social construction of masculinity, it will remain relatively unchanged.

2.6 Blame

The study of rape victim responsibility was established in 1973 when Jones and Anderson (in Lea 2007: 495) first used the term to analyse the degree of influence the victim's perceived respectability might have on judgements about her role in the assault. This notion has remained a central concern for psychological research on the perception of sexual violence and victims thereof, with countless studies examining those characteristics of victims that are associated with the attribution of blame (Lea 2007: 495). The following section will explicate the overlying theoretical principles of the attribution of blame and its applications to reports of sexual abuse.

2.6.1 Attribution theory

The second half of the 20th century saw a development in social-psychological research focusing on the perception of causation, and the implications of such perception. This development, labelled "attribution theory", was born of the belief that most people attempt to identify the causes of others' circumstances or behaviour (Johnson et al. 2002: 249). Despite the existence of several strands of attribution theory, the unifying suppositions are that individuals' behaviour is interpreted in terms of causation, and that these interpretations influence people's reactions to the behaviour (Kelly & Michela 1980: 458).

In a short stipulative definition, Workman and Freeburg (1999: 262) outline the theory as a hierarchy of three types of attribution: blame presupposes responsibility and responsibility presupposes cause. Cause, however, does not necessarily lead to responsibility or responsibility to blame. Jones and Davis (1965, in Kelley & Michela 1980: 461) identify three types of motivation or "antecedent" of attribution: information, beliefs and motivation. "Information" refers to the perceiver's knowledge of the action and its consequences; "beliefs" refers to the perceiver's beliefs about what others would have done in the same situation; and "motivation" refers to the actor's perceived intentions.

Heider (1958, in Johnson et al. 2002: 249), considered the pioneer of attribution theory, distinguishes between internal and external attributions. Internal attributions occur when a person's dispositional characteristics (such as personality, attitude and effort) are identified as the cause of their behaviour or circumstance; while external attributions identify the environment or situation as the cause for a person's actions. A fundamental attribution error occurs when an individual overemphasises the internal attributes and underemphasises the external attributes in their judgments of others (Ross 1978, in Johnson et al. 2002: 250). People tend to attribute their own misfortunes or failures externally and those of others internally, while considering their own successes as internal attributes and others' as external (Johnson et al. 2002: 249).

Kelly (1967: 194, in Kelly & Michela 1980: 462) similarly suggests that the effect of an individual's actions or circumstances is often attributed to the conditions present when the effect occurs. This perception of covariation may be greatly influenced by the perceiver's preconceptions about cause-effect relations. These erroneous conceptions contribute to the perpetuation of false causal beliefs (Kelley & Michela 1980: 462) as is the case in victim blaming. A primary focus of attribution theory has been the difference between perceived causes of other peoples' behaviour as opposed to perceived causes of one's own (Kelly & Michela 1980: 458-460). Additionally, people are more likely to blame others for their misfortunes if they maintain a belief in a just world in which good things happen to good people, and bad things to bad people. Thus, when others experience adversity, it is believed likely to be their own doing (Lerner 1980, in Johnson et al. 2002: 250).

2.6.2 Rape myths

Perhaps the greatest contribution to the perpetuation of rape is the widespread existence of rape myths. These myths are unfounded beliefs held by society about sex, sexuality and gender roles that justify rape and even blame the victim for her own violation. According to Merry (2009: 3), perpetrators of gender violence often attempt to justify their actions by drawing on assumptions of gendered responsibilities and entitlements.

In *Rape: Sex Violence History*, Bourke (2007) identifies the following rape myths that have been commonly held as true: rape is physiologically impossible (24); rape is not a serious transgression (41); women are predisposed to lie about rape in order to secure financial compensation (28); women saying “no” to sex actually mean “yes” as they are merely fulfilling the gendered role which requires women to uphold the image of sexual modesty (50); all women are naturally masochistic and are dependent on domination to achieve sexual satisfaction (71); consumption of alcohol attributes blame to the rape victim; a woman’s sexual experience or promiscuity proves that she “wants it” and that she consequently cannot be raped (81); marital rape does not exist (307). Koss and Leonard (1984) similarly define the following beliefs as myths supportive of rape: rape is not serious; women are responsible for rape prevention; women enjoy the use of force during sexual encounters; male-female relationships are adversarial; it is a man’s sexual role to seduce a reluctant woman; the use of force is a legitimate strategy to obtain sex; and women do not find sexual force offensive.

Richardson (1993: 87) adds the following beliefs to this collection: that women are not capable of deciding for themselves when they are sexually aroused; that sex is a bargain between men and women by which women attain money and security; and that marital sex is a “wifely duty”.

Such myths are used to justify instances of rape by placing “sexual torture in the realm of moral edification” (Bourke 2007: 24). Myths are used to convert atrocities into “flaccid catchphrases that seem clear and self-evident”, allowing perpetrators to contextualise sex crime in a recognised sociolinguistic framework of attribution (Bourke 2007: 24). Comments such as “She was wearing a short skirt”, “What was she doing out so late?” and “Why did she go to his house?” are examples of rape myths commonly recited.

Bourke (2007: 48) defines these rape myths as “strategies by which less powerful members of the community could be even further marginalised”. These dismissive attitudes illustrate that before the feminist movement – which began to stir as early as the mid-1800s – rape

was chiefly viewed (when it was viewed at all) as either a socially approved manifestation of male-dominated society, or a (mild) injustice to women who failed to prevent their own violation (Bourke 2007: 5). According to Ackerman (1995: 198), rape myths have two fundamental functions: to accuse the woman and to excuse the man.

In a study comparing the attitudes towards rape held by rapists to those held by the general public, Burt (1983) found that although rapists' attitudes were more radical, the two groups shared many of the same beliefs about violence such as rape and its justification.

2.6.3 The ideal victim

A derivation of attribution theory is the concept of the 'ideal victim', identified in general criminology by Nils Christie (1986) in an attempt to address the disparity between actual and imaginary victims. Christie (1986: 18) defines an "ideal" or "good" victim as a person who – when affected by crime – is most readily given the legitimate status of being a victim. Such a person is generally characterised as being physically weak, vulnerable, respectable in their deeds and whereabouts when the crime was committed, and consequently evidenced as innocent and worthy of protection. The perpetrator of a crime against an ideal victim is generally big, bad, and unknown to the victim (Smolej 2010: 69, 70; Randall 2010: 408).

In accordance with rape myths and victim blaming, these concepts are often used to undermine the credibility of victims of sexual assault who are considered too far removed from the stereotypes of "authentic" victimhood (Randall 2010: 398). These "bad" victims' accounts are subject to the most scrutiny and their credibility most attacked. Typical characteristics of "bad" victims of sexual assault include intoxication and sexualisation through dress or lifestyle, or having been sexually attacked in the past (Randall 2010: 410). Such women are seen to live "risky" lives and are accused of failing to exercise sufficient precautionary measures to avoid sexual abuse (Randall 2010: 415). They are considered partly, if not wholly, to blame for their violation and consequently undeserving of legal protection, thus minimising the perpetrators' agency and perpetuating the myth that women

are responsible for their own safety, for avoiding risk, and for the management of male sexual attention. Socially or racially marginalised women who are undervalued in a society generally fall into this category of victim, if their victimhood is at all acknowledged (Randall 2010: 410).

In addition to a woman's personal characteristics, a victim may be blamed or rendered blameless by the degree of resistance they demonstrate during the attack. It is assumed that, while being sexually assaulted, an individual who is truly unwilling will vigorously resist the attack. This expectation of resistance remains entrenched in the present legal system (Randall 2010: 415, 416). The disparity between "ideal" and "bad" victims is similarly illustrated in the expectation that a legitimate victim of assault will display their trauma in visible and gender-stereotypical ways (Randall 2010: 427).

2.7 Discursive analyses of sexual violence

Social scientists are increasingly looking towards discourse to help unravel complex social issues. The beliefs and attitudes at the root of such issues (including racism, sexual violence and misogyny, to name a few) are representative of the ideologies that reflect and maintain the relevant structural relations of a society. These ideologies are, however, often erroneously assumed to be limited to the level of the individual, thereby disregarding the overwhelming social component of their formation. By taking a discursive perspective, it is possible to illustrate how the attitudes and perceptions of the individual are constituted through the social domain, and that human subjectivity, therefore, is inseparable from the social domain (Lea 2007: 498).

Discursive analyses have shown how culturally dominant ideas about sexual violence construct discourse about it. Individually held sex-role beliefs and rape myths (as illustrated in section 2.6) are therefore seen to be constructed by, and constructive of, the ideological context they inhabit. Human subjectivity and social ideology are, in this way, inextricably unified (Lea 2007: 497, 498). It has thus been proven that rape is not merely a crime

committed by a few “sick” individuals, but a reflection of societal values (Scully & Marolla 1984; Scully 1994; Anderson & Doherty 1997).

A discursive perspective on the perceived responsibility of rape victims may similarly deconstruct rape myths by illustrating how such attributions are achieved through the construction of particular versions of events as understood within an ideological framework and thereby shift the focus from the individual to the ideological fabric of their society (Jordan 2004; Doherty & Anderson 1998). Research findings generally indicate that the victim’s attire (Whatley 2005), beauty (McCaul et al. 1990), sexual history (Schult & Schneider 1991), intoxication (Finch & Munro 2005), level of resistance (Ryckman et al. 1992), their relationship with the perpetrator (Bell et al. 1994) as well as the characteristics of the perceiver (such as rape myth acceptance) are involved in the attribution of blame (all sources referred to in Lea 2007: 495, 496).

Discursive analyses may thus explain sexual violence in terms of the language used to describe it, seeing as speakers draw upon the linguistic repertoires and discourses within their language community to account for their and others’ social actions (Lea 2007: 497). The discursive analysis of sexual violence is further discussed in Chapter 3 within the particular framework of critical discourse analysis.

CHAPTER 3

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND THE MEDIA

The first section (3.1) of this chapter will provide a chronological overview of the emergence and development of critical discourse analysis (CDA) from discourse analysis, followed by a general description of CDA, a brief explication of Fairclough's (2003) framework of analysis and examples of its use in practice. The topic of media discourse will be introduced in section 3.2, with discussions of newsworthiness, magazine essentialism, tabloid journalism, representations of sexual violence in the media, common themes in media constructions of crime, and examples of CDA applied to media discourse. The chapter will conclude with the explication of relevant theoretical terminology that will be used as key theoretical concepts in this thesis (3.3).

3.1 Discourse analysis

Before a discussion of discourse analysis may ensue, the concept of 'discourse' must be explored and defined for the purposes of the present study. Various definitions are provided for discourse ranging from Fairclough's view of discourse as semiotic elements of social practice, i.e. language, non-verbal communication and images (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 38) to Hodge and Kress (1988: 6) who use the term "discourse" to refer to the social process in which texts are rooted. Van Leeuwen (2005: 275) regards discourse as a combination of two types of elements – representations of social practices, and the purposes for and legitimations and evaluations of said social practices. Gee (2001: 719) distinguishes between discourse (with a lower-case *d*) and Discourse (with an upper-case *D*). Whereas "discourse" refers simply to language in use, "Discourse" indicates a person's social identity by integrating ways of talking, writing, reading, listening, believing, valuing, feeling and interacting.

According to this distinction, a Discourse can be viewed as an individual's "identity kit" of which discourse is merely a relational tool (Gee 2001: 719). Van Dijk's (2001: 98) use of

the term “discourse” denotes a communicative event, including written text, conversation, non-verbal communication and any other semiotic signification. Discourse is considered to be inextricably linked with society and cognition, the former including both local microstructures of personal interaction as well as more global, societal and political structures, and the latter involving personal and social cognition, beliefs, emotions and any other mental representations. The variety of definitions clearly shows how vast the field of discourse analysis is. Any researcher working in the field has to select a definition best suited for their study. Given the textual nature of this study, the focus will remain on written, as opposed to spoken, discourse analysis.

3.1.1 A historical account of discourse analysis

Kaplan and Grabe (2002: 192) identify the field of Hermeneutics as the earliest (albeit indirect) precursor of discourse analysis, as it has been dedicated to the analysis of text for centuries. A more apparent history of discourse analysis is evident from the twentieth century, with various disciplines and research fields contributing to the systematic analysis of linguistic features and patterns. The mid to late twentieth century saw efforts towards the systematic approach to discourse within various branches of research, including anthropology, applied and autonomous linguistics, English, law, education, psychology, rhetoric, sociology and technical communications (Kaplan & Grabe 2002: 195).

Through the general notion of hermeneutic interpretation, philosophy and literary criticism have contributed to the notion of the subject of a text, the contingency of interpretation, issues of the author in a text and the institutionalisation of discourses. Seminal works include Barthes (1964), Foucault (1972), Fish (1980) and Bakhtin (1981). The fields of semiotics and stylistics provided fundamental insights into language as a linguistic sign and form of pragmatic communication, notably through the work of Sebeok (1960) and Eco (1979). Kaplan and Grabe (2002: 192) note also the importance of the contributions made by the field of rhetoric, citing the works of Christensen (1963, 1967), Burke (1966), Young et al. (1970), Kinneavy (1971), and Corbett (1973), amongst others.

Although discourse analysis is practised throughout this diversity of traditions, Kress (1990: 84) argues that all forms of discourse analysis are interested in producing accounts of texts that consider features of their social, cultural and co-textual contexts to provide explanations for textual characteristics. Discourse analysis has thus invariably relied on the observation of naturally occurring language, taking for granted the existence of grammatical structures and searching instead for examples of specific constructions that are illustrative of particular discourse environments. Sentence-based studies of language, such as Chomskian linguistics, have therefore had little to contribute to the field, as natural discourse rarely occurs as isolated sentences (Kaplan & Grabe 2002: 195,196). Several other strands of linguistic theory have used, and hence developed, discourse analysis. Kaplan & Grabe (2002: 196-201) categorise these approaches as follows:

1. anthropological linguistics, whose early 20th century pioneers (including Malinowski, Firth, Sapir and Jespersen) developed the linguistic and social terminology which later linguists used to develop systems for discourse analysis, as evident in the foundations of sociolinguistics, systemic linguistics, descriptive linguistics and tagmemics (see Halliday & Hassan 1976; Hymes 1974; Quirk et al. 1972; and Young et al. 1970);
2. sociolinguistics, which, combining earlier anthropological studies and sociological perspectives towards language, emerged in the 1960s, with seminal works by Tannen (1989), Labov (1972), Cicourel (1973), Goffman (1980) and Schlegloff et al. (2002);
3. descriptive linguistics, expanding the emphasis on language in actual use to build grammatical analyses based on corpora, led by Quirk et al.'s (1972) *Grammar of Contemporary English*; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik's (1985) *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*; as well as Biber's (1998) *Variation on Speech and Writing*;
4. functional linguistics, whereby linguists such as Chafe (1976), Bolinger (1977) and Gívnón (1983, 1995) explored the ways in which the external factors of language use, such as its textual and cultural contexts and writer intention, are employed to encode information in discourse, rendering them indivisible from grammatical structure;

5. tagmemics, which may be credited with the conceptualisation of all language use within a unified theory of human behaviour, a major component of which entailed linguistic discourse analysis (see Pike 1967; Grimes 1975; Longacre 1983); and
6. systemic linguistics, introducing Halliday's (1992, 1994, 1996, 1998) systemic functional approach to language by which the discourse level is established as the primary focus of linguistic analysis, and by which interpersonal, ideational and textual manifestations and patterns could be analysed. Within systemic linguistics, artificial competence/performance distinctions are irrelevant, since all language is considered discursal or "language as use". Its applications to discourse analysis include discursive information structuring, cohesion, genre theory, grammatical metaphor, interpersonal relations in discourse, and register as reflection of social context.

In addition to the abovementioned disciplines, discourse analysis concurrently evolved from applied linguistics, which is separated from linguistics by its interdisciplinary nature and its objective to solve problems in real-world settings, in contrast to the abstract theoretical aims of linguistics (Kaplan & Grabe 2002: 209, 210). Applied linguistics is therefore not a component of linguistics, but an independent discipline for which 'language as discourse' is the fundamental notion.

According to Kress (1990: 84), written discourse analysis distinguishes itself from discourse analysis as a whole as it demands an emphasis on the text itself, with additional attention to the extra-textual context in which the text was written. Hence, written discourse analysis requires an analysis of text that relies on elements of the linguistic and organisational structures available in the text itself, including all linguistic features as potential resources that contribute to the discursal interpretation of the text (Kaplan & Grabe 2002: 193, 194).

According to Kaplan & Grabe (2002: 193-194), the following strands of research contributed more explicitly to the study of the nature of text:

1. Textlinguistics, developed in Britain and Germany, considers text as a stretch of language which is structured along linguistic lines, bound by internal cohesion and the coherence of textual units. This research strand focuses on regularities of intersentential links as well as the distribution of information in texts. Halliday and Hassan (1976, 1989) and Finegan (1999) are noteworthy in this discipline.
2. Cognitive models, a product of psychological research, is concerned with the cognitive processes behind the production and comprehension of text. Here, text is regarded as a fundamental part of human social and psychological behaviours. Analyses of texts are therefore structured around models of human cognition.
3. Discourse analysis, the leading precursor of CDA, sees texts as the negotiated communicative achievements of its participants. Austin & Searle's speech act theory is critical in the development of this discipline, showing how the writers' intentions and relationships with their readers must be regarded as features of meaning.

The use of discourse analysis as interdisciplinary research tool gained popularity in the early 1970s, implicating a vast collection of subjects and approaches such as psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics. In the first ten years of its existence, a number of key studies were published, including those of Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), Brown and Yule (1983), Stubbs (1983) and Van Dijk (1983). In the same period, two important journals were founded: *Discourse Processes* (1978) and *Text* (1981) (Kaplan & Grabe 2002: 192).

3.1.2 The development of CDA

The discipline of CDA was established in the late 1980s as a programmatic development in Critical Linguistics, pioneered by leading linguists Norman Fairclough (1989), Ruth Wodak (1995) and Teun van Dijk (1997) (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 447). In Wodak's (1995) historical survey of CDA, additional reference is made to the practitioners of Critical Linguistics of the University of East Anglia, who in the 1970s approached issues such as the use of language in social establishments and the relationships between language, ideology and power as a possible precursor to CDA. Fowler et al.'s (1979) *Language and Control* and Hodge and Kress's (1983) *Language and Ideology* are considered seminal in the development of Critical Linguistics. Their work drew upon Michael Halliday's systemic-

functional and social semiotic linguistics which proposed stringent linguistic categories for analysing the connections between discourse and social meanings. Halliday's three metafunctions of discourse – ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning – were joined by the systemic-functional analyses of transitivity, agency, nominalisation, mood, information flow and register in the framework of CDA. Thus, a critical, left-wing agenda was introduced into linguistics (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 453, 454).

A radically unique type of applied linguistics, CDA entails the analysis and description of transparent, but more specifically, opaque, structural relationships of power and discrimination in discourse (Wodak 1995: 204) in order to address a vast spectrum of social problems with the intention of providing their solutions (Kress 1990: 93-94). The editorial statement of *Discourse and Society* exemplifies this versatility by sketching its field of interest as “the reproduction of sexism and racism through discourse; the legitimization of power; the manufacture of consent; the role of politics, education and the media; the discursive reproduction of dominance relation between groups; the imbalances in international communication and information” (Kress 1990: 84). Despite its extensive domain, the general objective of CDA is the reading of discourses that exceeds the superficially accessible meanings of those discourses, providing another means to gain access to socio-cultural organisation (Kress 1990: 93).

As a combination of social and critical linguistic theory, CDA is an inherently interdisciplinary practice. It therefore follows that CDA is applicable to a diverse set of (often combined or intersecting) topics within an equally diverse collection of research fields. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000: 450-451) provide the following list of typically preferred topics of CDA:

1. political discourse, as seen in Wodak's (1989) publication *Language, Power and Ideology: Studies in Political Discourse*;
2. ideology as (re)produced in discourse, led by Fairclough's (1989) *Discourse and Power*;

3. racism, as explored most notably in the work of Van Dijk, including *Racism and the Press* (Van Dijk 1991) and *Elite Discourse and Racism* (Van Dijk 1993);
4. economic discourse, best demonstrated in Slembrouck's (1993) *Globalising flows: promotional discourses of government in Western European 'orders of discourse'*;
5. advertisement and promotional culture, exemplified in the article *Playing hard to get: metaphor and representation in the discourse of car advertisements* (Thornborrow 1998);
6. language in the media, as seen in Fairclough's (1995) *Media Discourse*;
7. gender, focusing largely on representations of women in public discourses, with prolific contributions in Talbot's (1992) *The construction of gender in a teenage magazine*;
8. institutional discourse, including the seminal publication *Language, Bureaucracy and Social Control* (Sarangi & Slembrouck 1996);
9. education, demonstrated in *Regulation in 'progressivist' pedagogic discourse: individualized teacher-pupil talk* (Chouliaraki 1998); and
10. literacy, as explored by Kress (1997) in *Before Writing: Rethinking the Paths to Literacy*.

Considering the fact that CDA is primarily interested in the exposition of discrimination, a definition for discrimination (as realised in discourse) must be provided. Although there is no consistent conceptualisation or clear-cut terminology for the different forms of social discrimination, one may consider the following five elements as the fundamental components of any and all discriminatory acts as described by Reisigl (2007:366-368). For an act to be considered discriminatory, one must be able to identify discriminator(s), i.e. social actors who are part of a particular social or cultural group and act as perpetrators of discrimination. Discriminators are generally in a position of power which allows them to discriminate against others, or empower themselves to commit such discrimination. Secondly, a discriminatory act requires specific groups or individuals affected by the discrimination. Victims of discrimination are generally part of minority or marginalised groups, often as a result of the discrimination itself. The social suppression of women, for example, illustrates that marginalisation is not always dependent on numerical minority. Complex discrimination, whereby a person or group experiences discrimination based on

more than one distinguishing feature, such as sexual orientation, race and gender, may also occur. Thirdly, an act of discrimination must have an identifiable process, which may be realised in numerous social sectors including education, legislation, media and public services, and take the form of physical action, active exclusion, denial of equality, et cetera. Fourth, a discriminatory act demands a distinguishing feature upon which the discrimination is based. This feature is frequently associated with social identity markers such as race, age, religion, political affiliation, sexual orientation, gender and socio-economic class. Conversely, a comparative group or standard is required from which or whom the discriminated person or group deviates (Reisigl 2007: 366-368).

Once a discriminatory act has been identified, it may be further characterised by Van Dijk's (1984: 40) "seven Ds of discrimination". They are dominance, differentiation, distance, diffusion, diversion, depersonalisation/destruction and daily discrimination, none of which are mutually exclusive. CDA's interest in the exposition of discrimination may be attributed to its foundations in critical sociology, from which its name was adapted (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 451; Kress 1990: 88). Consequently, language is approached as a component of society, and discourse, an instrument of power (Kress 1990: 89).

CDA gained recognition as an independent field of linguistics with the publication of Fairclough's *Language and Power* in 1989, which conducted an explicitly politicised analysis of "powerful" British discourses and offered the amalgamation of linguistic method and political dedication which has become one of the cornerstones of CDA. The appearance of the journal *Discourse & Society* in 1990, edited by Van Dijk, confirmed this institution (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 454-455). Subsequently, practitioners of CDA have addressed discriminatory issues such as racism, sexism and xenophobia, in which matters of exploitation, structural inequality and power asymmetry are underlined (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 450, 451). CDA thus holds the openly political aim of subjecting the forms, processes, production and reading of discourse, together with the power structures which begot them, to scrupulous examination, with the fundamental assumption that power difference motivates participants' linguistic choices in any given discourse (Kress 1990: 89).

Two chief objectives of CDA may be identified. Firstly, CDA displays an ardent interest in ideology and power and their effect on linguistic choice (Kress 1990: 87). A fundamental premise of CDA is that discourse, as a practical, social and cultural phenomenon, is largely (though not completely) fuelled by the ideologies of the participants (Van Dijk 1997: 2). Van Dijk (2011: 382, 388) defined, ideologies as cognitive constructs that encompass all beliefs held as truth by members of any social group or community, including their interests and relationships with other groups. It may therefore be deduced that ideologies prescribe to the members of that community what is right, wrong, true, false, et cetera (Van Dijk 2011: 386, 388). Since discourse and other semiotic messages are generally used for the articulation and justification of ideologies, text and talk are excellent media through which ideologies may be observed (Van Dijk 2011: 387). Hence, discourses are analysed to show how the matters of interest that are being represented are produced in a way that either reflects the social relations of the participants or projects a particular version of such relations (Kress 1990: 89). Linguistic choices facilitate the possibility of changing actual or projected social relations.

Secondly, CDA attempts to transcend structuralist determinism by showing that linguistic-communicative events may, conversely, influence larger social structures and processes (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 451-452; Kress 1990: 88). According to Van Dijk (1997: 7), ideologies are the cognitive equivalent of power. Members of an ideological community (whether dominant, dominated or competing for superiority) may employ discourse to achieve social goals and manage conflicts. Linguistic communication is one of the most prominent ways of motivating people to act as one desires. A speaker/writer of a powerful group might communicate their requests with the presupposition that there is no alternative to cooperation. Instead of inciting conflict by using commands or requests, powerful groups may assert their dominance by shaping the minds of members of an out-group in such a way that they act as desired as if of their own accord (Van Dijk 1997: 17; 18; 19).

These objectives are achieved through the denaturalisation of the discursive practices and texts of a society by uncovering that which may have seemed natural and transparent. Thus the overlap of discourse with socio-political power structures is revealed, potentially

resulting in the re-evaluation of not only the discursive practices, but also the socio-political practices which support them (Kress 1990: 85).

A vital characteristic of CDA is that it uncovers such power imbalances in the most ordinary and unremarkable discourses; not only in those which explicitly declare their position of power or discrimination (Kress 1990: 84). In its representational function, linguistic form is inevitably deformed by the effects of power, and always has an arbitrating effect. In its constructing function, language always projects social relations and structures as desired by (generally more powerful) participants. No linguistic form is ultimately neutral – all linguistic forms must express a singular stance, inflection or modality of that which is represented (Kress 1990: 90). Hence, all aspects of linguistic form must be accounted for within a socio-cultural framework (Kress 1990: 90-92). According to Kress (1990: 85-87), there are certain standards characterising CDA which clearly differentiate it from other politically engaged discourse analysis:

1. Firstly, language is primarily considered a type of social practice.
2. Texts are the result of socially situated speakers and writers who operate with relative degrees of possibilities of (discursive) choice within structurings of power.
3. The relationships between participants in the production of texts are generally unequal, ranging from hypothetical states of complete equality to complete inequality.
4. Meanings are the result of readers', hearers', speakers' and writers' interaction with texts; they are invariably subject to closely enforced normative rules and relations of power.
5. Linguistic features at any level are the result of social processes, and are thus motivated associations of forms and meanings. Linguistic features therefore never consist of arbitrarily affiliated forms and meanings.
6. Linguistic features, in their occurrence in texts, are invariably characterised by opacity.
7. Language users, as socially situated individuals, do not have access to one collective language system, but have partial and selective access to particular linguistic configurations. The participants of a text therefore hold different dispositions

towards language, different knowledge of differently configured systems, and different knowledge of textual forms. These differences are closely connected to the differing social positionings of the participants.

8. The notion of 'the language system' is highly problematic, as are concepts such as 'norm' and 'core'. This crucial attribute distinguishes CDA from different forms of textual analysis founded on the notion of an autonomous linguistic system.
9. A view of language which takes (micro and macro) history into account is necessitated.
10. CDA must ultimately rely on the meticulous analyses and descriptions of the materiality of language.

Despite its socio-cultural locus, it must be acknowledged that a discourse is subject also to the psychological constitution of its participants. Accordingly, CDA practitioners take care to put into crisis only the social structures illustrated in the discourse and not the psychological (where independent from the social). CDA's domain of enquiry is limited to participants' freedom of discursive choice – a choice to project one rather than another social relation – separate from psychological constraints. 'Choice' can therefore be said to be the element of discursive interaction which captures and reflects the degrees of power and control at play (Kress 1990: 87, 88).

As a theory-based discipline, the execution of CDA is dependent on a set of theoretical terms and concepts. The following section will briefly explicate these terms and concepts as is relevant to the current thesis.

In its discourse-historical approach, CDA identifies three interwoven dimensions of analysis: contents, discursive strategies and linguistic means of realisation (Wodak et al. 1999, in Blackledge 2005: 20). The contents of a discourse include the themes of the text for analysis, as well as the relevant social, cultural and political contexts of its production. The linguistic means of realisation refer to the ideological recontextualisation of information through linguistic features such as metaphor, omission, euphemism, personification,

metonym, et cetera (Blackledge 2005: 29). Such linguistic features may be used to construct certain themes and judgments through the use of discursive strategies.

Discursive strategies are involved in the positive construction of the in-group and the negative construction of the out-group. Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 45, 54, in Blackledge 2005: 21) outline the following discursive strategies to achieve such constructions:

1. referential strategies: the naming of persons, actions or objects;
2. predicational strategies: the assignment of qualities to such persons, actions or objects (Wodak & Reisigl 2001: 54);
3. argumentation/perspectivation strategies: the representation of common sense reasoning that is typical for certain issues, such as arguments around safety, responsibility, authority, human rights, et cetera (Van Dijk 2000a: 97); and
4. intensification and mitigation strategies: the positive or negative framing of an issue by the writer of a text.

3.1.3 Fairclough's framework of CDA

Fairclough, Wodak and Van Dijk are more or less universally acknowledged to be the most influential of CDA theorists. In the early 1990s, Wodak et al. (1990) pioneered a discourse historical method which integrated background information of a text into its analysis and interpretation (Wodak 1995: 6). Van Dijk (1998, 2011), on the other hand, contributed a socio-cognitive approach to CDA, proposing a set of mental models which represent an interface for personal variations of ideology and group ideologies in order to accommodate the multiple ways in which ideologies are formed (Van Dijk 2011: 390). Lastly, Fairclough's (2003) framework of CDA illustrates the causal relationship between the meaning(s) of texts and the social structures in which those texts were produced, irrespective of participants' personal cognition. Due to the present study's reliance on multi-voiced data, the latter framework will best facilitate data analysis and will therefore act as the primary analytical tool for this study. It must be noted that despite the selection of this

framework, the historical context of the data will be taken into account during its analysis. This section will be dedicated to a detailed yet concise explication of Fairclough's (2003) CDA, including illustrative diagrams (as interpreted by the researcher) and examples of its use in a diverse selection of academic fields.

As a basis for this framework, Fairclough looks at the causal relationships within society at large, by considering and explicating the following theoretical concepts: 'social agents', 'social structures', 'social practices' and 'social events'. These concepts are then applied to the production of texts, illustrating how the critical analysis of a text may be used to draw certain conclusions about a particular social structure. The following section will explicate Fairclough's framework of CDA, ranging from a broad understanding of social causality to a narrowed adaption of this model as is applicable to text production.

In his analytical framework, Fairclough (2003: 22) attributes two causal elements to the production of text: on the one hand, social agents; and on the other, social structures and practices. Critical discourse analysts may use the causality of these elements to extract from a text the social factors that are likely to have shaped it. To facilitate this discussion, the terms "social structures", "social practices", "social events" and "social agents" must be defined.

Fairclough (2003: 23) describes a social structure as an abstract entity that defines a potential or set of possibilities within a particular social domain. The economy is an example of a social structure, as are language, schooling, human rights, social hierarchy, marriage, religion, et cetera. Social structure is the framework around which social practices and events are constructed, making its evaluation and potential amendment the chief object of CDA.

Social events are communicative actions or "texts" that are performed within social structures. A tennis match, a phone call and a piano recital are all examples of social events.

Note that a social event may involve communication between unknown or unspecified parties, as is the case with, for example, a traffic light or a price tag.

The relationship between social structures and events is, however, not in any way direct or linear. The potential denoted by social structures is “filtered” by intermediate organisational entities to shape social events. These entities are known as social practices, and are responsible for controlling the selection or exclusion of certain structural possibilities and their perpetuation over time (Fairclough 2003: 23-24). A school syllabus is an example of a social practice which mediates the structural possibilities of education to result in certain perspectives or mindsets. The social practice of misogyny arbitrates the social structure of gender disparity as manifested in the event of woman abuse. Social practices may, over time, also exert influence on social structure, as is the case in the latter example.

In addition to social structures and practices, social events and their meanings are shaped by social agents. As individuals, each with unique personal influences and agendas, social agents contribute meanings to events that are not reducible to the causal powers of social structures and practices. Despite this agency, social agents – as members of a particular society – are socially constrained and invariably operate within existing social structures (Fairclough 2003: 22). Critics of CDA often consider this balance of agency and causality problematic, as the writer’s unique perspectives may obscure the social structures reflected in a text. Nonetheless, this hurdle may be overcome by analysing and comparing texts produced by a vast number of individuals, as is the case with the present study. One may conclude that social structures shape social practices (and vice versa), which, in turn, combined with social agents, shape social events (see fig. 1.)

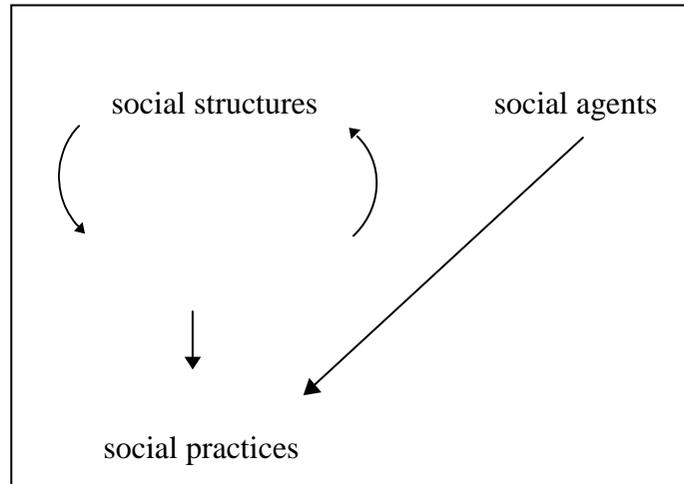


Fig. 1: An illustration of the researcher's understanding of Fairclough's model of CDA

Considering text as an abstract social event, the abovementioned formula may be applied to gain insight into the society in which a text was written. As a social event, a text will have been produced within a set of social structures. Whereas most of these social structures will vary from text to text, all texts invariably exist within the social structure of language – and in the case of publicised text, publication – making it the basis of Fairclough's (2003) model of CDA. As a social structure, language defines certain possibilities, while excluding others. These linguistic possibilities, combined with other relevant social structures (such as patriarchy or nationalism) undergo organisation and selection by the linguistic elements of networks of social practices, to which Fairclough (2003: 24) refers as “orders of discourse”.

Orders of discourse select certain possibilities defined by language and exclude others as required by the relevant type of social interaction. Fairclough (2003: 24) separates these orders of discourse into three components: genres, discourses and styles. “Genres” refers to the different ways of acting discursively, such as interviewing or text messaging; “discourses” accommodates different representations or views, which occur invariably in all social practices; and “styles” refers to the use of language as a resource for social or personal self-identification. As the social control of linguistic variation, these orders of discourse are not to be confused with elements of linguistic structure, such as verbs and

nouns, but regarded instead as the point of intersection between the discursal and the non-discursal (see fig. 2) (Fairclough 2003: 24-25).

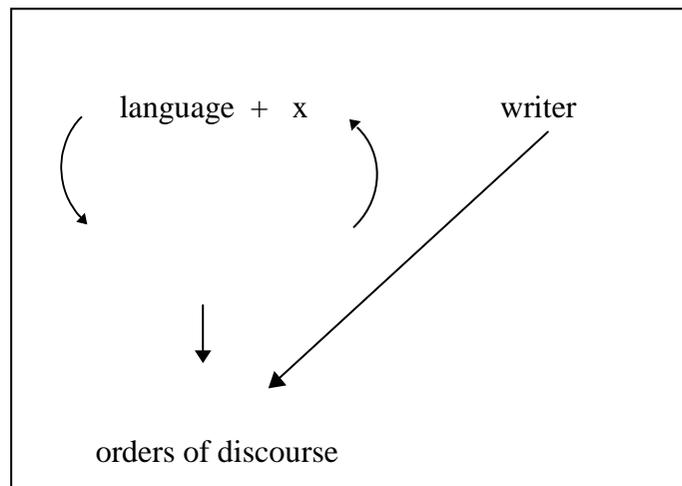


Fig. 2: Fairclough's model of CDA (see fig. 1) as applied to text as a social event

Owing to the causal relationships between language and additional social structures, orders of discourse and the resulting text, the CDA practitioner may reverse the illustrated process to gain an understanding of the social structures and practices from which a given text arose. To start this process, the meanings of a text must be analysed.

Fairclough (2003: 27, 28) identifies three major types of text meaning: action, representation and identification. "Action" generally denotes the actions of or relations with others; "representation" refers to the knowledge that is presented; and "identification" refers to relations with oneself, ethics and morality. Once a text has been analysed in terms of these aspects of meaning and how they are realised through textual features, the CDA practitioner may determine which orders of discourse were drawn upon in an effort to connect the abstract event (the text) with its real world influences (Fairclough 2003: 28).

3.1.4 Examples of Fairclough's framework of analysis in practice

In Fairclough's (1985) *Critical and Descriptive Goals in Discourse Analysis*, the application of the above framework illustrates how the normalisation of misogyny and rape myths works to disempower and discount female victims of sexual assault. Fairclough (1985: 739-741) provides the following extract of an interview between two male police officers (B and C) and a female rape victim (A) as an example of how individuals' beliefs may be deduced from their participation in a given discourse:

C: Right ... so ... what's to stop you ... shouting and screaming in the street ... when you think you're going to get raped ... you're not frightened at all ... you walk in there ... quite blasé, you're not frightened at all.

A: I was frightened.

C: You weren't ... you're showing no signs of emotion, every now and again you have a little tear ...

B: If you were frightened ... and you came at me, I think I would dive ... I wouldn't take you on, you frighten me.

A: Why would I frighten you ... ?

B: You ... you just ... it doesn't matter ... you're female and you've probably got a hell of a temper ...

A: I haven't got a temper ... a hell of a temper ...

C: Oh I don't know ...

B: I think if things were up against a wall ... I think you'd fight and fight very hard.

According to Fairclough (1985: 741), the most striking example of an ideologically-laden expression in the given text is "you're female and you've probably got a hell of a temper". The utterances "you're not frightened at all", "you're showing no signs of emotion", "I think you'd fight and fight very hard" similarly illustrate rape myth acceptance and the

naturalisation of a misogynist ideology. Fairclough (1985: 739) thus uses CDA to denaturalise such ideologies and show how social structures affect discourse and vice versa.

Outside of linguistics, Fairclough's framework for CDA has been used not only to expose discrimination, but to address a vast diversity of social issues across numerous academic fields and professions. Turner, Keyzer and Rudge (2007), for example, report how Fairclough's approach to discourse as a constituent of social practice has been used to assess the implementation of Nurse Practitioners' professional autonomy in rural Australia. The differences between policy and practice were investigated through the critical analysis of social discourses of nursing within healthcare, in comparison with the experiences of nurses working in Nurse Practitioner positions. Data was examined to identify subjectivities within texts, and how these positions showed the operation of power. Whereas policy texts were found to support the notion of autonomy, the experience of nurses indicated a mere shift in the traditional boundaries of nurses' roles. A significant disparity was thus found between the rhetoric of policy and the implementation of Nurse Practitioner roles in rural Australia (Turner et al. 2007: 38, 40).

Waller (2008) provides another example of Fairclough's CDA in yet another professional domain, analysing discourse surrounding a non-indigenous Information and Communication Technology (ICT) for livelihood development in Jamaica. The findings of this study reveal that this initiative represented the achievement of livelihood development through the use of specific non-indigenous ICTs. Particular ways of acting and organising were employed which constrained the realisation of livelihood opportunities for the underprivileged entrepreneurs at which it was aimed. This discourse additionally limited the operation of microenterprise entrepreneurs. It is thus shown that such discourse has significant implications for the future opportunities of the involved entrepreneurs, with wider implications for national development (Waller 2008: 674).

A third example of the use of Fairclough's model is found in Edu-Buandoh's (2011) critical analysis of the strategies by which the aims and objectives of four public universities in

Ghana are to be redefined. The analysis indicates a shift from traditional academic discourse to a discourse of marketisation. This shift is evident in the linguistic features of the strategies, as well as the orders of discourse that construct the universities as corporate entities (Edu-Buandoh 2011: 88).

These studies illustrate both the interdisciplinary nature of CDA in general, and how widely Fairclough's CDA may be applied.

3.1.5 Critique of Fairclough's analytical framework

Although many social scientists condone CDA's view of texts as artifacts which both create and reflect social realities, questions have been raised about the epistemic value of its foundations and methodology (Poole 2010: 138). Fairclough's integration of Foucault's "orders of discourse", Bakhtin's "intertextuality" and Halliday's grammatical framework is considered wanting by a significant faction of scholars (Poole 2010: 148). His framework is equally criticised for largely focusing on neo-liberal discourses, drawing on linguistics solely for its terminology, and presenting linguistic descriptions to validate political judgments (Poole 2010: 137).

Widdowson (2004), the most prolific of Fairclough's critics, bases his case against CDA on several interrelated criticisms (Poole 2010: 148). First, he claims that CDA bases its textual analyses on inconsistent principles and that, for this reason, CDA is virtually indistinguishable from literary criticism (Widdowson 2004: 164). Secondly, he argues that CDA does not provide any exact framework on how to conduct its analyses (Widdowson 2004: 166). Thirdly, he suggests that CDA practitioners too readily build interpretive superstructures upon "the frailest of text-linguistic foundations" (Widdowson 2004: 165). For these reasons, Widdowson (2004:169) believes that CDA entails critical discourse interpretations, as opposed to analyses.

In addition to these criticisms, Poole (2010: 152) considers Fairclough's predictably left-wing interpretation of every text examined his greatest shortcoming. He argues that Fairclough (and his followers) habitually choose texts whose assumptions the analyst finds politically incorrect, providing textual descriptions "not [as] a voyage of exploration but an exercise of justification". True criticality would require reading against the grain of all texts and unpacking all contained assumptions and beliefs. In this regard, Widdowson (2004: 107) claims that practitioners of Fairclough's CDA call upon whatever linguistic features would lend themselves to the analysts' predetermined interpretations, presenting textual analyses as a mere pretence of objectivity.

Fairclough's CDA is thus believed to approach texts with its own prefabricated interpretation stemming from political conviction as opposed to linguistic analysis (Poole 2010: 138). Yet, despite such critique, CDA has firmly taken root as an independent sociolinguistic discipline.

Addressing these criticisms, CDA theorists have started to incorporate metaphor and cognitive linguistics, specifically in Van Dijk's (2011) socio-cognitive approach, in order to link language with cognition. Corpus linguistics has been employed in order to ground CDA much more in the text, and to justify foci on particular topics. Corpus linguistics can provide information such as frequency of occurrence and collocations which provides more empirical evidence for CDA (Deignan 2005). Closer linguistic analyses focusing on predicational and referential strategies have also been able to address the criticism that CDA interprets rather than analyses (Blackledge 2005). Therefore, taking into consideration the criticisms and the ways they can be addressed in CDA research, Fairclough's framework together with a close linguistic analysis will be used in this thesis.

3.2 Media discourse

Owing to the present study's analysis of magazine discourse, the following sections will describe firstly how news is constructed and mediated by journalistic practice, and,

secondly, the influence mass mediated discourse has on society. A definition and brief discussion of magazine exceptionalism and tabloid journalism will then be provided, followed by a short explication of the linguistic research value of advice columns, a summary of theoretical responses to media discourses of sexual violence and a layout of common themes found in media representations of crime.

3.2.1 The construction of news

According to Scollon (1998), the process of newsmaking relies invariably upon at least two parties – newsmakers (those whom news stories are about), and the journalists who construct reports around them. Parallel to this interdependence exists a tension between authorship and principalship, the first of which Goffman (1981, in Scollon 1998: 231) defines as the role of verbalising thoughts and ideas (of newsmakers), and the latter, the role of taking ownership of that which those words convey. News journalism invariably takes advantage of this tension between authorship and responsibility to represent newsmakers and news reports within certain topical frames under the guise of neutrality. Simply put, the newsmaker of any given news story is merely a figure subjectively constructed from the characterisations and evaluations of the journalist, and it is this subjectivity with which the reader is presented as fact. The ways in which a newsmaker is named, for example, conveys to a significant degree the journalist or news agency's evaluation of the newsmaker (Caldas-Coulthard 1993, 1994, in Scollon 1998: 227). The reporter may also delegate ownership for the ideas they express by using, for example, either direct or indirect quotation. The reporter also controls the selection and sequence of quotations in the narrative (Scollon 1998: 223-231).

The role of the newsmaker is thus not to create newsworthy events, but to provide journalists with raw material from which news stories may be constructed (Scollon 1998: 245). Such mediation essentially renders news journalism a discourse of and between journalists, having less to do with reporting events than the selection and publication of opinions and statements about these events (Scollon 1998: 216).

Along with the disparities between authorship and principalship in journalistic discourse, news journalism is governed by a set of topical frames to which events must adhere to be considered newsworthy. Galtung and Ruge (1965, in Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 262-264) provide the following list of frames of newsworthiness:

1. High frequency: a type of event which occurs at a similar frequency as the publication of a given news medium tends to be considered more newsworthy than a social trend of a long duration.
2. Threshold: events have to pass a certain threshold of intensity or relevance to be selected as “news”.
3. Unambiguity: those responsible for news selection tend to steer clear of events of which the meanings are ambiguous.
4. Meaningfulness: events that are culturally congruent with a given society will better fit the news selector’s frame of reference than those that are incongruent, and will therefore be considered more newsworthy.
5. Consonance: the news selector may predict a particular event or outcome and create a premature image of it, thereby increasing its chances of becoming news.
6. Unexpectedness: the more unexpected or unusual an event – among those that are culturally familiar – the greater its chances of being selected as news.
7. Continuity: once an event has become headline news, it tends to remain in the media spotlight for an extended period of time as it has become familiar to the public and therefore easier to interpret.
8. Composition: the ability of an event to fit into the overall composition of a particular publication may overrule its intrinsic news value.
9. Reference to elite nations: the actions of nations that are deemed elite within a given culture or society are considered more consequential than the actions of non-elite countries.
10. Reference to elite people: similarly, the actions of celebrities or individuals considered elite within a particular culture or society will enjoy more reportage than the actions of the “nameless” non-elite.
11. Reference to persons: events that are traceable to individual persons will be favoured over events resulting from social forces – this news factor is a product of the cultural

idealism according to which an individual is responsible for what happens to or around them.

12. Reference to something negative: events that are uniformly perceived as negative (and usually unexpected) will invariably be considered more newsworthy than events with positive meanings and that occur over longer periods of time.

Following these factors, Galtung and Ruge (1965, in Harcup & O'Neill 2001: 264) proffer three hypotheses:

1. The more of these frames a particular event satisfies, the more likely it is to be considered newsworthy.
2. Once a news item has been selected, its compliance to the above criteria will be emphasised (distorted).
3. These processes of news selection and distortion will take place repeatedly from the occurrence of the event to the reader's interpretation of the report.

It is therefore undeniable that news stories are invariably subjective reconstructions of real events. However, despite such conspicuous mediation, mass media is still indicative of the institutional organisation of a particular society, as the individuals producing public discourse, as social agents, remain socially constrained (Fairclough 2003: 22). Public media may thus be held responsible for the cultivation and perpetuation of consciously shared perspectives, and its analysis reflective of the different institutional structures within a particular culture. It is for this reason that media discourse was one of the first areas of interest for CDA, with Van Dijk's (1991) *Racism and the Press* detailing the way media discourses, along with other forms of public discourse, construct ethnic minorities and other out-groups as "other" or inferior to the in-group (Van Dijk 1997: 32).

3.2.2 Magazine exceptionalism

Although magazine discourse is largely removed from news discourse, it is similarly governed by journalists' constructs within certain newsworthy frames. However, unlike fact-driven media platforms such as newspapers or television broadcasting, magazines are

essentially a product of their social and cultural environment and a potential catalyst for social change – a distinction which Abrahamson (2007: 667) identifies as “magazine exceptionalism”. This distinction suggests that magazines – as sources of pleasure, interpretive information and identity formation of more or less clearly identifiable communities – serve as exceptionally useful indicators of any particular sociocultural reality, meriting a cultural importance far greater than their facile literary image would suggest (Abrahamson 2007: 667; Holmes 2007: 510-511).

Abrahamson (2007: 669-670) attributes magazine exceptionalism to several inter-related causes. The most prominent of these are the fact that the subject or genre of a magazine identifies a particular interest-driven community, forging a uniquely intimate relationship between journalists and readers, and that magazine journalism typically involves the reader on a personal level by inspiring some sort of self-improvement.

However, the theory of magazine exceptionalism remains a challenge to substantiate, with particular regard to the concept of causality. It is difficult to prove whether magazine journalism initiates changes in society or vice versa. Nevertheless, despite the variety of academic approaches to the study of magazines – ranging from Frank Luther Mott’s (1930) *A History of American Magazines 1841-1850* to second-wave feminist analyses of the subliminal messages behind magazines’ portrayal of women (Friedan 1963; Ferguson 1983; et cetera) – magazine analysis invariably revolves around the tension between the content of a given periodical and the corresponding sociocultural reality of its readers. Abrahamson (2007: 670) adds that in a media-saturated culture, it is impossible to separate the media’s effects on society from those of culture. Magazine journalism therefore proves particularly valuable for social research as it has largely been unique in its function as a simultaneously reflective and transformative cultural entity – rivalled in this respect only by the relatively recent boom of internet-based social media (Abrahamson 2007: 667; Holmes 2007: 510-513).

3.2.3 Tabloid journalism

The social function of modern journalism typically ranges between that of public service and profit; “hard” news and entertainment (Harrington 2008: 2). The former, which MacDonald (2000: 251, in Harrington 2008) defines as thorough, objective investigation and rational analysis, has been regarded as the normative standard for quality journalism with which the public ought to engage. Since the 1980s, however, public preference has progressively shifted away from this form of “quality” reportage and towards a more mass produced, popular culture-based form of journalism (Harrington 2008: 2-5).

Such culture-based publications or “tabloids” are often considered the distasteful and sensationalised antithesis of “quality” news media. Unlike “quality” journalism, which constantly strives for objectivity, tabloid journalism unapologetically favours subjective news coverage of anything and everything sensational, including scandal, crime, human tragedy and the disruption of everyday life. The genre is equally identifiable by its reliance on pre-existing story structures to integrate new information into conventionally accepted frameworks, as well as its amplification of the human interest element of reports by taking an “eyewitness camera viewpoint” (Grabe 1996: 926-929). It is largely the latter feature which secures tabloids’ popularity over “quality” news; individual people are typically easier to identify with than social structures and institutions (Hartley 1982: 78, in Harrington 2008: 15).

The binaries of “quality” and tabloid media are documented by Harrington (2008: 6) and Grabe (1996: 929) as in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Differences between Tabloid and Broadsheet publications

Tabloid	Broadsheet
Popular	Quality

Subjective	Objective
Trivial	Serious
Personal	Political
Private	Public
Popular culture	High culture
Emotional	Rational
Lay knowledge	Expert knowledge
Celebrity	Intellectual
Consumer	Citizen
Feminine	Masculine
Profit	Service
Micro-politics	Macro-politics
Wants	Needs
Sensational tone	Distant tone
Aimed at working class	Aimed at middle to upper class
Involves readers	Informs readers

Throughout these binary discourses, the characteristics of “tabloid” media listed above are considered inferior to those of “quality” news, with the latter enjoying higher esteem despite its lesser popularity. Tabloids’ personalisation and popularity are generally considered tasteless and trivial; their often transparent goal of maximising revenue a token of poor news quality (Harrington: 2008).

However, such condescension towards tabloid traits such as femininity, lay knowledge and the “personal” may merely be a product of the socially engrained elitism of “quality” news media (Harrington 2008: 16). According to Lumby (1999: 38), Machin and Papatheoderou (2002: 46) and Mcguigan (1998), tabloids’ prioritisation of personal experience over public relevance provides a vital link between the “everyday” private and “distinguished” public spheres, representing a process of democratisation and social inclusion (Harrington 2008: 13-15). Ornebring and Jönsson (2004: 292) in fact argue that tabloids might be essential in expanding “public discourse and the public sphere.”

3.2.4 Magazine advice columns

According to Liao & Liao (2009: 307), giving advice has been recognised as a common discourse function with the purpose of expressing an opinion or opinions to influence others’ behaviours or decisions. Readers look to advice columns for authoritative, yet non-threatening emotional support (Moran 1989: 119). In the study of written advice discourse, advice columns in magazines have received primary attention, with particular focus on the subliminal communication of norms and values, contributing in particular to the fields of psychology and sociology (see Currie 2001; Mutongi 2000; Stoll 1998). It has been determined that of all aspects of media, advice columns, together with advertisements, have the greatest intention to influence readers directly (Moran 1989: 120).

Van Dijk (1997) dismisses the study of magazine advice columns as unsuitable for linguistics, because different advice givers might appeal differently to different readers with different issues. This point of view may, however, be challenged by the fact that the content of problem letters (from advice seekers) and response letters (from advice givers) are invariably made public, despite taking the form of a personal exchange, with the intention of reaching a wider audience and may therefore be interpreted as such (Locher 2010: 47). Institutional ideologies of a publication are also likely to influence the content and perspective of its response letters (Locher 2010: 48). The linguistic analysis of advice columns may therefore be considered a legitimate platform for social commentary.

3.2.5 Media representations of female victims of sexual assault

Reiner et al. (2000a, 2000b, in Smolej 2010: 71) consider the foregrounding of victims of crime in news media one of the most important qualitative developments in the representation of crime following the Second World War. Victims have evolved from having no more than a functional role in crime narratives to holding a focal position, with their trauma becoming the subject of the narrative. In this way, victims have become relatable characters whose experiences are expected to be representative of the general citizen, as opposed to atypical and unique (Garland 1999: 14). The development of tabloidisation or “infotainment” ensued, relying on emotional responses to attract audiences (Smolej 2010: 71).

Media reporting of rape rose dramatically during the 1970s and was established as a routine feature by the mid-1980s. Soothill and Walby (1991: 22, in Berrington & Jones 2002: 311) attribute this phenomenon directly to commercial imperatives, with news media using sexually titillating reports of sexual violence as “soft pornography” to hike sales. Reports of sexual abuse have essentially become voyeuristic and misogynistic, reflecting and reinforcing patriarchal values. Stories of sexual murders, for example, act as a warning to female readers not to stray too far from the safety of male protection. With reports becoming more eroticised, a certain level of male sexual violence against women is normalised as an expected part of life. Consequently, boundaries continue to be pushed to shock audiences with new angles and heightened levels of suffering in a continuum of depersonalised depictions of sexual assault and the women whom it befell (Berrington & Jones 2010: 311, 312).

Through CDA, the underlying ideologies of such depersonalisations or mitigations and any other value judgments expressed by mass media may be linked to the ideologies of the society in which they are produced.

3.2.6 Common themes in media representations of crime

To begin with, it must be noted that crime reporting in tabloid media differs from that in “quality” media by the former’s tendency to be more sensational, present more conservative law enforcement messages, and to have more entertainment features than “serious” news material (Roshier 1981; Garkawe 1995; in Wilczynski & Sinclair 1999: 264).

Media reports of crime may have one of several foci. Reports may address crime as an issue, using individual examples to motivate a specific argument or point of view; or, conversely, report a specific event, with no attempts at social commentary. Wilczynski and Sinclair’s (1999: 268) thematic analysis of media representations of child abuse illustrates that the degree to which reports of abuse focus on individual cases may fall under any of the following four groupings:

1. reports primarily focusing on specific cases;
2. reports partially focusing on specific cases;
3. general reports not linked to specific cases; and
4. reports in which specific instances of abuse are the non-primary focus of the article.

With regard to recurrent themes in abuse reports, Wilczynski and Sinclair (1999: 262) deduce from the extensive research on the portrayal of crime in the media three key motifs: the concepts of ‘moral panic’, ‘newsworthiness’, and an emphasis on “law and order” messages.

The concept of ‘moral panic’ involves the identification of a social issue as a threat to society, dramatisations and distortions of the issue by the media to produce stereotypes, the proposal of potential solutions, and the identification of “folk devils” or scapegoats to act as symbols of moral deviance. The “newsworthiness” of a crime depends on a subset of “news values”, typically resulting in crime stories which focus on unusual, individual offences, with little emphasis on the social factors contributing to the crime (Surette 1992: 59, in

Wilczynski & Sinclair 1999: 263). The media also reflects punitive criminal justice policies, often referred to as “law and order” messages. This theme portrays crime as an escalating threat and therefore requiring stricter law enforcement. The concept of ‘dangerousness’ is highlighted, focusing on the identification and punishment of dangerous criminals (Craze & Moynihan 1994; Pratt 1997, in Wilczynski & Sinclair 1999: 263).

Reports of child abuse yielded the following key themes (Wilczynski & Sinclair 1999: 264-278):

1. “hard news”, dealing with individual cases as crime news and describing only the most pertinent details of a case;
2. “soft news” or “human interest” stories, including feel-good “victim success” stories, research-related stories, and “victim failure” stories;
3. abuse stories emphasising incongruity, irony or unpredictability;
4. abuse “horror stories”, evoking powerful negative emotions of horror, revulsion, anger or tragedy (Johnson 1989: 7, 8, in Wilczynski & Sinclair 1999: 168, 269);
5. reports relying on official sources of criminal justice;
6. the individualisation and demonisation of perpetrators;
7. the causation and prevention of abuse; and
8. moral panic or “dangerousness”.

In addition to the above categorisations and explications of journalistic concepts, it is necessary to define a set of theoretical concepts to facilitate the analysis of data in subsequent chapters.

3.3 Theoretical concepts

“Event story” vs. “issues report”

White (1997: 1-5) defines “hard news” as reports typically associated with the identification of potential or actual breaches of the moral or social order. In this regard, much of the data presented in the present study will be examined within the genre of “hard news” journalism

and the associated terminology. This theme, however, is limited to the content of the data as the style and structure of tabloid journalism invariably differ from those of typical “quality” or hard news reportage.

Two sub-categories of “hard news” content may be identified: the “event story” and the “issues report”. As implied by the terms, an “event story” describes the happenings of a particular event, and an “issues report” provides a discussion of public states of affairs and typically describes the opinions of relevant authorised sources (White 1997: 1, 2). These two categories are mutually inclusive, as “event stories” often include official sources, and “issues reports” generally feature certain illustrative events.

As a genre, “hard news” is generally understood to be objective and ideologically neutral, yet many “hard news” reports or reports with “hard” content depart from this neutrality by consciously or unconsciously orientating the reader to the reported situations through a certain ideological or otherwise subjective point of view. Accordingly, such reports are typically characterised by a generic structure which acts to neutralise or obscure underlying ideologies, as well as the construction of a journalistic register which delineates interpersonally charged register variables (White 1997: 1, 5-7). Such interpersonally charged registers generally make use of intensification – a discursive strategy whereby language is used to encode a sense of heightened involvement or intensity in a described situation in order to construct it as significant or emotive.

The intensification used in “events stories” usually takes two forms: language that integrates a sense of personal engagement in and heightened impact with informational meanings, and comparisons implying the severity or significance of the reported action (White 1997: 7). “Issues reports” use the same lexical resources to create intensification, yet they do not need to rely so heavily on this strategy as they have more freedom than “events stories” in their choice of meanings and representations with which to amplify the impact of the report and engage the reader’s emotions (White 1997: 8). Additionally, “issues reports” may use the vagueness of reported speech to increase the sense of the author’s (and consequently, the

reader's) engagement in the text. This vagueness, as well as the author's selection and positioning of quoted sources, may be used to maintain the author's neutrality by communicating certain subjectivities under the guise of attribution (White 1997: 8).

Narrative

“Hard news” reports or reports containing “hard” content invariably take the form of a narrative, broadly defined by White (1997: 21) as human discourses acting to construct social reality. A narrative may thus be identified as the communication of key social values, cultural assumptions and ideologically defined themes through the organisation of text. Due to such social inflection, the categories, relationships and orderings of text reflect culturally significant entities rather than natural arrangements (White 1997: 21).

Framing

As discussed in 3.1.4, Fairclough's (2003) model for CDA identifies several social factors in the production of meaning in text, namely social agents, structures and practices (Fairclough 2003: 22-24). The meanings produced by these factors – and, in turn, interpreted by readers – are therefore innately subjective constructions that vary in accordance with the social factors at play.

In mass media reports, any number of social-structural or personal ideological variables may contribute to the conceptualisation and construction of social reality (Scheufele 1999: 107). These constructions are achieved by providing the frames of reference by which the public interprets social issues or events (Scheufele 1999: 104-105; Tuchman 1978: ix). Mass media thus “frame” public events to give them certain meanings or subjective slants.

According to Entman (1993, in Scheufele 1999: 107), the most fundamental factors of framing are salience and selection. Entman (1993: 52) defines framing as the process of selecting certain elements of a perceived reality and magnifying their salience in a way that

promotes a particular problem identification, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or recommended solutions. The framing of an issue or event therefore influences how readers come to understand that issue or event (Price et al. 1995: 4). At the same time, the public's information processing is influenced by preexisting frames made up of personal experience, social interaction and, significantly, mass media frames (Scheufele 1999: 105; Neuman et al. 1992: 120).

In this way, media frames become embedded in the way a society perceives news and newsworthiness, thus perpetuating the ideologies which begot them and, consequently, organising the world both for news reporters and for those relying on their reports (Gitlin 1980: 7).

Superstructure

In order to analyse print media articles, it is necessary to have a basic vocabulary of the structural layout in which such articles – especially “hard news” reports – generally occur. Bear (1997) and White (1997: 9, 12) identify the most pertinent of these structural features as follows:

1. **Headline:** a line or lines of text which introduce an article and are invariably set in a typeface larger than that of the main text and other peripheral texts;
2. **Title blurb:** one or more lines of text between the headline and the body of the article – set in a typeface larger than that of the main text, yet smaller than the headline – which expands on the information in headline;
3. **Body blurb:** one or more lines of text – set in a typeface larger than that of the main text, yet smaller than the headline – with the aim of inviting the reader to read the article (Bear 1997);
4. **Lead:** the opening sentence, typically repeating the informational content of the headline;

5. Nucleus: the combination of headline and lead, launching the reader into the climax of the disruption of social order featured in the report (White 1997: 9, 12).

The terms and concepts defined above will be used throughout the analysis and discussion of the data that is to follow in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

The general design of the present thesis entails the application of Fairclough's (2003) CDA to data from the iconic South African publication *Drum* magazine. The aim of this endeavour is to identify the personal, cultural and ideological stances (and potential changes in said stances) that ordinary South Africans assume on male to female sexual violence, paying particular attention to the distribution of blame attributed to victims and perpetrators of such acts. The identification of these judgments may encourage self-reflection and, ultimately, an adjustment in the way such issues are presented in mass media and other social discourse. The following sections will contextualise the present thesis both socially and theoretically and expound the criteria used for data collection, selection and analysis. The inclusion of the social contextualisation in this chapter follows Fairclough's (2003) view that the social setting of a discourse is fundamental to the handling of the data.

4.1 South African social/legal context

Until the feminist movement changed the way society viewed the abuse of women, issues of sexual assault were regarded as natural or a product of social class. Over the past thirty odd years, women's movements have redefined gender violence as a significant social issue worthy of legal and public reform (Merry 2009: 25). Despite such development, sexual assault remained entrenched in many a society, with the Human Rights Watch of 1995 dubbing South Africa the "rape capital of the world" (Jewkes & Abrahams 2002: 1231).

According to Ackerman (1995: 200, 204), the 1985 South African law surrounding sexual offences reinforced women's subordination and worked to empower (male) rapists and further disempower (female) rape victims. This law (which was upheld until its amendment in 2007) narrowly defined rape as the unlawful and intentional sexual intercourse by a male with a non-consenting female, where "sexual intercourse" refers exclusively to the penetration of a vagina by a penis. By implication, only females could be

raped and only males could rape. Rape could also not occur between married partners. The law also stipulated that in order for an act to be classified as rape, it must have been intentional and not “accidental” (Ackerman 1995: 204). Here “intention” refers to the rapist’s knowledge and interpretation of the victim’s non-consent (Ackerman 1995: 206). If the man could provide a reason for believing the woman to be consenting, the blame would shift from the rapist to the victim for not making her non-consent clearer to her assailant.

Ackerman (1995: 206) points out that according to this law, rape was the only crime based on the perceptions of the perpetrator instead of the victim. The woman was held responsible for the man’s interpretation of her willingness or lack thereof. As MacKinnon (1983: 652-653) writes: “... because he did not perceive that she did not want him, she was not violated. She had sex.” This law reflected the gender inequality of South African society at the time.

The law of 1985 also distinguished between “rape” (forced vaginal penetration) and “unnatural” offences such as oral or anal penetration or vaginal and other penetration with an object, which were deemed “indecent assault”. It may thus be concluded that if forced anal penetration is an “unnatural” crime, rape, according to said law, was deemed a “natural” offence (Ackerman 1995: 209). The South African law prohibiting rape was therefore sex-, orifice- and instrument-specific and precluded marital rape (Ackerman 1995: 209).

A set of “cautionary rules” existed to “protect” accused men from false accusation and conviction (Ackerman 1995: 220). These rules implied that

1. The woman must be able to defend her case with evidence of physical submission.
2. The charge of rape should be confirmed by an independent witness.
3. A rape complainant could lose all credibility based on a sexual history which indicates an inclination towards engaging in sexual intercourse (perhaps with multiple partners, or merely premaritally). This rule again touches on the sexual

double standard imposed on women; women who embrace their sexuality are “bad women” or “sluts” and should be treated as such.

The South African Law Commission (1985: 57-62, in Ackerman 1995: 222) justified these cautionary rules by claiming that women might have ulterior motives for accusing men of rape. This claim, in turn, was qualified by the notion that women’s actions were influenced by “uniquely female” emotional afflictions such as sexual frustration and spite. Pregnancy due to the rape was considered a potential financial motive for the accusation.

In 1999, national debate surrounding sexual violence reached critical heights when President Mbeki initiated research on the incidence of female rape across the country (Jewkes & Abrahams 2002: 1230). It was only in 2007, however, that rape and sexual assault were redefined in South African law with the passing of Act No. 32 of 2007: Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act. According to this Act, as published in the Government Gazette, Volume 510, Number 30599 (2007: 20-22) (as is applicable to the present study):

1. Any person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant (“B”), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of rape.
2. Any person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally compels a third person (“C”), without the consent of C, to commit an act of sexual penetration with a complainant (“B”), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of compelled rape.
3. A person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally sexually violates a complainant (“B”), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of sexual assault.
4. A person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally inspires the belief in a complainant (“B”) that B will be sexually violated, is guilty of the offence of sexual assault.
5. A person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally compels a third person (“C”), without the consent of C, to commit an act of sexual violation with a complainant (“B”), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of compelled sexual assault.

6. A person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally compels a complainant (“B”), without the consent of B, to (a) engage in (i) masturbation; (ii) any form of arousal or stimulation of a sexual nature of the female breasts; or (iii) sexually suggestive or lewd acts, with B himself or herself; (b) engage in any act which has or may have the effect of sexually arousing or sexually degrading B; or (c) cause B to penetrate in any manner whatsoever his or her own genital organs or anus, is guilty of the offence of compelled self-sexual assault.
7. A person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally, whether for the sexual gratification of A or of a third person (“C”) or not, compels or causes a complainant 18 years or older (“B”), without the consent of B, to be in the presence of or watch A or C while he, she or they commit a sexual offence, is guilty of the offence of compelling or causing a person 18 years or older to witness a sexual offence.
8. A person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally, whether for the sexual gratification of A or of a third person (“C”) or not, compels or causes a complainant 18 years or older (“B”), without the consent of B, to be in the presence of or watch (a) A while he or she engages in a sexual act with C or another person (“D”); or (b) C while he or she engages in a sexual act with D, is guilty of the offence of compelling or causing a person 18 years or older to witness a sexual act.
9. A person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally, whether for the sexual gratification of A or of a third person (“C”) or not, compels or causes a complainant 18 years or older (“B”), without the consent of B, to be in the presence of or watch A or C while he or she engages in an act of self-masturbation, is guilty of the offence of compelling or causing a person 18 years or older to witness self-masturbation.
10. A person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally, whether for the sexual gratification of A or of a third person (“C”) or not, exposes or displays or causes the exposure or display of the genital organs, anus or female breasts of A or C to a complainant 18 years or older (“B”), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of exposing or displaying or causing the exposure or display of genital organs, anus or female breasts to a person 18 years or older.
11. A person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally, whether for the sexual gratification of A or of a third person (“C”) or not, exposes or displays or causes the exposure or display of child pornography to a complainant 18 years or older (“B”),

with or without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of exposing or displaying or causing the exposure or display of child pornography to a person 18 years or older.

12. A person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally engages the services of a person 18 years or older (“B”), for financial or other reward, favour or compensation to B or to a third person (“C”) (a) for the purpose of engaging in a sexual act with B, irrespective of whether the sexual act is committed or not; or (b) by committing a sexual act with B, is guilty of engaging the sexual services of a person 18 years or older.

Hirshman and Larson (1998: 6) claim that the laws governing rape reflect the core beliefs of a society about the role of sexual access, the privileged status of physical persons (and the inclusion of females in this category), and the political/social status of females and other rape victims. According to this belief, it would follow that the above amendments would result in a decrease in sexual violence in South Africa. Contrarily, rape and other sexual offences in South Africa have remained rife throughout the first decade of the 21st century.

According to the *StatsSA Victims of Crime Survey* (2010, in the South African Police Service’s (SAPS) *Crime Statistics Overview RSA 2011/2012* 2012: 14), sexual offences comprise approximately 9.5% of all reported contact crime in South Africa, ranking the most feared of all crimes for 27% of South African households. SAPS (2012: 38) also indicate that adult females are sexually victimised more frequently than any other group. Of the 64 514 sexual offences reported in 2011/2012, 31 299 (48.5%) were perpetrated against women, 7 535 (11.4%) against men, and 25 862 (40.1%) against children* of both sexes (SAPS 2012: 38).

As with all research on reported crime, the findings of said surveys are invariably influenced by victims’ reluctance or inability to report their assault. The results are additionally skewed by the expansion of the legal definition of various forms of sexual assault with the implementation of the Sexual Offences Amendment Act of 2007 (as expounded above) (SAPS 2012: 29). Despite these distorting factors, it is clear that sexual violence in South

Africa is committed at alarming rates, revealing its normalisation in a culture which values both patriarchy and violence.

4.2 *Drum* magazine

The iconic South African tabloid *Drum* was selected for this study for its cultural significance and the role it played in shaping African values and traditions. The decades of archived *Drum* periodicals contain material so rich in cultural and ideological identification that its close analysis, in light of its immense readership, may shed light upon the dynamics of contemporary South Africa (Odhiambo 2006: 171).

Financed by Jim Bailey, this pioneer in African media was first published in Cape Town in 1951 with the aim of providing an authentic platform for the black African working class to share their experiences and to imagine and disseminate notions of African culture and politics (Bailey 1982, in Mutongi 2000: 1; Odhiambo 2006: 157). Originally known as *The African Drum*, this essentially African publication fulfilled the “urgent need to tell an ‘African story’” and reclaim black Africans’ sense of selfhood that had been warped by years of European rule (Odhiambo 2006: 170).

According to Odhiambo (2006: 161, 162), the initial success of *Drum* may be attributed at least partially to the rise of Pan-Africanism and anti-colonialism in Africa after the Second World War. Circulation of information across the continent, and indeed the world, was imperative in networking the ideas and activities of African liberals. African intellectuals and prospective politicians conducted debates and discussions on the future of the continent in exclusive journals – such as *Presence Africaine*, *Transition*, *Black Orpheus* and *Bantu World* – that did not reach the illiterate masses (Odhiambo 2006: 161, 162).

Drum writers Todd Matshikiza, Can Themba and Henry Nxumalo became journalistic pioneers, supported by the photography of artists such as Jurgen Schadenberg and Peter

Magubane. Together they provided an outlet for mineworkers, domestic workers and the everyday black South African individual. During the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, *Drum* published articles and pictures of the struggle against Apartheid. The content of *Drum* was varied. The publication also featured entertainment, editorial pieces, debates, news, interviews, book excerpts, readers' letters, essays, a pen-pal section, advertisements, photographs of beautiful African women and advice columns about health ("Dr Drum") and heartbreak ("Dear Dolly") (Ngugi 2007: 18). Some texts included political statements that supported particular cultural perspectives and identities; others provided counter-narratives to the colonial impositions and prejudices of the day. This liberal mixture of the popular and the political was commercially so successful that Bailey established over thirty regional offices in East, Central and West Africa in the early 1960s (Odhiambo 2006: 169, 170; Mutongi 2000: 2). Historically, *Drum* became the first popular English-language magazine to be published and distributed in Anglophone Africa during both colonial and post-colonial periods (Odhiambo 2006: 158, 165).

Drum magazine has left in its trail a considerable community of readers with a broadened understanding of transnational African experiences. It is because of this vast readership and the publication's interactive style that the information captured in this periodical proves a vital insight into the ways black Africans thought and wrote about themselves and their cultural and political identities in the second half of the 20th century across Anglophone Africa (Odhiambo 2006: 165). In 1984, Drum Publications was purchased by Naspers Ltd. (national press), which became the biggest investor in *Drum*'s current publisher, Media24 (Pederson 2004: 492).

4.3 Data selection and collection

Data for this thesis was collected manually at the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town over a period of four months, as archived material from *Drum*, as this data is not available in electronic format. Of the archived material, data has been selected according to theme and era of publication. All articles and advice columns focusing on sexual violence

perpetrated by men against women published in *Drum* between 1984 and 2004 were initially selected.

The present thesis will adopt the classifications proposed by Wilczynski and Sinclair's (1999: 268) thematic analysis of media representations of child abuse, namely:

1. reports primarily focusing on specific cases;
2. reports partially focusing on specific cases;
3. general reports not linked to specific cases; and
4. reports in which specific instances of abuse are the non-primary focus of the article.

An extra tier was added: reports that focused only partially on abuse were included in the analysis, whether the reported abuse included specific cases or not. Reports in which abuse was not at least the partial focus were discounted, with the exception of those that failed to acknowledge a reported act as abuse, describing, for example, rape as sex.

From this data, themes were reduced to stories in which the event of sexual violence, a given perpetrator or victim of sexual violence received primary focus. The advice column "Dear Dolly" has been selected as it dealt mainly with romantic and/or sexual issues including sexual abuse (Mutongi 2000: 2) – thus reflecting readers' and *Drum* staff's cultural and ideological judgments on such matters – and appeared in *Drum* throughout the selected period. Articles detailing male sexual violence against women were selected to illustrate the ways such violence was popularly represented and understood by *Drum* and their readership, respectively.

The period of 1984-2004 was selected for analysis as it marks a decade before and after the first democratic South African elections and the ANC coming into power in April 1994. This political renaissance is highly relevant to South Africans' understanding of sexual

violence, as the ANC's democratic policy introduced a libertarian ideology which broke away from the heavy censorship, taboos and repressive policing around matters of gender, sex and sexuality that characterised the preceding apartheid regime (Posel 2004: 53).

During the apartheid era, sex (and sexual violence, by association), was treated as a private affair subject to stringent censorship, and therefore not a site of public or political concern, apart from propagandistic depictions of the bestial black other. The ANC's constitution of 1996 exchanged these tabooed notions for a regime of legal sexual regulation concerning citizens' rights and responsibilities that was irrefutable by religious or other moral authority. Along with these regulations, the removal of the apartheid government's censorship resulted in an explosion of sexual imagery and debate (Posel 2004: 55).

The comparison between data published in the decade leading up to this dramatic change in public sexual discourse and the decade thereafter might therefore yield interesting results.

4.4 Method of Analysis

The data was first organized into salient themes and topics by means of content and thematic analyses. After this initial categorisation, the selected data was analysed for ideological judgments relayed through discursive strategies of reference, predication and argumentation, as well as through intensifying or mitigating frames (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, in Blackledge 2005: 29). Fairclough's (2003) CDA will be applied to the above analyses to deduce the causal relationships between *Drum* texts and their broader social contexts (2003: 22).

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following chapter will analyse and discuss themes relating to the attribution of blame for male to female sexual violence found in *Drum* articles and advice columns from 1984 to 2004. Using Fairclough's (2003) framework of CDA, the analysis will focus on the discursive strategies used to achieve such attributions in an attempt to make sense of the way sexual violence has been constructed in this South African media publication. In order to discuss the broader discursive strategies used, close attention will be paid to linguistic referential strategies (ways of referring to participants) and predicational strategies (referring to participants' actions) such as metaphors, implicatures and euphemisms which construct the discourse in particular ways. Sections 5.1 to 5.4 deal with articles, and sections 5.5 to 5.9 deal with advice columns. Finally, section 5.10 provides an overall discussion.

5.1 Introduction to analysis and discussion of news reports

Through a content analysis of articles appearing in *Drum* between 1984 and 2004, the distribution of blame for sexual violence may be categorised into three mutually inclusive groups: victims, perpetrators (Perp.) and other. These groups of attributions are quantified in Table 2 below according to the number and percentage of articles with a primary or significant partial focus on sexual violence per year of publication (No. p.a.) in which they occurred. Note that these percentages are not ratios of a whole, as articles often attributed blame to more than one of the indicated categories. In other words, if an article included blame for more than one participant group, regardless of the degree of blame for each group, the article in question would be counted once in each category. This quantitative system could arguably be refined by calculating the degree of blame for each group instead of simply counting a "1" or a "0". The latter strategy is, however, rendered inaccurate and therefore irrelevant by its heavy reliance on the researcher's subjectivity and is therefore not used in the following analysis. Note also that the varying number of relevant articles per year renders comparison difficult.

Table 2: Attribution of blame in articles

No. p.a.	Victims	%	Perp.	%	Other	%
1984 (2)	0	0	2	100	1	50
1987 (2)	0	0	0	0	0	0
1989 (1)	0	0	1	100	0	0
1991 (1)	0	0	1	0	0	0
1992 (3)	1	33.3	2	66.7	1	33.3
1994 (2)	0	0	2	100	2	100
1995 (3)	1	33.3	2	66.7	1	33.3
1996 (8)	2	25	4	50	3	37.5
1997 (5)	0	0	4	80	2	40
1998 (9)	0	0	5	55.5	5	55.5
1999 (14)	2	28.6	12	85.7	3	21.4
2000 (8)	0	0	6	75	4	50
2001 (3)	0	0	0	0	0	0
2002 (7)	0	0	5	71.4	2	28.6
2003 (1)	0	0	1	100	0	0
2004 (9)	3	33.3	4	44.4	4	44.4
Total	9	9.6	51	68.5	28	30.9

It is clear from the data in Table 2 that the perpetrators uniformly received the most blame for sexual violence, followed by external factors and circumstances. Although victims were blamed significantly less than these elements, the fact that they were blamed for their assault in almost 10% of reported cases is reason enough for investigation.

A content analysis reveals several interesting themes and narrative frames that may be attributed to the ideological fabric of the society from which they arose. These themes include, most significantly, the idealisation of victims (48.5%), the demonisation of (22.78%) or sympathy expressed towards (15.1%) perpetrators, the intensification (65%) of representations of sexual violence (including the construction of moral panic (24.2%) and the “rape horror story” (40%)) and mitigations of such representations (40.1%) as either consensual sex or erotica.

The analysis of the attributions of blame and concurrent themes found in the relevant articles will be distributed over four sections, addressing attributions and themes as pertaining to victims, perpetrators, social factors and representations of sexual violence as an issue or event. Owing to the constraints of the current thesis, each of these sections will start with an introduction to accordant strategies and themes with illustrative excerpts from the data, followed by the full analysis of the two articles taken from the data that best exemplify those themes.

5.2 Discursive strategies for the representation of victims of sexual violence in news reports

A content analysis revealed that victims of sexual violence are commonly constructed as either ideal or “good” victims (Ideal.) or blamed as “bad” victims (Blame). This dichotomy vividly illustrates how acutely rape myths are entrenched in modern media. Although no significant patterns are evident in the frequency of these attributions per year, it is clear that idealisation occurred significantly more frequently than victim blaming over the designated period (see Table 3).

Table 3: A comparison of the percentage of articles containing instances of victim blaming (“Blame”) and the percentage of articles containing instances of victim idealisation (“Ideal.”)

No. p.a.	Blame	%	Ideal.	%
1984 (2)	0	0	1	50
1987 (2)	0	0	0	0
1989 (1)	0	0	0	0
1991 (1)	0	0	0	0
1992 (3)	1	33,3	2	66,7
1994 (2)	0	0	1	50
1995 (3)	1	33,3	2	66,7
1996 (8)	2	25	5	62,5
1997 (5)	0	0	5	100
1998 (9)	0	0	7	77,7
1999 (14)	2	28,6	11	78,6
2000 (8)	0	0	4	50
2001 (3)	0	0	1	33,3
2002 (7)	0	0	2	28,6
2003 (1)	0	0	1	100
2004 (9)	3	33,3	1	11,1
Total	9	9,6	43	48,5

The ideology illustrated by victim blaming is fairly transparent, yet it must be noted that the idealisation of victims is born of the same misogynist social structures – the construction of victims as ideal or innocent exists solely to negate the social practice of victim blaming that is entrenched in the social structure of patriarchy (Merry 2009: 3).

5.2.1 Idealisation of victims

“Good” victims are constructed in a way that deliberately absolves them of blame, with self-conscious descriptions of their general goodness (to illustrate that they did not deserve to be attacked), their happiness before the attack versus their unhappiness after (to prove that they did not welcome the attack) or justifications of why and how the victim came to be at the location of the crime (to affirm that they did not go “looking for it”) (Randall 2010: 415, 416, 427). As seen in Table 3, victims were idealised in almost half of all articles.

The victim in the article *Jackrolled: tragedy of our townships* (April 1994: 76-79), for example, is described through predicational implicatures as a good mother, sister, daughter and churchgoer prior to her abduction and assault: “As she [the victim – JK] came out of that church with her eight-year-old brother, Lindiwe had just one thought on her mind. She must hurry home to her little baby, and start helping her mother prepare a special lunch for her father’s birthday”. The same notion is expressed more explicitly by means of a referential strategy in *Free to rape again* (19-06-1997: 10, 11), when the victims are referred to as “innocent young women” and “decent citizens”, and in *Raped three times in six years* (28-03-2002: 16, 17), which states that the victim “was a virgin before her neighbour violated her at the age of 23”. All of these examples clearly illustrate how a victim’s perceived goodness is used to depict the crimes committed against her as more shocking and unfounded than similar crimes committed against a less “innocent” victim.

A victim’s religiousness is often presented as a more specific criterion of “goodness” absolving them of blame. Predicational strategies to this effect are evident in *Raped three times in six years* (28-03-2002: 16, 17). In this article, the victim is said to have been “brought up as a devout Catholic and as a young girl she aspired to become a nun or a pastor so she could help people with their problems”. The use of such implicatures to idealise victims through religious merit is perhaps best illustrated in *The war of Mother Africa* (May 1996: 128, 129): “She’s just returned from church, her spirits lifted by the morning mass and her heart filled with joy as she observed the scenic beauty of Mossel Bay.” Victims are thus shown not to have “deserved” assault.

As is evident in the previous example, a victim's happiness prior to the event may be used concurrently with descriptions of their "goodness" as another form of idealisation. This theme is especially effective when paired with descriptions of the trauma the victim endures during and after the event. Predicational strategies to this effect can be seen in *Sex slave's month of living hell* (03-12-1998: 8, 9, 20), with the scene prior to the event described as "a beautiful Saturday" with the victim "looking forward to visiting her sister" and wearing "her favourite sunflower-patterned dress". The next sentence intensifies the victim's cheerful profile with the introduction of the ensuing "horrifying abduction and rape ordeal". The victim in *Campus rape* (05-02-2004: 22, 23) is similarly depicted as a happy, carefree person prior to the assault through the metaphor "bubbling over with excitement" and the simile "18 and felt free as a bird", before revealing that "she had no idea that her excitement would result in pain, humiliation, trauma and probable lifelong depression".

The use of implicatures to contrast a victim's disposition before an attack to that after is apparent in *Fighting for his love* (May 1995: 110, 111, 113). The victim is described as having been "once voted the friendliest girl in her school, but the 22-year-old student doesn't smile much anymore. The thick curls that once framed her stunning face are gone, pulled back in tight dreadlocks which make her look tense and drawn. She keeps her big brown eyes lowered". Then, "her young life, once so full of promise, is in tatters ...". A family member is quoted as believing that "Desiree was always going to be special . . . She was always laughing and was a bright girl too. We used to say that she was striving to be president. Now she smiles but it doesn't reach her eyes. It's like there's a mask and underneath just hurt".

Emphasising a victim's trauma in an effort towards idealisation is perhaps more commonly illustrated by descriptions of the victim's emotional state while being interviewed by the *Drum* reporter. This approach is best illustrated in *Raped – and rejected by their husbands* (06-02-1997: 8, 9), with depictions of the victim as a broken woman entirely dependent on the loving support of her husband to survive the aftermath of her ordeal: "He held her hand tightly, as though he could use his body to shield her from further hurt. Nombonisa Gasa used her free hand to wipe away the tears, then looked up at him with a grateful smile".

Another example of this theme can be found in *The agony of Thandi Mseleku* (February 1995:106, 107) with the implicature “No longer able to hold back the tears, Thandi bursts into hysterical sobs”. Such efforts describing victims’ trauma as a result of abuse affirm that the abuse was unwelcome and therefore unsolicited.

Further confirmations that a victim did not “ask for it” are presented through descriptions of her attempts at resisting the attack. In *Sex slave’s month of living hell* (03-12-1998: 8, 9, 20), for example, the victim is shown not “to give in quietly”, having “screamed, pleaded”; “tried to fight back”; “bit his hand”; and “desperately tried to think of some way to escape”. Similarly, the victim in *Raped by a cricket hero* (06-05-1999: 10, 11) is quoted as having “pulled [my skirt – JK] back. He grabbed my hand, threw it to the side and lifted my skirt up again. There was nothing I could do. Ntini was too strong.” *Date rape* (May 1992: 26, 27, 28) describes the victim’s physicality to the same effect with the use of the implicature “5ft 2in and weighs about 50kg”, and the simile describing her resistance against Tyson as ‘like hitting a brick wall’. The victim in *I was raped six times!* (16-09-2004: 102, 103) explicitly defends her non-compliance with the implicature “I didn’t take the attack lying down”, the comparison “I fought all my rapists so hard that I was drained of all energy” and the rhetorical question “But how long can you kick and scream before a strong man overpowers you and finally forces himself on you?”.

Victims’ reasons for being at the scene of the assault or being alone with the attacker are often stated. The scene of the attack in *When women strike back* (19-09-1996: 40, 41), for example, is described as “not the type of place you’d ever expect any trouble. Or so Lindiwe thought”. In *Diary of a sex slave* (20-02-2003:10, 11), the victim’s encounter with the perpetrator, a man posing as a potential employer, is legitimised with affirmations of how desperately she needed a job. She is quoted as having been “unemployed for over a year”, “I lost my job when the store where I worked was sold. The new owners said they did not need me. Life is hard.” A victim’s choice to be alone with her attacker may also be justified: “I still did not suspect anything. I trusted him. I never thought he would do anything to me” (*Raped by a cricket hero* 06-05-1999: 10, 11). The perceived necessity of such idealised victim constructions by journalists as social agents and mass media as a social structure

indicates the social practice of victim blaming and the social structure of patriarchy as the ideological framework in which such texts are produced. It is interesting, also, that this idealisation is presented in the victim's own words. According to White (1997: 5-6), news reporters often use quotes as a strategy to pass value judgments without foregrounding their interpersonal role in the construction of the text.

5.2.2 Victim blaming

Another strategy employed to represent victims of sexual violence is victim blaming, i.e. constructing the victim as “bad” and therefore deserving of or consenting to their assault. “Bad” or “non-ideal” victims are constructed to have deserved or invited attack by descriptions of their attire or imprudent behaviour leading up to an assault (Randall 2010: 410-415). Constructions of “badness” communicate to the reader that an individual is accountable for their own safety, thereby acting as an implicit warning to potential victims not to invite sexual assault. These representations are also used as a warning to potential victims not to “invite” sexual abuse, as the individual is ultimately accountable for their own violability. Referential and predicational strategies were used to construct victims to this effect, with the latter appearing most frequently. Predicational strategies are thus used more often than referential strategies.

This approach often targets the victim's behaviour or clothing. *Spike alert* (26-08-2004: 82, 83), for example, describes the victim in a hypothetical date rape scenario as “dressed in a body-hugging outfit that could shame bootylicious Beyonce”. *Campus rape* (05-02-2004: 22, 23) similarly describes the victim's attire as her “sexiest [dress – JK] – the shortest one obviously . . . her parents . . . would have been appalled” and wearing “far too much of her new makeup”. These implicatures clearly attribute at least some of the blame for rape on the victim “asking for it”.

Cautionary messages may also contribute to victim blaming by implying that women are responsible for their own safety and therefore accountable for violations thereof. In *Date*

rape (1992: 26-28), for example, a Johannesburg Rape Crisis spokesperson is said to “[warn – JK] that women also have a responsibility not to give men misleading messages or create a false impression that they are willing to go to bed with them”. *Campus rape* (05-02-2004: 22, 23) similarly sends an explicit cautionary message by warning readers that students “are responsible for their own safety . . . and should take precaution against rape. It’s up to them to lessen the chances of rape trauma by being aware of the perils of looking as sexy as possible at campus bashes”. This article illustrates that victim blaming and idealisation may be combined to relate the message that an ideal victim, “18 and felt free as a bird . . . enrolled at a top university . . . [with – JK] much to look forward to” could fall from the height of happiness to the depths rape trauma by her own doing.

Subtler instances of victim blaming can be seen in *Fighting for his love* (May 1995: 110, 112, 113), in which a relative of the victim is quoted as saying that the victim ““didn’t do anything wrong except be a bit naïve””; and *When women strike back* (19-09-1996: 40, 41), in which a predicational discursive strategy and metaphor are used in the victim’s admittance that she ““became careless and now [she has – JK] to live with the nightmare of rape””. The latter example illustrates how the subject of a report is often given a voice only to assume responsibility for the reported news event (Scollon 1998: 245).

These strategies of victim blaming indicate the entrenchment of misogyny in the social practices and structures of the society in which the cited excerpts were produced. The following sections will provide a more detailed discussion of the abovementioned themes and the discursive strategies by which they are constructed as found in two accordant articles.

5.2.3 Illustration of victim idealisation in a discussion of Article 1: *Blind, 89, and raped 3 times* (21-01-1999: 14, 15)

Synopsis: Despite having suffered three rapes in her own house, blind, 89-year-old Ruth Kgaole refuses to move to a retirement home, having promised her late husband never to leave the home they once shared.

The article *Blind, 89, and raped 3 times* is a salient example of how discursive strategies are used to construct ideal victims. This theme is introduced in the title of the article by the use of the referential expressions “Blind” and “89”. These adjectives communicate the vulnerability of the victim, which absolves her of potential blame. The emotional impact of the idealisation is increased by the contrasting quantifying verb phrase “raped three times”.

The concept of vulnerability is repeated in the subtitle using the referential noun phrase “defenceless old women”. The title blurb uses predicational expressions to idealise the victim through the notion of prior happiness and general goodness. The victim is said to have “promised her husband as he lay dying that she’d never leave the house in which they’d been so happy”. Again the idealisation is amplified by the implicature “But while she was still mourning his death she was raped” and the rhetorical question “What kind of men do this, and how can they be stopped?”

The first paragraph uses a referential noun phrase to construct the victim as being vulnerable – “frail old blind woman” – and a metaphor to indicate her suffering as a result of the event of abuse, having “suffered a fate which would leave most strong young women scarred for life”. Lines 5-10 follow suit, repeating the victim’s age and polarising her idealness with a comparative description of the perpetrators as “youths young enough to be her grandchildren”. Her trauma, illustrated by the metaphorical noun phrase “a broken woman”, is contrasted with her loyalty and her happiness before the attack, as she “refuses to leave the home where she spent a lifetime of happiness with her husband. She promised him on his deathbed she would never leave the house” (lines 15-21). The construction of her

suffering then continues with descriptions of her desolation: “She has no children and no extended family to look after her. Her neighbours don’t offer support, except a young man next door who sometimes buys food for her” (lines 21-27).

Line 29 introduces religiousness as a form of goodness by which the victim is idealised. The victim is said to pray “[every night – JK] the criminals who forced their way into her home and raped her won’t come back”. In line 32, a predicational phrase reiterates trauma, as “Each day she relives the terror and humiliation she suffered at the hands of these filthy young thugs”. The representation of religiousness continues with the victim whispering “If this is what God has destined for me I don’t know what is my sin”. The latter quote serves also to emphasise that the victim has no sin that would have “justified” the rapes.

Line 40 starts a discussion of the rape of “defenceless old women” as an issue, with line 57 constructing idealness through physical inability to resist their assailants by claiming that “[elderly women – JK] are easy targets for rapists because they are too frail to fight back and are unable to identify their rapists afterwards. Women such as Ruth Kgaole, who should be spending their old age in the care of their families and with the support of their communities, have become silent victims of an increasingly violent world.” Here, the adjective “silent” reiterates the victims’ vulnerability and consequent idealness, and contrasts effectively with the adjective “violent”. These constructions are repeated in lines 63-73, using the predicational verb phrase “...spends her days in her bedroom”, “Her life became a misery” and “while she was still mourning, an intruder savagely raped her”.

The victim’s sombre disposition during the interview is relayed as she “recalls tearfully” the first rape, “Before I knew what was happening he was inside me and throttling me.” Of the second rapist, the victim reports that “He said when he was finished with me I’d have nothing to be proud of” (lines 76-89). The third rape is also described.

The victim is further idealised by contrasting her idealness with intensifications of the experience of rape: “Ruth doesn’t ask for assistance . . . but the rapes have left her shattered. . . . ‘to rape me is an insult to my body and soul’” (lines 100-107). Idealisation by representation of religiousness is repeated in lines 109-115: “‘All I can say is God will answer my prayers against my molesters.’ She often uses religious phrases – God is there . . . God will answer . . . The Lord will punish . . .”. The theme of goodness and loyalty is continued through predication: “‘I’ll never leave this house,’ she says indignantly. ‘I promised my husband I’d live here until the day my body is carried out in a coffin . . . In my culture the wishes of the dead are never defied’”.

Line 138 again switches to a discussion of the issue of the rape of the elderly. The issue is intensified with the questions, “What kind of man rapes a defenceless old woman? . . . what can be done to protect them from the thugs?” A psychologist reportedly answers these questions by claiming that “These violent criminals target old women – and young girls – because they’re vulnerable and weak”. Another authority is quoted as saying “If you’re old and you live alone you’re an easy target”. Lines 138-158 address social factors contributing to elderly victims’ vulnerability, suggesting that “A huge effort is needed to rebuild family and community support systems so the elderly can be taken care of”. The article concludes with a predication strategy constructing the victim’s idealness and consequent innocence: “Meanwhile Ruth Kgaole prays that she won’t be a victim again, and that she’ll be left in peace so she can honour her vows to her beloved husband . . .”

These constructions of the victim as loyal, religious, a good wife and physically vulnerable are indicative of the assumption that a victim of sexual assault is to be held in contempt until proven innocent and undeserving of violation. The social practice of victim blaming and the social structure of misogyny are thus revealed.

5.2.4 Illustration of victim blaming in a discussion of Article 2: *No angel, but also no rapist* (18-11-1999: 22)

Synopsis: Makhaya Ntini's trial for the rape of Nomagezi Matokazi is recounted and his acquittal justified.

The article *No angel, but also no rapist* is an example of victim blaming so explicit that it resembles satire, contrasting sharply with its prequel, *Raped by a cricket hero* (06-05-1999: 10, 11) in which the event of abuse is sensationalised and the victim extensively idealised. *No angel, but also no rapist* reports on the reasoning behind the perpetrator's acquittal, or "Why two judges found him not guilty". It must be noted that the victim blaming found in this article diverts from the usual opaque strategies of victim blaming in favour of open dismissals of the victim's accusations as fabrications.

The introductory paragraph introduces the element of doubt with the implicature "Only two people will ever know what really went on that rainy summer afternoon". The event of rape is then heavily mitigated in lines 6-10 with the claim that "All the judges could do was piece things together and decide whether one man's actions were bad enough for him to spend six years behind bars". In this sentence, the abuse is mitigated with the redundant adverb of number, "one", and the admission that the perpetrator's "actions" were "bad". The same mitigation occurs in the title of the article with the admission that the perpetrator is "no angel". The latter referential noun phrase may also be considered a euphemism for sexual misconduct, thereby contributing to the mitigation of rape. Despite the overwhelming blame that is attributed to the victim in the content to follow, the victim is then idealised as having "gone to ground and vanished", as well as having "left the echo of her bitter complaint: 'It was only because he was rich and powerful and I am poor and ordinary that he got off'" (lines 17-22). In addition to the explicit victim blaming that is to follow, this idealisation creates a feeling of ambiguity on behalf of the reporter – are they in fact sympathetic towards the victim, and using exaggerated mitigation strategies to illustrate the extent of misogyny at play? Whether or not that is the case, however, is not terribly important, as the text nevertheless illustrates victim blaming and the mitigation of sexual assault.

Lines 23-27 provide a sympathetic presentation of the perpetrator, who is said to have been “stunned” when he was “sentenced to six years in prison for raping the domestic worker”. Attention is drawn to the representation of the perpetrator during the court case, including that he was referred to as “a monster who’d cruised the neighbourhood on a rainy afternoon looking for a woman to satisfy his lust and arrogance . . . lured her into a deserted toilet, put her against the wall and raped her until she cried out in agony” (lines 28-41). The term “portrayed” communicates that these negative descriptions are mere constructions and therefore disputable. This notion of disbelief is then confirmed in line 46 by referring to the above constructions as “Nomagezi’s [the victim – JK] version of what happened”, in contrast with “Ntini [claiming – JK] he was innocent throughout the trial”. The eighth paragraph confirms that “At the end of the appeal hearing, Grahamstown High Court judge Chris Jansen . . . overturned the guilty verdict.”

Another admission of the perpetrator’s transgression is then made in lines 63-69 by the judges’ euphemism and rhetorical question: “he was no saint – something must have led Nomagezi to accuse Makhaya of rape that day. ‘Why would she tell a story that she’d been raped if nothing happened between them?’ Judge Jansen asked.” Here the expression “happened between them” may refer either to rape, thereby mitigating the event, or consensual sex, implying that having consensual sex would warrant the description “no saint”. Owing to the legal context of the article, the former possibility seems more plausible. This notion is then disregarded in favour of the question “whether Makhaya had been proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. And they found he hadn’t” (lines 70-75). It must be noted, however, that these pronouncements may have been influenced by the constraints of the law of the time.

Line 76 starts the process of recalling the victim’s account of each part of the event as told to the court and then demonstrating how that account may be refuted, presumably in accordance with the defence lawyer or judges’ arguments. It is argued that “There were no witnesses – just her word against his. That was the main thing that worried the judges. They found her story was filled with inconsistencies and decided she must have made part of it up”. The victim’s accusations are then blatantly discounted in lines 88-94 with the assertion

that “She must have realised Makhaya was leading her to a women’s toilet and she wasn’t forced into the building – if he took her there at all. The judges said it could never be proved that Makhaya was in the toilet”. Again, ambiguity is created by the inclusion of the words “the judges said”. This statement could indicate one of three extremes – the reporter could be distancing themselves from the judges’ pronouncement in disagreement; they could be using this perceived distance to dismiss the victim’s testimony under the guise of neutrality; or they may even be using the judges as a source of authority with which to justify the mitigation of rape (Scollon 1998: 245).

The next paragraph, however, leaves no room for interpretation. The victim’s “own damning words” – “I did not tell him that I don’t want to (have sex)” – are presented to refute her allegations. This refutation is then justified with the notion that “Her actions gave the impression she decided to give in and Makhaya could have been under the impression she was willing to have sex – up to the stage where she started crying because of pain” (lines 98-107). In addition to the assumption that not saying no is the equivalent of consent, the criminality of sexual coercion expressed by “give in” is ignored.

Lines 113-152 are dedicated to disproving the victim’s account, using a rhetorical question and numerous implicatures: “under cross-examination she said she’d been ‘crying softly’. Why didn’t she shout for help? . . . Her vagina was wet and he had no problems penetrating her . . . A doctor found it would have been virtually impossible for Makhaya, who was much taller than Nomagezi, to be able to penetrate her unless she’d risen up on her toes to help him enter her . . . He wouldn’t have been able to penetrate her unless she’d allowed him to and co-operated with him . . . The district surgeon who examined Nomagezi afterwards could find no sign of forced penetration . . . Her version of the story, the judges ruled, was highly unlikely and quite unbelievable”. These refutations make use of rape myths by implying that if the victim did not want to have intercourse, she would not have been sexually aroused and would additionally have protested to an extent that would result in physical harm (Randall 2010: 415, 416).

The article concludes with the euphemistic admission that the judges “frowned on his behaviour when he picked Nomagezi up that day . . . hardly the actions of a person innocently giving someone a lift. He’d claimed he didn’t know her name, but, said the judges, he’s called her by name to his car. Yet while he might have abused his power and fame to get her into the car with him, he didn’t rape her. The judges said so”.

In conclusion, the relevant data revealed that victims of sexual violence were often condemned as having deserved their victimisation (9.6%), or idealised (48.5%) to counter the assumption that they deserved violation. Common themes within these two groupings include sketching victims as deeply religious, hardworking, happy prior to the event and having no reason to “expect” assault, such as being out late at night, dressing provocatively or spending time with strangers. This effect is often intensified when the idealisation is closely followed by sensational descriptions of the event of sexual violence. Idealisation may also be achieved by emphasising the trauma experienced by victims after the event. Victims’ attempts at resistance or noncompliance during the event are often described in an attempt to further absolve them of presumed incitement. These themes and strategies illustrate the conviction that a rape victim is to be considered guilty of attracting or deserving sexual violence until proven otherwise.

5.3 Discursive strategies for the representation of perpetrators of sexual violence in news reports

The analysis of the articles published between 1984 and 2004 revealed two main categories for the representation of perpetrators of sexual assault, namely idealisation (Ideal.) and Blame, of which the attribution of blame is self-explanatory. A common strategy for the attribution of blame to perpetrators of sexual violence is the demonisation (Demon.) of these perpetrators (see Table 4). This theme generally occurs in congruence with victim idealisation and is invariably employed to increase the negative emotional impact of events of sexual violence in an indirect effort to render victims less deserving of violation.

Table 4: Themes surrounding perpetrators of sexual violence

No. p.a.	Blame	%	Demon.	%	Ideal.	%
1984 (2)	2	100	1	50	0	0
1987 (2)	0	0	0	0	2	100
1989 (1)	1	100	0	0	0	0
1991 (1)	1	0	0	0	1	100
1992 (3)	2	66.7	1	33.3	0	0
1994 (2)	2	100	1	50	0	0
1995 (3)	2	66.7	2	66.7	0	0
1996 (8)	4	50	3	37.5	1	12.5
1997 (5)	4	80	1	20	0	0
1998 (9)	5	55.5	1	11.1	0	0
1999 (14)	12	85.7	6	42.9	2	28.6
2000 (8)	6	75	2	25	0	0
2001 (3)	0	0	0	0	0	0
2002 (7)	5	71.4	2	28.6	0	0
2003 (1)	1	100	0	0	0	0
2004 (9)	4	44.4	0	0	0	0
Total	51	68.5	20	22.8	0	15.1

As illustrated above, approximately 68% of articles attributed blame for sexual violence to the perpetrators of such crimes. By implication, therefore, as many as 31.5% of articles did not blame the rapists for their crimes. It is therefore crucial that the representation of perpetrators of sexual violence be analysed and understood. The following sections will analyse the two contrasting themes that occurred in these constructions.

5.3.1 The demonisation of perpetrators of sexual violence

The theme of demonisation is used in the analysed data to construct perpetrators as less than human, rendering their actions less understandable and therefore more deviant and despicable. The victims of the assault are thereby absolved of blame. Such representations are invariably achieved through referential and predicational strategies such as metaphors, noun and verb phrases, similes, euphemisms and implicatures.

These strategies often take the shape of animal descriptions. In *We survived attack by the Hammer Killer* (11-03-1999: 8, 9), for example, the victim is quoted to have described the

perpetrator using the metaphor “an animal . . . in fact that’s an insult to animals”. *Stop the rape of our grannies!* (02-03-2000: 8, 9) uses predicational strategies to the same effect. The perpetrator is described through the simile “grunting like a pig” during the attack.

The same article illustrates how perpetrators are frequently vilified as being evil or otherwise socially deviant. The perpetrators are referred to as “perverts” with “bizarre and evil beliefs”, “[looking – JK] at our grandmothers with evil eyes . . . I hope [they – JK] burn in hell”. A combination of such animal and evil characterisations is evident in *RAPED and left to die* (16-09-1999: 14, 15), which uses predicational metaphorical phrases to demonise the perpetrator as having “nothing but hate and evil in his eyes . . . a man who suddenly changed from a trusted friend to a crazed monster with rape and murder on his mind”.

The demonisation of the perpetrator of rape in *Fighting for his love* (May 1995: 110, 111, 113) is notably strategic (Scollon 1998: 245), as illustrated by the following quote by the perpetrator: “I like to hurt women. I like to hear them scream with pain, to bleed. It gives me pleasure”.

5.3.2 The idealisation of perpetrators of sexual violence

Contrary to demonisation, perpetrators were often found to be idealised or afforded sympathy, thereby shifting the attribution of blame towards the victims. This theme is prominent in *No angel, but also no rapist* (18: 11: 1999: 22). As discussed in 5.1.4, the perpetrator is described through a euphemism and rhetorical question as “no saint – something must have led Nomagezi to accuse Makhaya of rape that day. ‘Why would she tell a story that she’d been raped if nothing happened between them?’”. This predicational expression, as well as “no angel” supplied in the title, implies either that having consensual sex renders one “no angel” – a possibility that seems unlikely given the legal nature of the article – or that sexual offenders may be euphemised as “no angels”. It is also claimed that “Makhaya could have been under the impression she was willing to have sex”, constructing the perpetrator as having committed the act in ignorance. The same strategy is used in

Technikon of terror (May 1996: 18-20): “We’re not saying our male students are angels. Male students have harassed females”.

The article *Raped by a cricket hero* (06-05-1999: 10, 11) illustrates how a perpetrator of sexual violence may be demonised and sympathised in the same text. This strategy is probably used to maximise Ntini’s fall from grace. The following referential and predicational expressions characterise the perpetrator: “good-looking young cricket sensation . . . buried his head in his hands and burst into tears . . . he’s worked so hard to achieve” and then “His face changed. His smile disappeared’ . . . a vicious monster”. The following sections will address the abovementioned themes in the full analysis of two salient articles.

5.3.3 Illustration of perpetrator demonisation in a discussion of Article 3: *I was evil tycoon’s sex slave* (22-08-2002: 14, 15)

Synopsis: Tanaka Sali is interviewed on her experience of being raped and otherwise abused by her then partner, Nicholas Van Hoogstraten.

The first article to be analysed, *I was evil tycoon’s sex slave*, illustrates how discursive strategies may be used to demonise perpetrators of sexual violence and thus absolve the victim of presupposed blame. This exercise of dehumanising the perpetrator, evident throughout the article, is introduced in the title by the predicational and referential noun phrase “evil tycoon” in reference to the perpetrator. Lines 1-4 repeat this strategy, with the victim characterised as “the lover he [the perpetrator – JK] called his African princess” who was “cruelly” used as a “sex slave”. The above predications are echoed in the caption of the main photograph which refers to the perpetrator as “Brutal millionaire Nicholas van Hoogstraten”.

The second paragraph intensifies the “horror” aspect of the event of abuse through the predicational expression “terrifying ordeal”, yet mitigates the transgression of the event by referring to the rape victim as “lover” of “Britain’s most feared multi-millionaire”. Demonisation is clearly achieved through the referential expression in the latter example.

Lines 8-11 use predicational strategies to demonise the perpetrator as having built a fortune “on violence and intimidation” and “was found guilty last week of masterminding the killing of a business partner”. Quotes by the victim in lines 12-15 contribute to the amplification of this demonisation. The victim describes her experience as “absolute hell” and with further predications demonises the perpetrator as “a ruthless control freak” who “has taken away my teenage years . . . driven me close to suicide . . . uses threats and violence to gain power – even in bed”. The perpetrator is further demonised in lines 16-19 as a murderer with descriptions of the victim having risked her life to speak out about her violation, as she “was told not to give evidence against him ‘or else’. I know what he’s capable of – and ‘or else’ means death”.

The narrative then reverts to the beginning of the victim’s two-and-a-half year ordeal. A predicational clause demonises the perpetrator as having “lusted after young black women”, and a referential phrase amplifies the effect of said demonisation by idealising the victim as “the beautiful youngster” who is “dancing in a nightclub” (lines 22-23). The next paragraph summarises the courtship that ensued between the victim and the perpetrator, culminating in the victim’s emigration to the perpetrator’s home in England. The victim is further idealised as having been unsuspecting of her violation through the absolving assertion that “I thought he was a gentleman – he hadn’t even tried to have sex with me” (lines 29-30).

Line 31 introduces the turning point in the narrative. The perpetrator is constructed by the use of the referential metaphors “cunning brute” and “turned into a monster”. He is depicted, also, as an oppressor who treated the victim like “his little slave girl” (lines 32-35). The inclusion of this master-slave analogy recalls South African racial oppression and adds an additional layer of demonisation to the discourse. These demonising descriptions

are amplified by idealisations of the victim. She is absolved from presupposed blame by the assertions that she “was terrified but did as he said” and “paralysed with fear”. Predicational implicatures are used to a similar effect in lines 43-44, illustrating the victim’s sexual inexperience and resulting innocence: “I had only slept with my childhood sweetheart” and “knew nothing about pleasuring a man”. The inclusion of this idealisation illustrates the belief that women who are sexually active are either inviting rape or are more deserving thereof. Then, the demonisation is substituted with the mitigation of the act of rape in the form of an insult to the perpetrator’s sexual prowess: “But thankfully it was all over in a matter of minutes. I used to call him the three-minute wonder – he was a real flop in bed” (lines 44-45). This comparison between the event of abuse and unfulfilling consensual sex concurrently illustrates the striking mitigation of sexual violence.

Predicational characterisations are used in line 47 to contribute to the demonisation of the perpetrator, who is said to have “[gotten – JK] his kicks from being in control”. This idea of sexual perversion is reinstated by the perpetrator’s “master and slave fantasy”. Additional demonisation is achieved through the metaphor and simile “His body made me sick – he was so hairy it was like touching a carpet”. The perpetrator is also plainly vilified by the statement “Van Hoogstraten was incredibly mean”. A description of the perpetrator “[battering – JK] her face with a slipper until it split” contributes to this characterisation. The narrative is concluded with a reminder that “Tanaka still lives in fear” (lines 69-77).

The transparent theme of demonisation in *I was evil tycoon’s sex slave* is used as an instrument for the negation of presupposed victim blaming. This negation illustrates the assumption that unless victims of sexual assault are absolved by attributes such as defencelessness against a demonised perpetrator, they are in some way responsible for their abuse.

5.3.4 Illustration of perpetrator idealisation in a discussion of Article 4: *He raped his way around the world* (April 1987: 18, 19)

Synopsis: Conman Cecil Gilbert spent over ten years travelling the world, raping women and girls under a number of aliases.

The article *He raped his way around the world* is an example of how a perpetrator of sexual violence may be demonised and idealised in the same text. The mitigation of deviance is evidenced by the characterisation of the perpetrator in the title blurb with the referential noun phrase “flamboyant conman”, the metaphor “preyed on young virgins” and the euphemism “had many successes”. Whether these “successes” refer to the perpetration of rape or the execution of cons is not indicated. The article is then said to report “on his extraordinary life”; a referential strategy which illustrates a carnivalesque inversion of hierarchies or admiration for (or, at least, acceptance of) the perpetrator’s reported crimes (Roberts 1994: 250).

Lines 1-10 of the article summarise the narrative that is to follow. The perpetrator is characterised through metaphor as having “made the world his playground” as he “globetrotted as a bishop, Hindu priest, a baronet, brain surgeon, consultant, faith healer, an apostle and theology graduate with a bogus doctorate”. The predicational metaphors “made the world his playground” and “globetrotted” both romanticise the perpetrator as a hero and mitigate the acts of sexual assault that the perpetrator committed during his travels.

Lines 11-18 use a referential adjective to characterise the perpetrator as “flamboyant”, a term with positive connotations. The perpetrator’s ensuing downfall is introduced as “Gilbert’s world [crumbling – JK] around him” when sentenced “to a total of 56 years in prison after being found guilty of raping a 14-year-old Australian girl, a 19-year-old Indian girl and a 26-year-old British physiotherapist after drugging them”.

Lines 22-27 use the metaphors of “limelight” and “the red carpet . . . laid out for him” to idealise the perpetrator as a celebrity. It is added that upon meeting him, the king of

Swaziland “was so impressed that he named the glib-tongued Gilbert Mtfunywa – One sent by God”. It must be acknowledged that while these idealisations represent false impressions created by the perpetrator, their inclusion amidst the aforementioned glorifying descriptions indicate a sense of appreciation from the author, however opaque.

Lines 36-47 mitigate the act of abuse the perpetrator committed against “a 14-year-old girl” through the use of the negatively charged verb “complained” to refer to the victim’s reporting the assault. The victim is then idealised as “the poor girl”, shifting the attribution of blame towards the perpetrator, reaffirmed by the demonising predicational metaphor “preyed”. The event of sexual assault is again mitigated through metaphor in line 78 as “[wreaking – JK] havoc on naïve virgins”.

Line 83 idealises the perpetrator as “This modern day Svengali” before describing one of the rapes he perpetrated. The article is concluded by the referential comparison of the perpetrator to “the Shakespearian character” who “was a devil who could cite Scriptures when it suited his purpose”. Despite the demonisation communicated in the word “devil”, the perpetrator is thus idealised as a charming and masterful hypnotist. Such idealisation of a perpetrator of sexual violence is indicative of a social order in which sexually dominant males are accepted and even respected.

To conclude this section, the explicit blame of perpetrators of sexual assault (68.5%), which is most notably achieved through demonisation (22.8%), may be indirectly linked to the social practice of victim blaming in its self-conscious negation thereof.

5.4 Discursive strategies for the representation of sexual violence as an issue or event in news reports

A content analysis of representations of sexual abuse as an issue or event yielded several overlying themes. Again, a dichotomy is evident. On the one hand, the negative impact of

sexual violence is intensified (Intens.) as a “rape horror story” (Horror) or “moral panic” (Panic) through the use of intensifying discursive strategies. On the other hand, sexual abuse is mitigated (Mit.), with representations ranging from rape as sensationalised erotica to rape as consensual intercourse (see Table 5).

Table 5: Themes surrounding sexual violence as event/issue

No. p.a.	Intens.	%	Mit.	%	Horror	%	Panic	%
1984 (2)	2	100	1	50	1	50	0	0
1987 (2)	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0
1989 (1)	1	100	0	0	1	100	1	100
1991 (1)	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0
1992 (3)	1	33.3	3	100	1	33.3	2	66.7
1994 (2)	2	100	0	0	1	50	2	100
1995 (3)	1	33.3	2	66.7	1	33.3	0	0
1996 (8)	5	62.5	2	25	3	37.5	1	12.5
1997 (5)	4	80	3	60	2	40	1	20
1998 (9)	7	77.8	1	11.1	2	22.2	1	11.1
1999	12	85.7	2	14.3	10	71.4	2	14.3
2000 (8)	6	75	0	0	3	37.5	3	37.5
2001 (3)	2	66.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
2002 (7)	5	71.4	1	14.3	3	42.9	1	14.3
2003 (1)	1	100	1	100	1	100	0	0
2004 (9)	5	55.6	0	0	2	22.2	1	11.1
Total	54	65	19	40.1	31	40	15	24.2

5.4.1 Intensification of sexual violence

White (1997: 7) identifies the discursive strategy of intensification through lexis or comparison as the encoding of a sense of heightened involvement by the author which renders the events or issues described as significant or emotionally loaded. The intensification of sexual violence acts in much the same way as do the idealisation of victims and the demonisation of perpetrators. As seen in the above table, the representation of sexual violence during the given time frame relies heavily on this strategy.

The intensification of sexual violence in the relevant data is invariably used to generate sensationalism, often resulting in “rape horror stories” which use discursive strategies to evoke powerful negative emotions such as tragedy and disgust (Johnson 1989: 7, 8, in Wilczynski & Sinclair 1999: 168, 269). *Raped three times in six years* (28-03-2002: 16, 17) aptly illustrates how intensification strategies contribute to the “abuse horror story” theme. This theme is first made apparent in the introductory abstract which features the emotionally charged predicational expressions “took away her virginity” and “tortured her for a full day and night” by way of intensifying the event of abuse. The first paragraph of the article details a rape scene, similarly using intensification to refer to the abuse. The physical assault that the victim endures before the rape is intensified using alliteration as “battered her black and blue”. *Sex slave’s month of living hell* (1998: 8, 9, 20) is another example of such a narrative. The title of the report clearly introduces this theme, followed by intensifying emphatic descriptions of the event as “28 days of terror and agony” during which a “brutal attacker kept her prisoner in his shack, beating and raping her for almost a month – then he took out his knife and cut off her tongue ...”. The event is further intensified through the use of the adjectives “horrificing” and “brutally”, the noun “ordeal”, and the metaphorical noun phrase “the most brutal and painful humiliation in a living hell ...”. *Terror and shame of Mama Zuma* (02-09-1999: 8, 9, 16) establishes the theme of horror in the intensifying emotive description of the victim’s trauma: “She won’t even use the word ‘rape’. Instead as she looks at the distant mountains bathed in the gold of the setting sun, she whispers angrily: ‘I’m old enough to be their mother. What could possess children to disrespect me like this?’”.

A case of intensification for the sole purpose of sensationalism occurs in *I let them rape me to save my fiancé* (12-09-2002: 94, 95). The subtitle of this article reports that the victim’s “fiancé told her to prove her undying love for him by letting five thugs rape her – then he married someone else”. This sensational claim implies that the victim’s fiancé orchestrated the attack, whereas the contents of the article describe the unexpected attack of both the victim and her partner during which the attackers forced the woman to “choose whether [she – JK] should let them kill [her – JK] man or do something else for them”, of which she chose the latter.

The purpose of such intensification may also be to create a “moral panic”, a concept involving the identification and dramatisation of a social issue as a threat to society (Surette 1992: 59, in Wilczynski & Sinclair 1999: 263). This theme is illustrated in *Not even a grave is safe anymore* (01-06-2000: 10, 11), which declares “[Rape – JK] in a cemetery” the “new terror”. *Rape – new classroom terror* (04-12-1997: 124, 125) similarly uses referential and predicational strategies to intensify the issue at hand as “a new threat in the schoolgrounds” as “Schoolboys force girls to have sex – and the young thugs get away with it”. *Drugged and date-raped* (29-08-2002: 102, 103) attempts to create a “moral panic” through the following sensational introduction: “Watch out, girls, a new type of rapist and robber is on the prowl. He could be the guy next door, someone so well known to the family you would trust him with your little sister’s life”. Such “moral panic” would serve both to popularise *Drum* for this apparent exposé of the dangers with which its female readers are faced, and to facilitate a warning to female readers that it is their responsibility to “watch out” for their sexual safety.

5.4.2 Mitigation of sexual violence

Conversely, the emotional impact of sexual violence is often mitigated. This is exemplified in the description of the abuse in *HANDS OFF!* (March 1992: 36-38) as the perpetrator “[fondling – JK] the breasts of a 19-year-old woman who was engaged to somebody else”. This referential noun phrase “woman who was engaged to somebody else” mitigates the abuse as it attributes the transgression to the victim’s sexual unavailability as opposed to the violation itself. *DATE RAPE* (May 1992: 26-28) similarly mitigates the transgression of the violence at hand by stating that “The term ‘date rape’ is confusing . . . because it implies it is more permissible than real rape”. The expression “real rape” contradicts the intention of the statement by characterising date rape as an inauthentic violation. The same article indicates a similar assumption in its introductory paragraph, which finds it necessary to ask “Is this situation a rape?” in a situation sketch where “A man and a woman meet at a party or a braai, and he offers her a lift home. Later sex takes place. She says it was rape – he forced her into sex. He calls it passionate love-making – she said ‘no’ but didn’t really mean it, and only cried a little”. The inclusion of the implicature “only cried a little” indicates the

presuppositions that the victim's lack of consent is less significant than her assailant's interpretation of her desires; and that for the act to be classified as rape, the victim had to have protested more forcefully than crying only "a little".

Several instances of mitigation were observed in which acts of sexual abuse are not recognised as such, but constructed as consensual sex. In *Sex and your health* (March 1995: 80), for example, a scenario labeled "casual sex" is described as follows: "What started as a gentle kiss turned into a nightmare for Tebo. She lost control of the situation and tried to say no but her head was spinning from the drink. And Vusi was so persuasive". Here, the constructions of the victim as the active agent in the phrases "she lost control" and "but her head was spinning" indicate the supposition that the victim's violation was her own doing; that she shouldn't have lost control and that her head shouldn't have been spinning if it was not an indication of sexual consent. A similar rape scene is described in *Sex: the tragedy of unwanted pregnancy* (31-10-1996: 38, 39): "Thuli didn't really want to go too far . . . But Siphso wouldn't take no for an answer, and before Thuli realised what was happening, he was inside her . . . That one night of carelessness has changed her life forever ...". In this case, however, the victim is blamed more explicitly through the accusation that her own "carelessness" – as opposed to her rapist's refusal to "take no for an answer" – had caused her rape and consequent pregnancy.

Reports of sexual violence are also frequently sold as sexually titillating entertainment. Despite the often sensational descriptions of such events, this kind of representation may be considered a mitigation of the criminality of the event. An example of this occurs in *Diary of a sex slave* (20-02-2003: 10, 11), which uses the referential expression "Wine, foam baths, sex and promises" to introduce a narrative of sexual abuse. Rape is sexualised also in *Tyson the Terrible is accused of RAPE* (October 1991: 96, 97), which uses a referential strategy to mitigate sexual assault: "Just months before the biggest fight of his life against Holyfield ... Tyson the Terrible is accused of rape . . . The only thing that stands between Tyson and the world championship is GIRLS! GIRLS! GIRLS!". The violence and domination of rape are similarly eroticised in the title of *I was evil tycoon's sex slave* (22-08-2002: 14, 15), as the erotic connotations of the word "sex" are combined with the

coercion implied by “slave” and the demonisation conveyed by “evil” to construct sexual violence as an adrenaline-fuelled erotic thrill.

The following sections will illustrate the above themes in the complete analysis of two full articles from the relevant data.

5.4.3 Illustration of the use of intensification strategies for the representation of rape as horror story in a discussion of Article 5: *Jackrolled: tragedy of our townships* (April 1994: 76-79)

Synopsis: The abduction and rape of Lindiwe and the rape of two unnamed scholars introduce a discussion of the abduction and gang rape phenomenon known as “jackrolling”.

The first article to be discussed, *Jackrolled: tragedy of our townships*, is illustrative of the sensationalism of sexual violence. Two major themes are evident. Firstly, this article illustrates how sexual violence may be dramatised as a “rape horror story”. Secondly, the article contains a discussion of rape as an issue, using linguistic strategies of intensification to construct a moral panic. This article also serves to illustrate how sensationalism and moral panic may be used as a plea to the public to change their social actions, as opposed to serving merely as a commercial gimmick.

The theme of “horror” first appears in the title and title blurb of the article with the use of the emotionally charged referential verb “Jackrolled” (a colloquial term for abduction and rape), followed by the emotive phrase “tragedy of our townships” and the emphatic adverbial predication “again and again”. The introductory paragraph of the article illustrates how victim idealisation may be used as a discursive strategy of intensification to sensationalise an event of sexual abuse. The victim is characterised as an innocent (“just nineteen”) who has been severely traumatised (“afraid to walk anywhere without at least

one person to keep her company”). This theme of idealisation contributes to the negative emotional impact evoked by the reported event as it emphasises the severity of its effects.

The following paragraph promotes the shock value of the report by abruptly proceeding to the conclusion of the ensuing event. Additional intensification is achieved with the referential expression “snatched away” and predicational adjectival phrase “lost to her family and friends for three terrible months”. The narrative is then re-established with an idealised characterisation of the victim as a good mother and daughter prior to the event, wanting nothing but to “hurry home to her little baby, and start helping her mother prepare a special lunch for her father’s birthday” (lines 1-22).

Lines 23-31 use referential expressions to characterise the perpetrators as having previously disregarded the victim’s lack of interest, as one of them would “often sweet talk her [yet – JK] she’d never paid him any attention”. Again the narrative is dramatised with abruptness as the abduction of the victim is summarised as “a blur”, with additional descriptions “grabbed” and “bundled”, the latter of which serves to dehumanise the victim. The abduction is witnessed by the victim’s brother, whose reaction (“shocked”, “tears streaming down his cheeks” (lines 32-46)) amplifies the existing feeling of tragedy introduced by the title of the article.

The emotional impact of the event is maximised in lines 55-59 as a suspenseful hyperbolic description of fruitless searches for the victim – “No trace of her at all. It was as though she’d never existed” – culminates in the abrupt revelation that “Lindiwe had been jackrolled”. Lines 60-65 reinforce the element of horror by intensifying the event through the referential verb phrase “locked in a shack”, and dehumanising the victim through the adjectival simile “like a worthless piece of meat”.

Lines 66-74 introduce a new narrative with the dramatic adverbial phrase “[in – JK] another place, at another time” in which the victims are idealised as “young girls” and “keen

students” who “always went to one or the other’s house to spend a couple of hours on homework”. The scene prior to the event further idealises the victims as having “worked quietly at the table”, while providing a contrasting description of the perpetrators as “a group of youths” including a “bold, narrow-eyed boy”. This idealisation contributes to the emotions of shock and revulsion evoked by the event of “raping”. The repetition in the adjectival phrase “again and again” serves to intensify the event even further. The event is concluded with the emphatic declaration that the “[schoolgirls had been jackrolled – with their mother watching ...” (lines 75-90). The phrase “with their mother watching ...” intensifies the event as it adds another victim to the crime – a mother who is forced to watch her children’s rape. The ellipsis contributes to the air of drama with which the narrative is relayed.

Line 91 establishes a discussion of rape as an issue worthy of moral panic. Liz Khumalo, a *Drum* journalist, is quoted on the subject, using referential and predicational strategies to intensify the issue as “this terrible criminal act” which “In any other society in the world would be met by outrage and fury on the part of the community. It would make headline news in the papers. The girls would be comforted, counselled, treated with compassion; the youths would be hunted down like vermin, lucky to escape with their lives” (lines 91-101). Here, the simile “hunted down like vermin” aptly demonise and dehumanise the perpetrators.

Lines 104-111 provide intensification through comparison, claiming that “in our society such reactions barely happen. We have become blunted by the violence of our lives, the menace lurking on every corner, the fear and intimidation that are a way of life in so many areas”. The issue is then even further amplified with the conclusion of Khumalo’s commentary (lines 112-117: “To hear of another jackrolling is simply to shrug your shoulders and thank your lucky stars it hasn’t happened to your daughter”, to which the author emphatically adds sensationalism with the implicature “At least, not yet” – an indication of the expectation that all girls will at some point be raped.

Lines 118-129 revert to the authorial voice, with the adverbial clause “Incredible as it might seem” acting as a strategy of intensification to modify the exaggerated claim that “jackrolling is fashionable. It is a trend, a fad, a passing fancy adopted by our bored, disenchanted youth in the same way as wearing your baseball cap back to front is cool” – “a way of showing the other guys what a cool dude you are, not afraid to be one of the gang and take a few chances”.

Predicational strategies are again used to demonise the perpetrators, thereby amplifying the negative emotions evoked by the event and contributing to the theme of moral panic. Perpetrators are thus described as “youths [who – JK] don’t see themselves as criminals but as macho men, demonstrating to everyone their power and ability to do what they please when they please”. The moral panic is increased by the metonymic assertion that “men are traditionally brought up to think they are superior” and “not used to rejection, and if a woman turns them down they’ll either just take what they want anyway or get it from the nearest available woman” (lines 135-151).

Again, fear is inspired in lines 153-171 by idealising potential victims as “decent women” by whom “some men feel threatened” as these women seem to act “above them” and need to be “[dragged – JK] down to their level.” This claim is emphasised by the emotive hypothetical scenario of having “a young daughter who is very together – perhaps going to a multiracial school. Gangs and youths who know they won’t have a chance with her in normal circumstances might target her for jackrolling”, “they may come to my house and say they want my daughter, and women are powerless to stop them”. Lines 172-176 again use metonymy to intensify the issue by posing the rhetorical question, “What is it with so many of our men, that they feel they can simply pick any woman they choose and do with her as they want?” This rhetorical question boldly shifts the onus of rape prevention to “our men”.

Line 178 breaks away from the issue of jackrolling to focus on “terrible rapes” in general. The scarcity of conviction for rape is intensified by the implicature “when – if – the men are

caught". Commonly presented excuses, including "that they had been drinking or that it was just a bit of romancing that got out of hand" are discarded. The psychological motive for rape is questioned in lines 184-189, and the misogyny of "our society" again proffered as a potential answer in line 192, with "some men [seeing – JK] women as their inferior possessions". The gravity of the issue is illustrated contrasted by a rapist's advice to his victim not to "make such a fuss".

Lines 199-203 attribute rape to "many men [thinking – JK] the sex act is nothing special – something they think about many times a day, take a few minutes to perform, and then forget". Rape, to a woman, is then intensified through predicational and referential metaphors as "the worst possible violation . . . a brutal, sickening invasion of a woman's body . . . utterly degrading . . . to be used like a piece of dead meat purely for someone else's pleasure" (lines 209-215).

The assumption that all men are potential rapists is reestablished when the author tries to discourage rape by projecting the experience of rape onto "any man". The emotions of fear and revulsion evoked by prior representations are intensified through graphic descriptions of rape as the author rhetorically suggests that the reader "ask any man how he'd feel if *he* was raped – pinned to the ground, his pants ripped down and savagely sodomised – and he'll tell you he'd feel sick and mentally destroyed by the insult to his manhood" (lines 216-223). This comparison is justified by the idea that "too many men apply double standards", thinking "rape is an abomination for a man, but not half so bad for a woman. After all, goes the reasoning, a woman is used to having a man enter her body – what's one more?" Men are urged in lines 233-237 to realise that "rape is a horrible, brutal crime", and that "rapists should be locked up in jail, no matter whether they realise the evil of their crime or not".

Lines 256-368 discuss women's experience of rape and the fear thereof, leading to assertions that women must "halt the epidemic" of sexual violence by "changing the way men in particular see them, and society in general, too". These suggestions may be interpreted as an indirect form of victim blaming. Women are urged to speak out about their

violations. Rape myths, addressed as “the old lie that [if – JK] a woman gets raped, she must have done something to invite it”, are identified. The article concludes with adult educator of child abuse prevention, Linda Olayi, claiming that “[Rape – JK] isn’t a matter of the way you dress or what you do as a woman. It’s violence and crime”.

5.4.4 Illustration of the mitigation of sexual violence in a discussion of Article 6: *Tyson the Terrible is accused of RAPE (October 1991: 96, 97)*

Synopsis: A rape charge against Mike Tyson is discussed and its validity debated.

This article aptly demonstrates how an event of sexual violence may be mitigated through the use of discursive strategies. The event of abuse at hand is constructed throughout the article as a liability to the perpetrator’s career, and the allegations of the victim challenged. The mitigation of the act of violence commences in the title and preceding adverbial phrase: “Just months before the biggest fight of his life against Holyfield ... Tyson the Terrible is accused of RAPE”. This declaration immediately centers the concern for the repercussions of the violence around the perpetrator and his career, as opposed to the victim. This notion, along with a striking example of victim blaming and the mitigation of sexual assault as consensual sex, is illustrated through a referential strategy found in the blurb: “The only thing that stands between Tyson and the world championship is GIRLS! GIRLS! GIRLS!”

The introductory paragraph again mitigates rape and its repercussions as “another major battle” for the “Ex-world heavyweight boxing champion”. Here, the perpetrator’s career, and even professional boxing as a sport, enjoy higher priority than the victim’s experiences. The victim of the crime is introduced in lines 5-7 as an “18-year-old contestant for the Miss Black America beauty title [who has – JK] claimed Tyson attacked her in a hotel room”. The referential verb “claimed” may implicitly discount the credibility of the accusation, yet this is debatable owing to the fact that the perpetrator had at that point not yet been tried. Line 8 shifts the focus back to the perpetrator, “who will be trying to regain his heavyweight crown from Evander Holyfield in Las Vegas on November 8”.

Lines 14-17 introduce the narrative of the attack that “is said to have happened recently during Indiana Black Expo”, again challenging the reliability of the accusation. The victim is said, in paragraph six, to have “complained the day after the alleged attack”, with the term “complained” and its negative connotations of petulance contributing to the previous refutations. The charges made against the perpetrator are repeated in a quote from a police spokesperson in lines 25-33, including that the victim “reported she was taken by limousine to Tyson’s hotel suite where he forced her to have sex at 1.30am on July 19”. The omission of the word “raped” and its substitution with the predicational expression “forced to have sex” may be considered a strategy by which the event of rape is mitigated.

Lines 42-63 are dedicated to quoted refutations of the accusation. A fellow contestant of the pageant in which the victim appeared, provides an alibi for the perpetrator, claiming that she and three other contestants were with the perpetrator at a concert at the reported time of the attack. The same contestant asserts that “he was perfect. He was very nice. He was normal”.

A turning point is reached in lines 64-77, with the statement that “that is not the kind of picture painted by Dave Reese . . . [who went – JK] golfing and barhopping with him [the perpetrator – JK] whenever he was in town”. This associate of the perpetrator demonises the perpetrator: “Tyson is a maniac . . . He’s kind of crazy and he has a lot of growing up to do . . . he’s been known to have some beers”. The next paragraph, however, negates this “picture” by the associate asserting that “he would bet a week’s pay that Tyson didn’t rape the woman ‘because he’s not that stupid. He wouldn’t jeopardise the Holyfield fight’” (lines 78-82). The implication of the latter statements is that rape is not inherently wrong, it is merely not a clever thing to do as it might jeopardise one’s career. The inclusion of this statement indicates a higher concern for the perpetrator than the victim. It is then mentioned that the organisers of the pageant in which the victim competed were suing those who booked the perpetrator’s appearance at the festival for bringing said pageant “into disrepute”. The inclusion of this statement, in turn, indicates firstly the lack of regard for the victim in favour of the reputation of the pageant, and secondly illustrates the attribution of blame to the victim as opposed to the perpetrator.

Lines 94-95 use the referential strategy “scrapes with the law” to mitigate the event of sexual violence at hand. These “scrapes” reportedly include also a claim by another woman that “Tyson grabbed her waist and bottom while they were being photographed”, an allegation by the perpetrator’s ex-wife that “Tyson battered her throughout their brief marriage”, and yet another conviction “of battery on charges that he grabbed and fondled a woman in a Manhattan nightclub”. The victim of the latter conviction is said to have been awarded R300 only, leaving “the champ . . . unchastened . . . [claiming that – JK] ‘If it was that serious, they would have given her more than that’” (lines 100-116).

The above excerpts and analyses serve to demonstrate how discursive strategies and standardised themes are used in the relevant data to either intensify (65%) or mitigate (40.1%) representations of sexual violence in the form of “rape horror stories” (40%), sexual abuse as “moral panic” (24.2%), rape as consensual sex or constructions of rape as spectacle or eroticised violence.

5.5 Analysis and discussion of advice column letters

Contrary to the articles discussed above, *Drum*’s advice column, *Dear Dolly*, shows definite ideological changes regarding the responsibility for sexual violence over the selected period of time (see Table 6). Note that the given percentages are not ratios of a whole, as the blame was sometimes attributed to more than one party and was hence counted in each relevant category.

Table 6: Attribution of blame in *Dear Dolly*

No. p.a.	Victims	%	Perp	%	Other	%
1987 (1)	1	100	0	0	0	0
1988 (3)	2	66.7	0	0	0	0
1991 (1)	1	100	0	0	0	0

1992 (1)	1	100	1	100	0	0
1993 (1)	0	0	1	100	1	100
1994 (3)	1	33.3	1	33.3	0	0
1995 (2)	0	0	1	50	0	0
1996 (3)	0	0	2	66.7	0	0
1997 (19)	4	21.1	15	78.9	0	0
1998 (9)	2	22.2	5	55.6	0	0
1999 (11)	0	0	8	72.7	0	0
2000 (4)	0	0	3	75	0	0
2001 (3)	0	0	1	33.3	0	0
2002 (13)	5	38.5	11	84.6	0	0
2003 (11)	1	9.1	10	90.9	0	0
2004 (6)	0	0	5	83.3	0	0
Total		30.7		57.7		

Blame for sexual violence is mainly distributed between victims and perpetrators. A significant shift in the attribution of blame is evident over the selected period. Between 1984 and 1993, victims receive primary blame. Between 1994 and 2004, perpetrators are blamed primarily, albeit not exclusively. This division may be attributed to the political changes which occurred in South Africa in 1994, as will be discussed at a later point. The following sections will analyse and compare, according to subject, all seven relevant letters and replies printed in *Dear Dolly* before 1994 to submissions with similar queries and their replies printed during and after 1994. The discourse strategies of intensification, mitigation, as well as referential strategies and mitigation strategies, will be identified and examined where applicable to the attribution of responsibility for sexual violence.

5.6 Letters from family rape victims seeking abortions

Between 1987 and 1988, two letters appeared in *Dear Dolly* seeking advice on obtaining an abortion after being raped by a family member, namely *Too late for tears* (April 1987: 54) and *My half-brother raped me* (September 1988: 103). In both cases, Dolly attributes at least part of the responsibility for the rapes and consequent pregnancies to the victims.

5.6.1 Discussion of Advice column 1: *Too late for tears* (April 1987: 54)

The writer of *Too late for tears* (April 1987: 54) seeks Dolly's advice on how to obtain an abortion, having been raped and impregnated by her half-brother two months prior. Dolly mitigates the assault and resulting pregnancy within a reproachful frame. The woman's desire to have an abortion is dismissed as "very cruel", as she "should have known better from the start, that keeping quiet about such a nasty need, will land you into hot soup one day". The metaphor "hot soup" mitigates the gravity of the event of rape and consequent pregnancy. Although the victim is not explicitly blamed for the assault, Dolly's claim that she "should have known better" implies that the woman has acted foolishly and is therefore responsible for her pregnancy. This inference is reinforced by Dolly's dismissal of the woman's victimhood with the reproach, "it is already too late for tears, dear sister."

A more explicit instance of victim blaming follows, as Dolly infers the victim's compliance during the assault from her reluctance to report the crime – a common rape myth: "I take it you were also impressed with what your half-brother did to you – otherwise you would have reported the matter to the police immediately." Dolly then repeats her warning against abortion, this time claiming that "[risking – JK] your life for an abortion won't be worth it", and that the woman's parents "won't be keen on an abortion either." Dolly concludes her reply with encouragement to take responsibility for the child: "Sister Dolly's advice is that you should take it upon yourself that you are going to become a new mother and look forward to bringing up your 'baby' with affection. Learn to love it now and do everything in your power to save its life." The referential expression "Sister Dolly" disguises these admonishments as the guidance of a caring relative. It is clear that the editors responsible

for Dear Dolly had little sympathy for this particular victim of sexual violence, and placed the life of her unborn child above her victimhood and autonomy.

5.6.2 Discussion of Advice column 2: *My half-brother raped me* (September 1988: 103)

In *My half-brother raped me*, (September 1988: 103), Dolly's response mirrors the discrimination illustrated in the previous example. The advice seeker in this case is a woman in need of guidance, having been raped by her half-brother and in need of an abortion. As with *Too late for tears*, Dolly responds reproachfully. She states that she's "just not in a position to encourage abortion," and explicitly blames the victim for the pregnancy, and, therefore, the rape: "In short, you are also to blame for taking this abuse and sparing him. You should have reported him to the police immediately." This assertion admits that the rape was a criminal offense, but that the victim's silence has made her an accomplice. The woman is then advised to relate the issue to her parents and seek further advice from social workers.

5.6.3 Discussion of Advice column 3: *Pregnant after uncle raped me* (May 1994: 70)

As in the pre-1994 examples, the present letter-writer seeks advice on how to obtain an abortion after being raped and impregnated by a family member. Although Dolly similarly advises the letter-writer not to abort the pregnancy and to seek counsel, her response is less reproachful. As before, Dolly rejects the possibility of an abortion. However, instead of dismissing abortion as cruel, she simply states that "I personally don't encourage abortion". She also chastises the victim for not reporting the assault sooner. However, instead of blaming the victim's foolishness, she presents a more neutral reprimand, claiming that the victim "shouldn't have suffered in silence to protect a rapist". The victim is then advised to discuss the matter with her parents and seek further guidance and counsel from local social workers. Although the latter advice illustrates a degree of sympathy, the critical tone induced by the expression "you shouldn't have", paired with the relatively dispassionate content and style of the response as a whole, mitigate the victim's experience of the violence and reflect a matter-of-fact perspective on rape with little consideration for its causes or effects.

5.7 Letters from family rape victims seeking to end their abuse

Two submissions discussing family rape (excluding those examples surrounding the obtaining of abortions) were printed in *Drum's Dear Dolly* prior to 1994. In both these submissions, entitled *My father rapes me* (February 1992: 96) and *I'm better off dead* (November 1993: 94), Dolly affords sympathy to the victim of the assault with underlying suggestions of victim blaming.

5.7.1 Discussion of Advice column 4: *My father rapes me* (February 1992: 96)

The writer of *My father rapes me* (February 1992: 96) seeks counsel on the mounting sexual demands of both her father and her boyfriend, the former of whom has been raping her since she was eleven years old. Her reason for writing the letter is not to report the abuse, but to seek a solution to her inability to “cope with both their sexual demands.”

Dolly's response starts with the assertion that “you shouldn't subject yourself to such abuse. It is your right to say ‘No!’.” This statement places the victim in the agent role, implying that she is at least partly to blame. Despite the asker's concern of managing the sexual demands placed on her, Dolly turns her focus to the victimhood of the asker at the hands of her father. She claims to be “disgusted about what your father makes you go through and I am not going to say ‘let bygones be bygones’. No way!” She then demonises the perpetrator and advises the letter-writer to “[take – JK] this matter further, report him to the highest authority! . . . He's an animal!” Only then does Dolly shift her focus to the victim's boyfriend. Although the asker reported no abuse from her boyfriend, only that he “is very fond of sex”, Dolly warns her that her boyfriend is “out to use you as much as he can and when he's ready to settle down he will go for a girl who is able to say ‘No!’” Despite her focus on the asker's victimhood, the referential phrase “a girl who is able to say ‘No!’” implies that Dolly blames the letter-writer for not resisting what she (Dolly) perceives as abuse from the victim's boyfriend. This attribution of blame indicates that Dolly attributes at least a portion of the blame for sexual abuse to the victim's lack of resistance.

5.7.2 Discussion of Advice column 5: *I'm better off dead* (November 1993: 94)

I'm better off dead is a rare example of the attribution of blame to an external party for a particular instance of sexual violence. The asker in this case is a sixteen-year-old who has been sexually abused by her uncle for two years and whose ignored cries for help to her mother are causing her to consider suicide. She “feels dirty and used” and has “done all I can to alert [my mother – JK] to the situation.”

In response, Dolly chastises the asker’s mother for not maintaining an open relationship with the victim. She claims that if the victim and her mother “were close enough, your uncle’s abuse wouldn’t have gone this far.” The victim’s mother is blamed explicitly: “The blame lies squarely on your mom’s shoulders and it’s time she became a real mother. She has to protect you.” The perpetrator is condemned for his transgression, and is said to “[deserve – JK] a long jail sentence for his filthy deeds.” A contradiction follows – whereas the asker is advised not to “let this happen to you again,” implying that the victim is allowing the abuse, Dolly also asserts that “it’s not your fault.” One may conclude from the latter quote as well as the referential expression “filthy deeds” that Dolly intends to aid the letter-writer in escaping the abusive situation. Contrarily, Dolly’s warning not to “let this happen to you again” reveals an underlying ideology of victim blaming.

5.8 Letters from perpetrators of marital rape

Only one letter from a perpetrator of marital rape was printed in *Dear Dolly* before 1994. *I am forced to rape her* is a rare example of a perpetrator of sexual violence looking to *Drum*’s Dolly for advice on his sexual predicament. This letter and Dolly’s response aptly illustrate the beliefs held by the readers and editors of *Drum* during this period.

5.8.1 Discussion of Advice column 6: *I am forced to rape her* (April 1988: 66-67)

I am forced to rape her details the letter-writer’s wife who has “started giving me a number of problems,” including her sudden refusal to cook, clean, bathe before bedtime and have sex. The perpetrator complains that his wife “also won’t let me have sex with her. I have to battle to get her to such an extent that our double-bed once broke down during our struggle.

It's more of a rape than lovemaking". When questioned about her behaviour, his wife orders him to "go and pay the balance of the lobola to her parents." He then argues that he shouldn't have to meet his wife's demands when "she has already shown me her true colours."

Despite the letter-writer's admittance to raping his wife, his crime goes unrecognised in Dolly's response. Instead, he is advised to fulfil the prerequisites of the lobola custom in order to "bring any relief" to his "dicey" problem. The adjective "dicey" connotes an element of danger or discomfort, which mitigates the issue of rape as a mere inconvenience for the rapist. She suggests that the man's wife "has been told [by her family – JK] to discipline you, so that it becomes a constant reminder to you that you must complete the required [lobola – JK] procedure first." She then reassures the husband that he won't be "[wasting – JK] his trouble on something that is no longer worth the trouble", since "you have nothing to lose because you already have a child with this woman." Dolly's failure to recognise the man's actions as immoral and illegal reveals the editors' assumption that rape, or at least marital rape, is not only excusable, but problematic only if the rapist's needs are not met.

5.8.2 Discussion of Advice column 7: *Does my wife have the right to say no?* (25-12-1997: 40)

The response to this letter printed in 1997 may be compared to the pre-1994 example as both are written by the perpetrators of marital rape. In this instance, the husband writes that "[everything – JK] is fine except she often isn't in the mood to have sex – and when she says no she means it." The wife is reported to assert her "legal right to refuse to have sex with [him – JK]," and to have threatened to have her husband arrested for rape. The writer concludes his letter with the declaration that "[if – JK] a man says please he should at least be considered." The latter statement implies that men's sexual needs are more important than women's sexual agency.

Dolly's reply is morally ambivalent. While it is stated that "[neither – JK] of you has the right to force the other to have sex," Dolly empowers the perpetrator by adding that "neither of you has the right to refuse sex all the time either. Making love always has to be a reasonable compromise." The asker is advised to evaluate his relationship with his wife as a possible reason for her rejecting him. He is also advised not to "[force – JK] her to have sex."

Contrary to her response to the inquiry about marital rape in 1988, Dolly acknowledges that marital rape is unacceptable, although the word "rape" is substituted by the more impassive referential euphemism "forced sex". The illegality of the attempted rapes is, however, not recognised. Instead, the sexual violence is treated as a private matter. In addition to this mitigation, the happiness of the perpetrator is prioritised along with that of the victim with the suggestion that he reveal to his wife his "lack of joy in [their – JK] marriage" in order to resolve the potential marital problems blocking his sexual access.

5.9 Letters from men looking to "reclaim" victimised girlfriends from rapists

This category of letters to *Dear Dolly* introduces yet another group of letter-writers – a third party seeking counsel on a sexually abusive situation which involves a love interest or partner. Such letters printed before 1994 exhibit an unexpected query from the askers. Rather than seeking help for the rape victims, these men are concerned about how the sexual violence, construed as consensual sex, might affect their relationships with their abused partners. Although Dolly's responses include discussions of the criminal aspects of the abuse, her language use mirrors the perspectives of the men that write to her and sees the main issue as the state of the relationship rather than perpetration of sexual violence.

5.9.1 Discussion of Advice column 8: *Must I leave her?* (June 1988: 68)

Must I leave her, written by an admirer and possible love interest of a victim of sexual assault, seeks advice on how to re-establish his relationship with the victim after she "fell in love with another guy" who, she claims, "forced himself onto her by beating her up." The

advice seeker is “so scared because this man threatens to give me a hiding if I don’t leave this girl alone.” He adds that he is “not prepared to get involved in fighting over a woman,” yet does not want to end a “four-year-old affair because of a guy who only entered the scene a couple of months ago.” From the referential expressions “fell in love”, “fighting over a woman” and “a guy who only entered the scene a couple of months ago”, it is clear that the asker interprets his partner’s rape as a consensual sexual relationship which would nullify their four-year-long relationship.

Dolly’s response continues this assumption as she warns the asker that “behaving like a thug and fighting over women has always been wrong” as it would “put your dignity and life at risk over a hooligan.” She then asserts that “this issue doesn’t involve you in any way, it is up to your girlfriend to see to the disciplining of this guy, long before deciding on giving in to his nasty demands.” Here the expression “deciding on giving in” perpetuates the myth that rape is impossible as it would require the victim’s cooperation, or that protestation to sexual advances is merely a show of modesty or sexual inexperience and a natural part of the courting ritual (Bourke 2007: 24, 50). The victim is then reproached for “not [putting – JK] enough effort into getting this matter corrected,” attributing implicit blame to the victim for the assault and lack of justice. The abovementioned rape myths are explicitly promoted with the claim that “It’s simple, she must approach this guy and tell him it’s over, so that when he reacts by beating her up, she can easily report him to the nearest police station.” This strategy to have the victim beaten up illustrates that the letter-writer’s happiness is prioritised over the victim’s safety and wellbeing. Again the victim’s victimhood is questioned. Dolly advises the asker to “be very careful, because my instincts tell me she might be in love with the guy and only fooling you with those excuses. This you can only detect if she doesn’t agree to tell this guy off.”

5.9.2 Discussion of Advice column 9: *She was sexually abused* (April 1991: 96)

The letter *She was sexually abused* is written by a young man who wants to reconnect with his estranged girlfriend who was repeatedly raped by a housemate and gave birth to her

rapist's child. The letter-writer is unsure of what to do for fear of "the child's father [refusing – JK] to let go," and states that he "does not want to use force".

Dolly starts her response by questioning the victim's credibility. She advises the asker to "hear both sides of the story. If your girl wasn't being forced, why didn't she report the man to the police?" She then justifies this assumption with the admittance that "Yes, I know you might say she was stranded and couldn't take the risk." Dolly suggests that the letter-writer go to "one or two people who were close to her, or neighbours, you might come up with something solid." He is also told not to use force and endanger his life, and only to "decide on steps to take after clarifying her relationship with the other guy. And if all what she says is true, don't hesitate to report the matter to the police." As Dolly preoccupies herself with the legitimisation of the victim's claims of assault, rather than dealing with the injustice which the asker describes as fact, one may infer that sexual victimhood does not concern her as much as the asker's relationship dilemma.

5.9.3 Discussion of Advice column 10: *Teachers snatch our girls* (April 1994: 56)

This letter is the only post-1993 letter which is comparable to *Must I leave her?* of 1988 as it is also written by the third party partner of a victim of sexual violence. The writer of this letter is a schoolboy lamenting that "every time I get involved with a girl, a teacher comes along and snatches her." The possibility that the term "snatches" may be metaphorical or hyperbolic is dismissed with the complaint that "my current girl . . . believes it will be best for her to leave school because the male teachers are harassing her." Dolly initiates her response with the declaration that it is "a disgrace that teachers harass schoolgirls. You, and this girl, can put a stop to this problem." She advises the boy to "take the matter up with the headmaster." Thereafter, Dolly again mitigates sexual violence as consensual sex and discounts the victim's safety in favour of the asker's academic achievement with the warning that "I am not suggesting that you should start competing for girls with the teachers . . . forget parties and shebeens and concentrate on your studies."

The above analyses of response letters illustrate not only how discourse strategies were employed to attribute blame to the victims of sexual violence, but how the distribution of such blame shifted dramatically in 1994. Reasons for this shift may include the overall transformation of the media in democratic South Africa.

In 1994, the South African media became an instrument of change by providing a platform for socio-political transformation and the construction of post-apartheid identities (Wasserman & De Beer 2009: 383). Under the apartheid regime, South African media was stringently controlled by a complex set of censorship laws which protected the National Party from public criticism. Post-apartheid, a self-regulatory system for the media was introduced, which compelled the South African media to draw up ethical codes according to which their standards could be evaluated (Wasserman & De Beer 2009: 384). Values such as independence and objectivity formed the foundation of the mainstream media ethical codes. A press ombudsman and broadcasting complaints commission were put in place to facilitate public evaluation of the media in conjunction with said ethical codes. Non-governmental media watchdog organisations such as the Media Monitoring Project, Genderlinks and the Freedom of Expression Institute, also worked towards maintaining the transparency of South African media (Wasserman & De Beer 2009: 385). It would therefore follow that the discourse in *Dear Dolly* would display a less discriminatory attitude towards victims of sexual abuse during and after 1994.

5.10 Discussion

The following section will attempt to contextualise the above analysis in the ideological framework in which it was produced. The attribution of blame for sexual violence and the themes within which such blame is evident will be discussed and their ideological motives will be unpacked. This section will be concluded by a reflection on the social relevance of this thesis and the importance of the perpetual scrutiny of public rape discourses.

Ideologies or value systems may be regarded as belonging to particular discourses. Discourses around sexual violence therefore illustrate the corresponding values held by the participants of these discourses, including moral evaluations and the distribution of blame (Fairclough 2003: 58). The above analyses indicate that sexual consent was often regarded as an unspoken inference of a woman's apparent sexual availability as implied by her dress, conduct or reputation. Discourses surrounding sexual violence therefore demanded that women be afraid in public spaces and to conduct themselves so as not to "invite" sexual assault (see *Spike Alert* (26-08-2004: 82, 83), *Campus Rape* (05-02-2004: 22, 23), and *DATE RAPE* (1992: 26-28)) (Hanmer & Saunders 1984: 65-66, in Ackerman 1995: 86). These discourses stripped women of their sexual autonomy with the assumption that "unideal" women are at least partially accountable for any sexual violence perpetrated against them, revealing a patriarchal social structure in which men's desires take preference over women's rights. This particular social structure proves hegemonic in its prevalence over the period of study and its general presentation as presupposed background knowledge or common sense (see *DATE RAPE* (May 1992: 26, 27, 28), and *No angel, but also no rapist* (18-11-1999: 22)) (Fairclough 2003: 4). Such assumed meanings are of particular ideological power, as they avoid contestation and consequently often go unchecked (Fairclough 2003: 58). These meanings often get their ideological power and become uncontestable through a process of erasure. Irvine and Gal (2000: 37) (cited in French 2012: 344) define erasure as "the rendering of some social phenomena invisible in ways that simplify a social field". Discourses deconstructing social structures that render women powerless in public spaces are rendered invisible. Instead these more complex discourses are simplified and presented as "common-sense". Women should thus take precautions when in public spaces because it is "common-sense", but the conditions which force women to be afraid in public are rarely scrutinised.

The data revealed a subset of discourses within the greater discourse of sexual violence against women. The most prominent of these discourses is one of responsibility and blame. Three main arguments are proffered, namely attributing blame to the perpetrator, the victim and other factors such as societal values. A relatively delicate balance is maintained between the former two parties, depending on the victim's "idealness" and the perpetrator's corresponding "wickedness". If the victim's personal traits lend themselves to idealisation,

they will be emphasised and it will be assumed that the victim did not invite or deserve the assault (see *Blind, 89, and raped 3 times* (21-01-1999: 14, 15)). If the victim displays more unideal characteristics than ideal, these traits, in turn, will be emphasised and presented as an instigator of the attack (see *Spike alert* (26-08-2004: 82, 83)). The perpetrator's personal traits can be used to attribute blame in much the same way – he may be presented as evil, sub-human or otherwise abnormal as a way of absolving the victim of blame (see *I was evil tycoon's sex slave* (22-08-2002: 14, 15)). This strategy of demonisation is often used to delegate responsibility when the victim is not constructed as typically ideal or unideal. The perpetrator is rarely idealised, but when he is, it is to advocate his innocence (see *No angel, but also no rapist* (18-11-1999: 22)).

Another prominent discourse in the subset of discourses revolves around sexual violence as an event or social issue. Several themes reoccur in this discourse, namely sexual violence as moral panic, horror story or erotica. The moral panic discourse constructs sexual violence against women as an epidemic, propagating fear of victimisation (see *Jackrolled: tragedy of our townships* (April 1994: 76-79)). The rape horror story includes the same cautionary messages, but focuses on a particular event and is typically more grotesque in its descriptions. Sexual violence is sometimes presented in titillating language, mitigating the event as erotica or consensual sex (see *I was evil tycoon's sex slave* (22-08-2002: 14, 15)).

These discourses are alternated with discourses which present sexual violence more or less objectively, and, less frequently, discourses which pertinently absolve all victims of blame, such as *Doc throws away his Bafana Bafana jersey* (28-10-1999: 8, 9) which quotes Doctor Khumalo as having “no idea what drives men to rape ... I just hope I can make them realise how wrong it is.” The majority of discourses, however, legitimise women's responsibility for their own sexual safety, reflecting social structures controlled by and orientated around men in which women's right to safety is considered a secondary concern.

The analysis of the advice columns displays similar discourses to the articles. The advice columns are, however, interesting in the sense that the readers' voice is more explicitly

included in the form of personal letters. Advice columns provide a glimpse into the dialogue between the editorial team and the readers. Although the editorial team always has an ideal readership in mind, advice columns provide the readers with a voice. Dolly not only responds to the readers but also draws on other social discourses, such as health and safety or punitive discourses, while readers' letters very often reflect prevailing dominant discourses such as rape as rough sex rather than a violation. As Scollon, Tsang, Li, Yung and Jones (2004: 174) state: "all texts are uttered in multiple voices in response to multiple voices and in anticipation of polyvocal responses." However, the question remains if the responses will be polyvocal in the sense that different discourses will be evoked, or if multiple voices echoing the same ideas will be used. One must ask, in other words, whether a point will be reached where dominant ideologies about rape will be contested and debated, or whether dominant views will remain.

Even though some strides have been made in the way in which victims and perpetrators of sexual violence are portrayed in the media, such as a decrease in victim blaming after 1994, subtle and opaque victim blaming is still rife. As it is generally acknowledged that the media can shape public opinion, this is an important finding as this study is an attempt to instigate new discourses about sexual violence which criticise and contest dominant ideologies.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was first to evaluate the ways in which sexual violence perpetrated by men against women was constructed in articles and advice columns published in *Drum* magazine between 1984 and 2004 in terms of (a) the act of rape and (b) participants of the act of rape (victims, perpetrators and peripheral participants). The second aim of this thesis was to determine whether these constructions differed across the abovementioned genres, and the third, to determine whether any changes occurred in said constructions over the designated period. These aims were achieved using Fairclough's (2003) framework for CDA and a subset of analytical and sociological theories.

In order to execute said aims, a set of sociological and linguistic theories had first to be explored and interlinked, as was executed in chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 commenced by situating the thesis in feminist theory, the core concept of which has been the premise that women have been excluded from "codified knowledge, where men have formulated explanations in relation to themselves" (Spender 1981: 2). A brief historical overview of feminist academia was provided, including the theory of patriarchy and the causes of rape, before attribution theory, a fundamental tool in the thematic analysis of the data, was explored. Chapter 3 provided an explication of the linguistic theory upon which the analysis was based, starting with a broad history of discourse analysis and CDA, followed by a detailed summary of Fairclough's (2003) framework of CDA and examples of its use. The latter sections of chapter 3 introduced the mediating properties of journalistic discourse. Using this rather intricate lattice of frameworks and theories, the data was thematically and linguistically analysed.

A content analysis revealed a set of interesting themes, several of which agreed with those identified for crime journalism by Wilczynski and Sinclair (1999: 264-278), and all of

which were communicated using referential and predicational discursive strategies such as noun, verb and adjectival phrases, euphemisms, implicatures and similes. The most prominent of these themes are victim idealisation, found in 48.5% of articles, perpetrator demonisation (22.78%), sympathy with perpetrators (15.1%), the intensification of sexual violence (65%) and the mitigation of sexual violence as consensual sex or erotica (40.1%). It was also established that these distributions remained more or less constant throughout the designated period, and that the blame for sexual violence was attributed to the perpetrators thereof significantly more than to the victims or external factors. However, despite the distribution leaning heavily towards the perpetrators, it remains shocking that victims of sexual violence were blamed in an average of 9.6% of articles, when they should not have been blamed at all.

This relatively large percentage of articles attributing blame to victims of sexual abuse is indicative of the ideological fabric of the society from which they arose, which leads to the conclusion that the social structures within which *Drum* was produced were patriarchal and misogynistic, having repeatedly approved of, or at the very least accepted, sexual violence towards women as a normal element of society.

These findings contribute theoretically to both CDA and feminist social theory. Fairclough's framework for CDA was used successfully to unveil the social structures from which sexual violence originates. Additionally the thesis also illustrates how through a process of erasure real complexity on discourses around sexual violence is lost. Similarly, the feminist notion that women are still being considered subordinate to men was confirmed and illustrated in a uniquely South African context.

6.2 Recommendations for future research

Owing to the limited scope of the present study, regarding both subject and magnitude, there is ample room for further development. This thesis analysed discourse around male to adult female sexual violence only, when many more categories of sexual violence, such as

pedophilia and same sex sexual abuse, are publically discussed. Different magazine publications could also be analysed to provide a more substantial indication of the ideologies existing in dominant South African media organisations and their readerships. A study on the construction of masculinity in *Drum* would contribute greatly to the findings of this study. More recent data should be considered to produce a more accurate image of the social structures of contemporary South Africa.

From a methodological point of view further studies can utilise multimodal analyses to focus on modes other than language which may construct rape discourses. A combination of corpus linguistics and CDA can also give information about the frequency with which certain descriptions of rape, rape victims and rape perpetrators occur. An audience analysis would also greatly contribute to provide a more accurate account of the prevalence and distribution of prevalent beliefs and ideologies around sexual violence. Despite the shortcomings of the current study, this thesis has pointed to topics which are in dire need of investigation and laid the foundation for future studies.

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Addendum A: Articles

Article 1: *Blind, 89, and raped 3 times* (21-01-1999: 14, 15)

Scourge of the young thugs who assault defenceless old women

Ruth Kgaole promised her husband as he lay dying that she'd never leave the house in which they'd been so happy. But while she was still mourning his death she was raped. It happened on two more horrific occasions. What kind of men do this, and how can it be stopped?

By JEFFERSON LENGANE
Picture: JACOB MAWELA

IT'S a bright summer day but the house is dark inside. The windows are closed, the curtains drawn. This is where the frail old blind woman has lived alone for the past seven years, and where she's suffered a fate which would leave most strong young women scarred for life. Ruth Kgaole (89) has been raped three times, by youths young enough to be her grandchildren. The assaults have left her a broken woman, but she refuses to leave the home where she spent a life of happiness with her husband. She promised him on his deathbed she would never leave the house in Sebokeng Zone 11 in the Vaal Triangle. Where would she go? She has no children and no extended family to look after her. Her neighbours don't offer support, except a

young man next door who sometimes buys food for her. Every night she prays the criminals who forced their way into her home and raped her won't come back. Each day she relives the terror and humiliation she suffered at the hands of these filthy young thugs. "If this is what God has destined for me I don't know what is my sin," she whispers, her unseeing eyes staring into space. But Ruth is not alone. Police say Ruth's case is unusual, but organisations dealing with violence against women say there's been a frightening increase in the number of attacks on defenceless old women. A Cape Town organisation says at least six women are raped in Cape townships every day, and three of them are elderly women. They're easy targets for rapists because they are too frail to fight back and unable to identify their rapists afterwards.

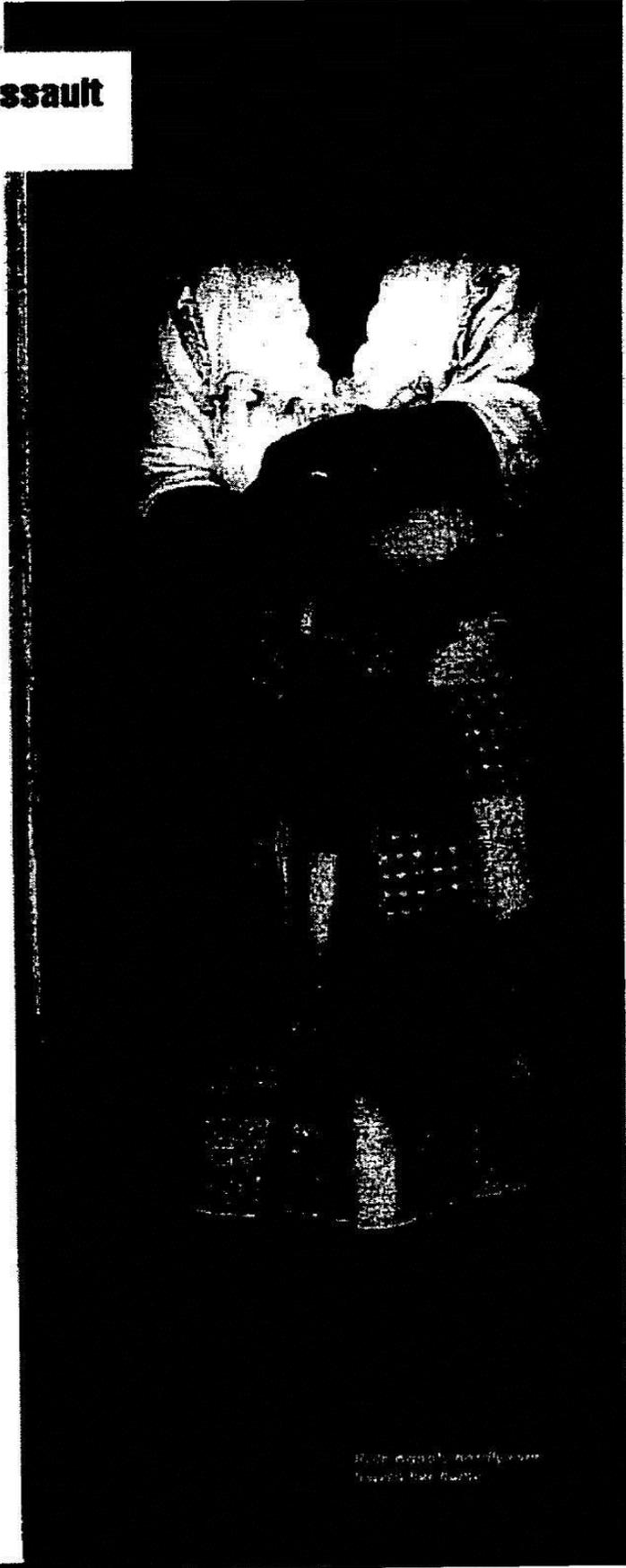
Women such as Ruth Kgaole, who should be spending their old age in the care of their families and with the support of their communities, have become silent victims of an increasingly violent world.

RUTH spends her days in her bedroom. She seldom goes outside to collect water from a tap to wash herself. Cooking or cleaning the house is difficult for her.

Her life became a misery when her husband died in 1992. Barely a month later, while she was still mourning, an intruder savagely raped her.

"Suddenly I felt someone heavy on top of me," she recalls tearfully. "Before I knew what was happening he was inside me and throttling me. I'll never forget his disgusting words - 'I want you to remember how you used to sleep with your husband'. That's what he said."

On a rainy night in 1997 a



Ruth Kgaole, 89, has been raped three times.

85 man broke a window and raped her, then ran off with her R350 pension.

"He said when he was finished with me I'd have nothing to be proud of," she recalls. "He 90 stuffed a blanket into my mouth and hit me in the face. For a week my jaw was so stiff I couldn't eat solid food."

95 Late last year it happened again. Someone climbed through the kitchen window, assaulted her and raped her. "He just laughed and said he wanted my body," she says.

100 Ruth doesn't ask for assistance. She doesn't even care

go against vows one has made to the dead.

130 "In my culture the wishes of the dead are never defied. There is a saying in Sotho, nbo ya mosadi e mong ha ena boroko (there is no sleep in another woman's house). Besides, I'll 135 never live in an old-age home. My eyes are blind, not my brain."

140 WHAT kind of man rapes a defenceless old woman? And when there are few old-age homes and the elderly are reluctant to move, what can be done to protect them from the thugs?

girls as young as 15 who've been raped. I'd say there's been a 50 per cent increase in the past two years of elderly women 175 who've been raped. If you're old and you live alone you're an easy target."

Nthabiseng Sephanya, director of People Opposing Violence Against Women (Powa), agrees.

"Rape is a form of violence aimed at women because they're vulnerable. Elderly women are more vulnerable because they're often left alone at home. They're generally frail and their memory isn't so good any more. And with rape on the

Blind, 89, and raped 3 times

about the break-ins – but the rapes have left her shattered.

105 "They can take my money and destroy my property, but to rape me is an insult to my body and soul," she says. "It's the worst degradation. These people are animals. All I can say is God will 110 answer my prayers against my molesters."

115 She often uses religious phrases – God is there . . . God will answer . . . The Lord will punish . . .

Social workers have pleaded with her to leave her house and live in an old-age home, but this angers Ruth.

120 "I'll never leave this house," she says indignantly. "I promised my husband I'd live here until the day my body is carried out in a coffin. He told me two weeks 125 before his death never to give this house away."

Ruth says it's a bad omen to

145 Mofari Nembaine, a psychologist at the trauma clinic attached to the Centre for the Study of Violence in Johannesburg, says rape is not about sex but about 150 aggression and violence.

"These violent criminals target 155 old women – and young girls – because they're vulnerable and weak," she says. "Sometimes the elderly are raped by their own children in their own homes. And these men know they can get away with it."

Mandisa Morakali, director of 160 Elitha Labantu, a Cape Town organisation dealing with violence against women, says men who rape old women are generally young, violent, unemployed and emotionally disturbed.

"They have no power so they rape because it gives them a sense of power. We've worked 170 with women as old as 89 and

increase more older women and 190 younger girls are being targeted."

Experts say family and community structures have fallen apart so many old people are left 195 without support. And while the idea of living in an old-age home is still foreign in black communities, they point out that there are very few old-age homes where they could live.

200 Mandisa believes the government should be pressured into building more old-age homes, and communities should be educated about them. A huge 205 effort is needed to rebuild family and community support systems so the elderly can be taken care of.

210 Meanwhile Ruth Kgaleke prays that she won't be a victim again, and that she'll be left in peace so she can honour her vows to her beloved husband . . .

Article 2: *No angel, but also no rapist* (18-11-1999: 22)

ONLY two people will ever know what really went on that rainy summer afternoon. All the judges could do was piece things together and decide whether one man's actions were bad enough for him to spend six years behind bars. Their decision is final: what happened that day wasn't rape. Now Makhaya Ntini is a free man and can marry his fiancée and work on his floundering cricket career. Meanwhile a distraught Nomagezi Matokazi has gone to ground and vanished in rural Transkei. But she left the echo of her bitter complaint: "It was only because he was rich and powerful and I am poor and ordinary that he got off."

nounced they'd appeal against the sentence. With the backing of the United Cricket Board, he was well prepared for the appeal. Leading his defence was top Cape Town advocate Jeremy Gauntlett. At the end of the appeal hearing, Grahamstown High Court judge Chris Jansen – helped by Judge Jos Jones – overturned the guilty verdict. They also found he was no saint – something must have led Nomagezi to accuse Makhaya of rape that day. "Why would she tell a story that she'd been raped if nothing had happened between them?" Judge Jansen asked. But that wasn't the question the judges had to solve. What they had to decide was whether Makhaya

station to report she'd been raped by Makhaya Ntini. There were no witnesses – just her word against his. That was the main thing that worried the judges. They found her story was filled with inconsistencies and decided she must have made part of it up. She must have realised Makhaya was leading her to a women's toilet and she wasn't forced into the building – if he took her there at all. The judges said it could never be proved that Makhaya was in the toilet. She claimed she'd fought from the start, then given in when he pushed her against the wall. But the judge pointed to her own damning words when she admitted: "I did not tell him that I don't want to (have sex)".

started crying because of pain. She told the court she was sure she'd screamed once because Makhaya penetrated her deeply, but earlier she'd told police she was screaming the whole time. Finally, under cross-examination she said she'd been "crying softly". Why didn't she shout out for help? She was in a public toilet, near a public entrance to a public place in broad daylight. Nomagezi also said Makhaya had forced her legs open with his knee and put his penis inside her. Her vagina was wet and he had no problems penetrating her. It was when he lifted her up and penetrated her deeply that she screamed because she felt pain. Makhaya became cross, swore and stopped.

No angel, but also no rapist

By MIKE LOEWE

Earlier this year a stunned Makhaya was sentenced to six years in prison for raping the domestic worker in the toilets of the Buffalo Park Cricket Club in East London. In the high-profile court case the sportsman was portrayed as a monster who'd cruised his neighbourhood on a rainy afternoon looking for a woman to satisfy his lust and arrogance. According to the trial verdict he'd called his victim to his luxury sponsored car, offered her a lift and driven to the cricket club. He lured her into a deserted toilet, put her against the wall and raped her until she called out in agony. When she screamed he withdrew, muttering "Shit!". They then got back in his car and he dropped her off at a shop near her home. This was Nomagezi's version of what happened; Ntini claimed he was innocent throughout the trial. Immediately after he'd been found guilty his legal team an-



Cricketer Makhaya Ntini has been cleared of the rape conviction that severely damaged his budding career. But while the two judges said he's no rapist, they frowned on his behaviour that fateful day . . .

had been proven guilty beyond reasonable doubt. And they found he hadn't. NOMAGEZI'S story starts with her trying to phone her sister in Bisho later that day, not getting through and walking to a police

Makhaya Ntini during his rape trial. He's now a free man. Her actions gave the impression she decided to give in and Makhaya could have been under the impression she was willing to have sex – up to the stage where she

A doctor found it would have been virtually impossible for Makhaya, who was much taller than Nomagezi, to be able to penetrate her unless she'd risen up on her toes to help him enter her. Otherwise he'd in some way have "had to almost go down". He wouldn't have been able to penetrate her unless she'd allowed him to and co-operated with him. "The action of (Makhaya) after the scream, not for help, but because of pain, was not that of a rapist," said Judge Jansen. "If he'd wanted to rape her, he would not have stopped there." The district surgeon who examined Nomagezi afterwards could find no sign of forced penetration. Her version of the story, the judges ruled, was highly unlikely and quite unbelievable. But what of Makhaya's version? The judges frowned on his behaviour when he picked Nomagezi up that day. He claimed he'd just wanted to give her a lift, but he hadn't asked her where she was going – hardly the actions of a person innocently giving someone a lift. He'd claimed he didn't know her name, but, said the judges, he'd called her by name to his car. Yet while he may have abused his power and fame to get her into the car with him, he didn't rape her. The judges said so.

news



MAIN PICTURE: Sexy Tanaka Van Hoogstraten's African Princess. BELOW: Brutal multi-millionaire Nicholas van Hoogstraten.

'I was evil tycoon's sex slave'

He called her his African Princess and lured her to England – into a life of hell
BY LUCY PANTON

THE girlfriend of evil tycoon Nicholas van Hoogstraten – the lover he called his African princess – has revealed how he cruelly used her as a sex slave.

5 Tanaka Sali (18) has come out of hiding to speak about her terrifying ordeal as the lover of Britain's most feared multi-millionaire.

Van Hoogstraten (57), a property dealer and landlord who built an estimated £500 million (R7 500 million) fortune on violence and intimidation, was found guilty last week of masterminding the killing of a business partner.

15 "The last two-and-a-half years with Nick were absolute hell," Tanaka said. "He has taken away my teenage years and driven me close to suicide. He is a ruthless control freak who uses threats and violence to gain power – even in bed."

20 NOW Tanaka faces possible charges of perverting justice. But "I would rather be in prison than be dead", she said. "I was told not to give evidence against him 'or else'. I know what he's capable of – and 'or else' meant death."

Tanaka, daughter of a small-time businessman, met Van Hoogstraten when she was just 16 in Zimbabwe. The tycoon, who owns

estates there and lusted after young black women, saw the beautiful youngster dancing in a nightclub.

25 For the next three months he took her to posh restaurants and showered her with money and gifts that included a diamond-encrusted watch and a gold ring.

Then in December 1999 he persuaded her to live with him in England.

30 "I thought he was a gentleman – he hadn't even tried to have sex with me," Tanaka said.

But when she arrived at Van Hoogstraten's Courtlands Hotel in Hove, East Sussex, the cunning brute showed his real face.

35 "The change was almost immediate – he turned into a monster," Tanaka said. "I was no longer his African Princess, but instead his little slave girl. He didn't want to wait any longer for sex and as soon as we got to the hotel he ordered me into bed.

"I was terrified but did as he said. He undressed me, sat me on top of him and said, 'Dance for me like you did that night in the club'.

40 "He wanted me to gyrate my hips like a belly dancer. As I did as he said he just lay there staring up at me barking orders.

"I was paralysed with fear. He wanted me to kiss and stroke him but insisted I didn't make eye contact.

45 "I had only slept with my childhood sweetheart and knew nothing about pleasuring a man. But thankfully it was all over in a matter of minutes. I used to call him the three-minute wonder – he was a real flop in bed.

"I soon learned Nick got his kicks from being in control – he liked

to act the master and slave fantasy. He never tried to give me pleasure and I used to fake all my orgasms."

Tanaka went to extraordinary lengths to avoid having sex with him. "I would either start a row so he was too angry to want me. I even started taking sleeping pills to knock myself out."

Van Hoogstraten, who had his massive gothic mansion, Hamilton Place, built nearby, kept Tanaka a virtual prisoner in the hotel and demanded sex nearly every night.

"His body made me sick - he was so hairy it was like touching a carpet," she said. "He would only have sex on his back with me sitting on top."

Despite being one of Britain's richest men, Van Hoogstraten was incredibly mean and gave her hardly any money.

"If I needed simple things like toiletries I had to beg him," she said. "On the rare occasions when Van Hoogstraten spent money on Tanaka it was for his own gratification."

"He once bought me a thigh-high pair of leather boots with spiky heels," she said. But I wasn't allowed to wear them out - he made me dress up in them naked and walk about the bedroom."

The worst was when he was released from remand earlier this year and discovered she had two-timed him with another man and become pregnant. He battered her face with a slipper until it split, then took off a shoe and continued with that.

But she bravely went to the police, who took Van Hoogstraten back into custody - leaving Tanaka, who terminated the pregnancy, finally free of his clutches.

Van Hoogstraten, whose two henchmen have been jailed for life for the contract killing, has been warned he faces the same sentence.

But Tanaka still lives in fear.

"He was responsible for one man's death, but I wouldn't be surprised if there have been others. Now I never want to see him again."

GUN GUARD ON THE THREATENED JUDGE

THE judge at Van Hoogstraten's trial has been placed under armed guard after a chilling death threat.

But Mr Justice George Newman (61) was furious he was not told about the threat until the final week of the trial.

Van Hoogstraten, who revels in his ruthless reputation, has openly threatened judges, lawyers and magistrates in the past.

A police source said: "When the judge found out we had concerns for his safety he flipped. He's well aware how dangerous Van Hoogstraten is."

Cops also stepped up security for the jury and placed armed officers at the hotel where they deliberated for two days.

Van Hoogstraten will be sentenced on October 2 after psychiatric reports and police will continue to keep a watch on the judge.



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Article 4: *He raped his way around the world* (April 1987: 18, 19)

HE RAPED HIS WAY AROUND THE WORLD

FROM SWAZILAND "SUCCESS" TO 16 YEARS IN U.K. PRISON

South African-born Cecil Gilbert was a flamboyant conman. Posing as a man of God, he preyed on young virgins. He had many successes, and made a great deal of money until the British police nabbed him. He will now spend the next 16 years in jail. STAN MOTJUWADI reports on his extraordinary life:

FOR more than 10 years Kimberley born Cecil Gilbert made the world his playground as he globe-trotted as a bishop, hindu priest, a baronet, brain surgeon consultant, miracle faith-healer, an apostle and theology graduate with a bogus doctorate from Moody Institute in the United States.

But the flamboyant Gilbert's world crumbled around him when a judge in London sentenced him to a total of 56 years after being found guilty of raping a 14 year-old Australian girl, a 19-year-old Indian girl and a 26-year-old British physiotherapist after drugging them. The 57-year-old conman will however only serve 16 years as the sentences are to run concurrently.

Gilbert first came into the limelight when the red carpet was laid out for him in Swaziland during the seventies. He was introduced to the late King Sobhuza by the then deputy prime minister, Mr Zonke Kumalo.

The king was so impressed that he named the glib-tongued Gilbert, Mifunyuwa - One sent by God. He was given a tract of royal land, a huge rent so that he could establish his inter-denominational mission. A car was laid on for him and he was also issued with a diplomatic passport.

During this time Gilbert was often

surrounded by princesses and other top Swazis. Once his cover was nearly blown when a 14 year-old girl complained that Gilbert had raped her in a bedroom while pretending to be exorcising evil spirits from her.

But then Gilbert was held in such high esteem that the poor girl's complaint was dismissed as the fantasies of a crazed girl with a devil in her.

It was not only the gullible and deeply religious that Gilbert preyed on.

There were many Portuguese in Swaziland who had fled from Mozambique and wanted to set up businesses. Believing that Gilbert had connections in very high places and a hotline to the king, the Portuguese parted with large sums of money so that he could fix them with residential permits.

When he failed to deliver the goods some of the Portuguese reported Gilbert. After a tipoff that a warrant for his arrest had been issued, Gilbert used his diplomatic passport to skip the country.

During 1983 he surfaced in Cape Town. He advertised his shows for miracle cures to be performed at the Three Arts Theatre in the local newspapers. But 400 priests publicly denounced him for the fraud he is.

For once Gilbert found himself



were he rightly belongs - in a cell at Pollsmoor prison. After 10 days he was deported to England for being in South Africa illegally.

Once more on the loose Gilbert wreaked havoc on naive virgins in Australia and Britain. He used the vast knowledge of drugs he got as a cardiac sufferer to put out little girls before raping them.

This modern day Svangeli had such a firm hold on his victims that 26 year old physiotherapist Marie Brown said that when she was raped she was not sure if it was not the hands of the Lord that had fondled her.

"We had just started to pray when I fell to the floor. I thought I had been slain by the spirit. I have seen it



RIGHT: Hobnobbing with royalty, man of the moment, Gilbert trendily dressed, with high platform shoes, poses with four Swazi princesses and an assistant, extreme left.

BELOW: It seems as though butter would not melt in his mouth as a benign Gilbert exchanges notes with Prince Masitela. In the meantime, Gilbert was carrying out the greatest and most outrageous national swindle Swaziland has ever experienced.

happen before when people are touched by the Lord," she said.
 Superintendent Roy Ramm who put an end to Gilbert's "sordid trail of deceit" said that his enquiries covered offences in all parts of the world.

"There's no doubt that many countries will be taking another look at their files after this verdict, and that includes South Africa," he said.

Well, besides the Swazi lady who was 14 when she fell victim to Gilbert, there are many others in Swaziland and South Africa who are still rueing the day they ever crossed paths with Gilbert, who like the Shakespearean character was a devil who could cite the Scriptures when it suited his purpose.



ORLIM April 1987 19

The gangs abduct and rape their victims again and again

AT just 19 she's afraid to walk anywhere without at least one person to keep her company. She won't go to the local cafe by herself. And she certainly won't go to church.

For it was from the steps of the little church that Lindiwe attended every Sunday that she was snatched away, lost to her family and friends for three terrible months.

As she had come out of that church with her eight-year-old brother, Lindiwe had just one thought on her mind. She must hurry home to her little baby, and start helping her mother prepare a special lunch for her

father's birthday.

A battered Toyota screeched to a halt in front of her. Lindiwe recognised one of the youths crammed inside. She'd seen him hanging around outside the spaza, and although he'd often tried to sweet-talk her she'd never paid him any attention.

The next few moments were a blur. She was grabbed by three or four youths, dragged down the church steps and bundled into the car. Her little brother stood helplessly by, too shocked even

to call for help. It was only after the car had sped off, with his sister inside, that he gathered his wits enough to run home with tears streaming down his cheeks.

Lindiwe's mother went to the police, searched the neighbourhood and asked everyone whether they had seen or heard anything about her daughter, but found nothing.

No trace of

her at all. It was as though she'd never existed.

Lindiwe had been jackrolled. She turned up at home three months later, numbed into a daze after weeks locked in a shack, abused like a worthless piece of meat.

In another place, at another time, two young girls made their way home after school. Keen students, they always went to one or the other's house to spend a couple of hours on homework. On this occasion, they went to the younger girl's home.

As her mother busied herself in the kitchen, the girls worked quietly at the table. Then came a knock at the door, the mother opened it and a group of youths crowded in. "Mama, we want your daughter," said one bold, narrow-eyed boy.

With that the youths pushed the woman back into the house. Then they tied her down before raping each of the girls, lime after lime after lime.

The school girls had been jackrolled — with their mother watching . . .

"In any other society in the world this terrible criminal act would be met by outrage and fury on the part of the community. It would make headline news in the papers. The girls would be comforted, counselled, treated with compassion; the youths would be hunted down like vermin, lucky to escape with their lives if caught," says DRUM's Sis Dolly.

"Yet in our society such reactions rarely happen. We have become blunted by the violence of our lives, by the menace lurking on every corner, the fear and intimidation that are a way of life in so many areas.

"To hear of another jackrolling is simply to shrug your shoulders and thank your lucky stars if hasn't happened to your daughter."

At least, not yet.

INCREDIBLE as it might seem, jackrolling is fashionable. It is a trend, a fad, a passing fancy adopted by our bored, disenchanted youth in the same way as wearing your baseball cap back to front is cool.

Jackrolling is a way of showing the other guys what a cool dude you

RIGHT: In despair but hiding a terrible secret — rape victims are often afraid to speak out



130 are, not afraid to be one of the
gang and take a few chances.
135 Tell a jackroller that he is
nothing more than a common
criminal and chances are he'll
brush you aside with a shrug
and a sneer.

140 These youths don't see
themselves as criminals but as
macho men, demonstrating to
everyone their power and ability
to do what they please when
they please. And the way
jackrollers choose their victims
is as unpredictable as the
violence of their act.

145 Men are traditionally brought
up to think they are superior,
says Sis Dolly. "They are not
used to rejection, and if a
woman turns them down they'll
150 either just take what they want
anyway or get it from the
nearest available woman.

155 "I've also noticed," she says,
"that rapists often go for decent
women. It seems that some

men feel threatened by a
woman they see as being above
them, and want to drag her
down to their level.

160 "Say I have a young
daughter who is very together –
perhaps going to a multiracial
school. Gangs of youths who
know they won't have a chance
165 with her in normal circum-
stances may target her for
jackrolling.

170 "Even if I collect her from
school they may come to my
house and say they want my
daughter, and women are
powerless to stop them."

175 WHAT is it with so many of our
men, that they feel they can
simply pick any woman they
choose and do with her as they
want?

180 Jackrolling apart, time and
again terrible rapes take place,
and when – if – the men are
caught, all too often the excuse

is that they had been drinking or
that it was just a bit of romancing
that got out of hand.

185 In the past the standard
argument has always been that
rape isn't a sexual offence but a
crime of violence. But some
psychologists and psychiatrists
190 are now questioning this idea.

195 In our society rape is bound
up with the way some men see
women as inferior possessions.

200 The words spoken by one
rapist to his victim say it all:
"You'll be okay. You can go
home to your family and pretend
it never happened. Don't make
such a fuss."

205 To many men the sex act is
nothing special – something
they think about many times in a
day, take a few minutes to
perform, and then forget
because they're more
interested in thinking about the
next time they can do it.

210 What they don't understand

220 ripped down and savagely
sodomised – and he'll tell you
he'd feel sick and mentally
destroyed by the insult to his
manhood.

225 Yet too many men apply
double standards. They think
rape is an abomination for a
man, but not half so bad for a
woman. After all, goes the
230 reasoning, a woman is used to
having a man enter her body –
what's one more?

235 What many men still have to
accept is that rape is a horrible,
brutal crime. And rapists should
be locked up in jail, no matter
whether they realise the evil of
their crime or not.

240 THE sense of being powerless
is one of the biggest problems
facing women today. And it's an
important reason why so many
"ordinary" rapes go unreported
245 – brutal attacks, family rapes,
and housebreakings that turn
sexually violent.

250 So says Linda Olayi, an adult
educator with the Cape-based
child abuse prevention
organisation Rapcan.

255 Too many women are
brought up to believe that men
are superior to them in every
way, not just in brute strength,
so they feel there's nothing they
can do to change things.

260 Certainly, there's little a
defenceless woman or girl can
do when faced with a gang like
the jackrollers. Saying "No" isn't
going to help her in these
circumstances, that's for sure.

265 But what women can and
must do to halt the epidemic of
"ordinary" rapes also sweeping
through our communities, is to
begin at grassroots level – to
start changing the way men in
270 particular see them, and society
in general too.

275 Just two of the many factors
that cloud the issue of rape are
lobola and keeping up
appearances in front of the

(Turn page)

Jackrolled: tragedy of our townships

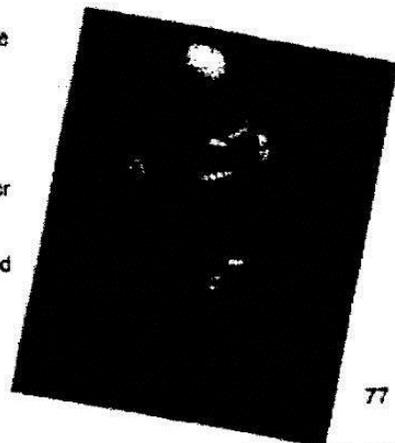
In any other society in the world, this terrible criminal act would be greeted by outrage and fury on the part of the community. It would make headline news in the papers. The girls would be comforted, counselled, treated with compassion. The youths hunted like animals, and lucky to escape with their lives once caught. Alice Bell explains why that rarely happens here.

210 is that for a woman rape is the
worst possible violation.

215 Apart from being a brutal,
sickening invasion of a
woman's body, it is utterly
degrading to be used like a
piece of dead meat purely for
someone else's pleasure.

Ask any man how he'd
feel if he was raped – pinned
to the ground, his pants

RIGHT: Sis Dolly



The schoolgirls were jackrolled - with their mother watching

(From page 77)

neighbours.

In many families lobola is still expected when a girl settles down: but a rape makes the girl almost worthless. So it's not surprising that in such a family the girl fears to tell her folks she has been raped.

Or if she does pluck up the courage to tell her mom, her folks may decide to hush the whole thing up so that their daughter is not seen as "devalued" by the community.

Shame also plays a part. Family rape is a common problem, says Sis Dolly. Because families live in such

crowded conditions with uncles, cousins and even close friends all living together, young girls are often vulnerable.

If the parents are at work and a male relative or friend makes a sexual move, the girl is powerless to resist. After the attack she is often too afraid to tell her parents. They may not believe her, or they may think she must have done something to lead the man on.

Or they may be too busy worrying about what the neighbours will say if they get to know.

Says Sis Dolly: "We are too concerned about what others think of us. There is still this idea that everyone knows everyone

else's business. If it becomes common knowledge that a girl has been raped, there is no doubt that many people consider her less valuable."

THERE is another important issue in rape that needs to be brought out in the open. It is the old lie that "if a woman gets raped, she must have done something to invite it."

Jackrolling apart, there are still too many among us prepared to whisper that the girl must have "asked" for it in some way.

Society is still pretty intolerant, says Linda Olayi. "Unfortunately, women tend to keep rape to themselves.

"They think they'll be blamed for not protecting themselves. They think people will straight away ask, 'What was she wearing? Where was she - in the street, or walking at night, or out alone?'"

"Rape victims know that no matter what they say happened, many people will think they were drunk or sexily dressed or careless of their safety - in other words they asked for it."

But that, of course, is just not

true. No woman asks to be raped.

To hammer that message home, Linda deliberately dresses in a sexy way when she goes to schools and youth centres to talk to teens about rape.

"I wear short skirts and dark stockings. When I ask the teenagers why women get raped, in their opinion, many of them say it's because the women dress like me. Then I ask them why three-month-old babies and women of 80 get raped too.

"It makes them realise that rape isn't a matter of the way you dress or what you do as a woman. It's violence and crime."

● For another insight into the role of women and society, DRUM asked celebrity Felicia Mabuza-Suttle for her comments. Felicia has the kind of lifestyle many women dream about. From a relatively humble Soweto home, she has climbed the ladder of success. Now she juggles two high-profile careers - as host of the riveting NNTV and CCV chat show Top Level

JUST MONTHS BEFORE THE BIGGEST FIGHT OF HIS LIFE AGAINST HOLYFIELD...



REX FEATURES

INDIANAPOLIS POLICE SAY THEY HAVE MADE FORMAL CHARGES OF SEXUAL ASSAULT AGAINST THE EX-WORLD CHAMP

Ex-world heavyweight boxing champion Mike Tyson has another major battle on his hands.

5 An 18-year-old contestant for the Miss Black America beauty title claims Tyson attacked her in a hotel room.

10 Police in Indianapolis have questioned and formally charged 25-year-old Tyson, who will be trying to regain his heavyweight crown from Evander Holyfield in Las Vegas on November 8.

15 The attack is said to have happened recently during Indiana Black Expo, a week-long event related to black culture and heritage.

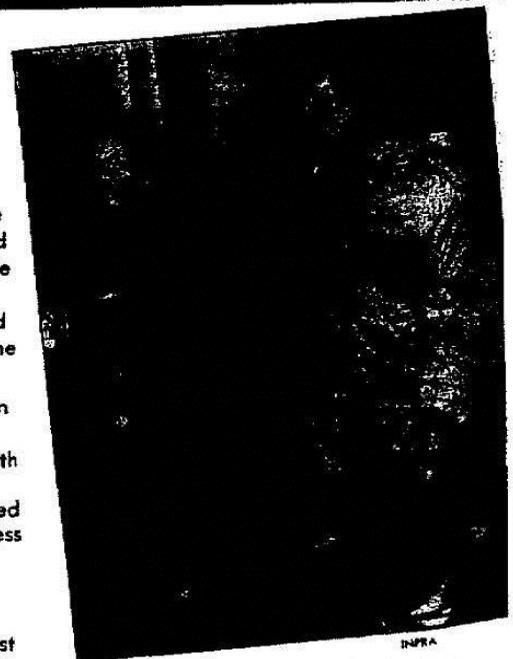
Tyson was in Indianapolis to take part in the opening ceremonies, and the beauty contest was linked to the festival.

Police say the woman complained the day after the alleged attack, the day Tyson left town.

25 "We're investigating an allegation that has been made of a sexual assault and Tyson has been issued with a subpoena designating him as a target of the investigation. It is hoped that the jury will complete its business soon," said a police spokesman.

"The victim is alleging that her assailant is Mike Tyson."

The police confirmed that an East



INPRA

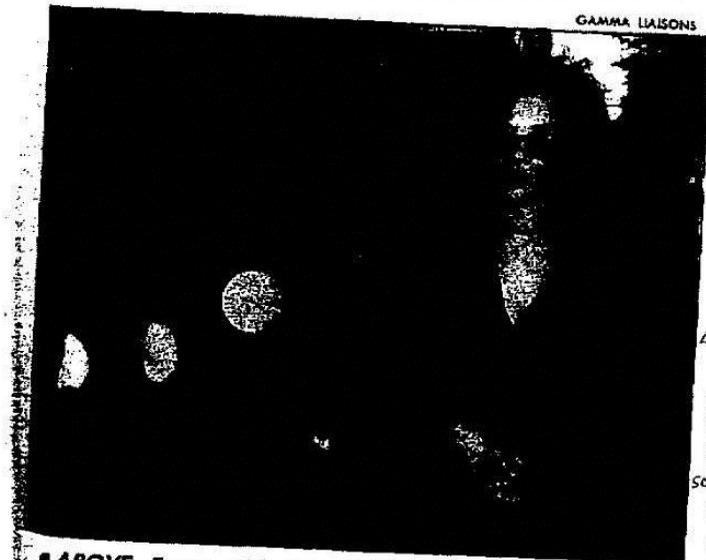
DRUM October 1991



"Tyson is a maniac," says Reese. "He's kind of crazy and he's got a lot of growing up to do. He's an overall fun guy with a smart mouth and he's been known to have some beers."

• Holyfield - Tyson is scheduled to meet him in November.

THE ONLY THING THAT STANDS BETWEEN TYSON AND THE WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP IS GIRLS! GIRLS! GIRLS!



• ABOVE: Tyson with one of his many girl admirers.

• LEFT: Actress and former wife Robin Givens alleges that Tyson battered her throughout their brief marriage.

that morning.

"He was at the concert when I left at 1.30am," said Taylor. "Two of the girls stayed with Tyson until about 2am. They said that he had a party later and he was perfect. He was very nice. He was normal."

But that is not the kind of picture painted by Dave Reese (32) of Albany who first met Tyson when both won gold medals in the Empire State Games in 1984. He said he has remained friendly with the boxer, golfing and bar-hopping with him whenever he was in town.

"Tyson is a maniac," Reese said. "He's kind of crazy and he's got a lot of growing up to do. He's an overall fun guy with a smart mouth, and he's been known to have some beers."

But Reese said he would bet a week's pay that Tyson didn't rape the woman "because he's not that stupid. He wouldn't jeopardise the Holyfield fight."

Rev Charles Williams, Indiana Black Expo president, and E Morris Anderson, executive producer of the Miss Black America contest, confirmed they were interviewed by the prosecutor's office.

Now Anderson is suing Rev Williams for R2-million for bringing the Miss Black America pageant into disrepute. He asserts that Rev Williams was the man who booked Tyson to appear as a guest celebrity at the show.

Tyson's scrapes with the law go back at least a decade.

Rosie Jones, 27, of Bridgeport, Connecticut, who was Miss Black America, 1990, has also filed a R286-million lawsuit in New York claiming Tyson grabbed her waist and bottom while they were being photographed.

Actress and former wife Robin Givens alleged that Tyson battered her throughout their brief marriage and went on an October, 1988, rampage, destroying property in the couple's New Jersey mansion.

In 1990, Tyson was convicted of battery on charges that he grabbed and fondled a woman in a Manhattan nightclub in 1988. But after the jury awarded the woman R300, the champ seemed unchastened.

"If it was that serious, they would have given her more than that," he said at the time.

Coast contestant reported she was taken by limousine to Tyson's hotel suite where he forced her to have sex at 1.30am on July 19.

But the allegations were refuted.

"It couldn't have happened then," said Tonya Taylor (29) of Miami who was the first runner-up in the beauty contest. She and Norma Dolmo (25) of Los Angeles said they and two other contestants sat with Tyson on stage at a rap concert until about 1.30am

Addendum B: Advice columns

Advice column 1: *Too late for tears* (April 1987: 54)

DEAR DOLLY

TOO LATE FOR TEARS

SISTER Dolly, two months ago my half brother raped me, and now I have discovered that I am pregnant. Please advise me on how to make an abortion. — P.N., Meadowlands, Soweto.

It will be very cruel of me to encourage an abortion. Anyway it is already too late for tears, dear sister. You should have known better from the start, that your keeping quiet about such a nasty deed, will land you into hot soup one day. I take it you were also impressed by what your half brother did to you — otherwise you would have reported the matter to the police immediately. Risking your life for an abortion won't be worth it. Break the horrifying news to your parents and let them decide as a family. But one thing is certain, I do not think they will be keen on an abortion either. Sister Dolly's advise is that you should take it upon yourself that you are going to become a new mother and look forward to bringing up your "baby" with affection. Learn to love it now and do everything in your power to save its life. After all, the baby is innocent — all it needs is a loving, caring mum. Take care!

WHAT DID YOU EXPECT?

I AM an 18-year-old guy and in love with a 14-year-old girl. My problem is that this girl loved me very much, during the times when I used to give her money, but now because I am penniless, she decided to jilt me. Sis Dolly, how true was this love? My heart is really broken. Please help me, what must I do? — S.A., Ermelo.

You really deserve all you are going through at the moment — I'm just not prepared to spare you! What did you expect of a 14-year-old? Give the poor child a

break, she's still too young to be lured by people heavy with moneybags like yourself. Just accept the fact you have lost all those monies on a silly cause. Leave her alone!

IN LOVE WITH HIS TEACHER

I AM a 19-year-old guy and doing Standard Nine this year. My problem is that I love a 27-year-old lady. It may sound untrue, but believe me, it is true. I love her more than I love my girlfriend, but the worst thing is that she is my teacher! Whenever we come across each other, I really battle to hold myself from expressing my feelings for her. Not a single night has gone by without me dreaming of her. Can you imagine what a disgrace it will be if I told her how I felt? But what confuses me worse, is that she also seems to like me a lot. She always sends me around at school. What do you think Sis Dolly, is she too old for me? Do you think getting involved with her could become an obstacle to my future? Please help me. I'm confused. — J.S.V., Newcastle.

Age difference was never a problem when it comes to love matters. And also the fact that she's your teacher, poses no threat to you feelings at all. But the main obstacle here, is the fact that you are still school, and your involvement with your teacher could completely jeopardise your academic future. Just look upon her as your teacher, and remain with the hope that if she's really meant for you, she will be yours one day. Concentrate on your studies and leave everything to time.

A LESSON FOR YOU

I AM 23 years old and in love with an 18-year-old lady. Soon after I had left



If you have a problem, Drum's Dolly will do her best to help you. Write to her at Box 3413, Johannesburg 2000. By helping you, she'll probably be helping others with a similar problem.

home for my place of work in the suburbs, my parents decided to go and fetch this girl and bring her home. When I questioned them about this, they said they were tired of seeing different faces every day. And in the meantime, I am not ready for this type of commitment. I don't know what to do. — D.S., Evander.

I think your parents have exceeded the limits of exercising their discipline upon you. At least, they should have spoken to you first and tried to stop you doing wrong. I also strongly suspect that your parents are trying to grab you a wife of their own choice, which I regard as totally wrong. In a way, this was a good lesson for you, but you need to get this straightened up before it's too late. Just come to an understanding with your parents and promise that you are all prepared to stop messing around with lots of girls. Advise them to send this poor girl back home before it's too late.

MY FAMILY HATES HIM

I AM a girl aged 18 and my boyfriend is 24 years old. We are deeply in love but the only problem is that my entire family hates him including my own mother. But that doesn't worry me, as long as I know that he still loves me. But at times, I sit and think alone, and then end up being more confused. Please help me. — Worried Girl, Nqamakwe.

You have no reason to let confusion victimise you. Nothing beats the security of knowing that you are being loved. All you need to do now, is to discuss this problem with your boyfriend, and make him understand that the cause of your family's behaviour towards him is because you are still underage. All they are doing is protecting you. Both of you should adopt a 'go slow' attitude on your affair until the right time. Keep on loving each other, and let your boyfriend exercise a little more patience. Cheer up.

DON'T MESS UP YOUR FUTURE

I HAVE a problem with my boyfriend. One day he wanted me to accompany him to his place for the purpose of sleeping together, but I refused. He got so agitated that he clapped me. But now my worst problem is that he has got a half brother whom I love very much, but I do not know how to go about showing my interest in him. Do you think I should write him a letter or just face him? Please guide me. I am 16 years old and in Standard Eight. — Confused, Bethel High School, Bodenstein.

How dare you start messing up your bright future on boys? You are already on the path of lowering the dignity of woman as a whole. Can you imagine how other people will regard you if you happened to get in-

fulfill on the other's needs. Your boyfriend's attitude will completely put you off sex if this matter is not attended to. Give it another try, by either talking to him or showing him this letter. Cheer up.

PAINFUL BREASTS

SIS Dolly I would love you to solve this troubling problem for me. Both my nipples are very painful, they make me feel as though I am breast-feeding. At times they secrete some watery milkish substance. I once visited a doctor because of an unending menstrual flow for two months. The doctor advised me to start looking into the system of family planning and he gave mesome pills to take in order to stop the continuous bleeding. But I was too scared to take them because I fear that they might spoil my chances of having a baby in future. But the excruciating pain in my nipples is a total nightmare. Please help Sis Dolly. **M.H., Germiston.**

Why did you consult a doctor if you were not prepared to heed his advice and instructions? I insist that you go back and explain this default to him. And next time, make sure to follow your doctor's prescription to avoid further endurance of pain and suffering through negligence.

MY HALF-BROTHER RAPED ME

SISTER Dolly, two months ago, my half-brother raped me, and now I have discovered that I am pregnant.

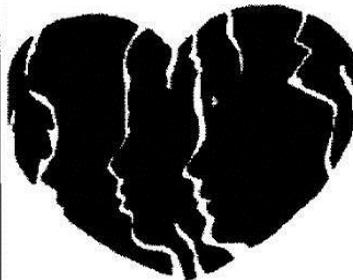
Please advice as to how I can go about having an abortion. **N.J., Saulsville, Pretoria.**

Yes, your problem is quite a serious one, but I am sorry, I'm just not in a position to encourage an abortion. In short, you are also to blame for taking this abuse and sparring him. You should have reported him to the police immediately. My only advice now is that you report this to your parents and let them accompany you to the social workers, they are the people who may have an answer to this matter.

HE'S SEXUALLY STARVING ME

IAM 22 years old and my husband is 38. We've been married for three years and have no children. My main problem is that he has not been making love to me for eight months. We sleep under the same blanket every night but he never touches me, in fact, he refuses outright. Shall I find myself another man? - **L.M.R., Dimbaza.**
No, don't find yourself another man - it's a dirty game! If you haven't spoken to your man about his strange behaviour, you better do so now. And if you find that it's a matter of love having gone sour, then you should follow the correct procedure and sue for divorce. But I believe that every problem is there to be solved and given a second chance. Another suggestion is that you arrange a meeting with a marriage counsellor and hope for the best. Good luck.

CUPID'S CORNER



Many friends have found each other by writing a letter to Cupid's corner. And so you could. Whether you are looking for love or a friend, write to Cupid's Corner, Drum, P.O. Box 3413, Johannesburg, 2000.

IAM a 17-year-old girl who would like to correspond with guys aged between 17-25. My hobbies are listening to pop music, travelling, watching TV and sports. I promise to reply to all letters written in S. Sotho or English and addressed as follows: Kendal Power Station, P.O. Box 167, Kendal, 2225.

ladies aged between 18-20 from all over the world. He lists music, church and soccer as his pastimes. Drinkers and smokers need not bother. He promises to reply to all letters written in English or Zulu and addressed as follows: Kendal Power Station, P.O. Box 167, Kendal, 2225.

IAM a man of 35. I would like to correspond with ladies who are prepared to settle down. Drinkers and smokers need not bother. My hobbies are watching TV, soccer and going to church. I promise to reply to all letters with or without photos. Please reply in English, Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa or Tswana to: Bernard Mthombeni, 575 Zone 7, Pinville, Johannesburg. 2000

HERE is a lonely guy of 20 who is looking for love amongst those aged 15-25. He finds fun in playing soccer, reading and going to church. He will enjoy reading and replying to all letters with or without photos. Drinkers and smokers need not bother by writing to: Daniel Nkabinde, 393 Evaporation Street, Warden, 9890.

IAM a girl aged 15 and am in standard seven. I am looking for penpals aged between 15-17. My hobbies are listening to the radio, watching TV and reading. Letters in English will be appreciated. My address is: Tendai Mutsvedu, Makumbe High School, Box 608, Buhera, Zimbabwe.

THOSE who would like to correspond with a young guy of 14 from Zimbabwe here is their chance. He says he likes reading magazines, watching TV, cracking jokes, disco music and touring. He also states that he will welcome letters from pals aged between 14-20 and written in English. His name is Wilkinson Benjamin and he can be reached at this address: 541 Engineering, P.O. Highfield, Harare, Zimbabwe.

AMOS Magagula is a 32-year-old man who would like to hear from

Dear Dolly

(From page 68)

sudden he has started using condoms to have sex with me. I'm angry and frustrated as he refuses to tell me why — except that we need to practise safe sex.

Our marriage has been blissful. He's never given me any reason to suspect him of infidelity. I refuse to accept this situation, but don't know how to resolve it. D, Soweto.

▲ Don't despair, your husband loves you very much. He may be doing this to save your life. He could have been diagnosed as having Aids or may have slept with someone else who is promiscuous, and is now very worried.

I believe he loves you, because if he didn't he would have continued as normal. He does not want you to be harmed. To resolve this you will need to talk to him and find out his reasons.

He may tell you that he's been diagnosed HIV positive. You may also need to go for a blood test. You must not allow your fears to get the better of you. You need all your energy to tackle this pro-

blem before it's too late. You may also find that his concerns are unfounded — I hope so.

I'm 12 and sex makes me bleed

● I am a 12-year-old girl and my man is 28. Having sex has become a big problem for us. He simply can't enter me. Is it because I'm still young or is there something wrong with me?

At times he tries to force himself on me but I end up bleeding. He threatens to stop seeing me and I love him so much. BT, Emadadani, Newcastle.

▲ In your little mind, do you really think you're doing the right thing? Well, you are not. You should not be having sex at your age.

I know that this man is aware that it's a serious offence to sleep with a kid your age, but he will keep on trying as he's determined to get what he wants — no matter if it hurts you. He will leave you damaged and go back to his wife and forget about you.

Don't have anything more to do with him and don't attempt sex again until you are much older. Attend to your school matters.

Pregnant after uncle raped me

● Three months ago my uncle raped me. I kept the horrid experience to myself until I discovered I was pregnant. What steps should I take to have an abortion? E, Klerksdorp.

▲ Your problem is very serious. I personally don't encourage abortion. I also feel that you shouldn't have suffered in silence to protect a rapist — even if he is your uncle. You should have reported him to the police immediately.

I suggest that you break the bad news to your parents, and they in turn should take you to your local social workers. They are the people who will counsel you, prepare you emotionally and give you advice on how to go about this matter.

If you have a problem Drum's Dolly will do her best to help you. Write to her at P.O. Box 784696, Sandton 2146. By helping you she will be helping others with a similar problem.

friends and lovers

SEXY GIRLS WANTED. I'm a guy aged 17 who would love girlfriends in South Africa, Zambia, Namibia and overseas. My hobbies include hard rap, rhythm and blues, basketball and sexy galz. All letters written in English with photos are welcome. Donnie B Rademan, 4010-7 Magwegwe, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.

TALK TO ME. I'm a lonely lady of 16, and would like to correspond with guys aged 18-24. I have a variety of interests and enjoy good conversation. I promise to reply to all letters written in Afrikaans or English. P Dladla, 179a-6th Street, Bethal 2310.

AQUARIUS MAN. I'm a 27-year-old twin guy, born under the star sign of Aquarius. I'm from Glen Cowie, and have my N3 in woodwork. I would like to hear from females aged 18-27. My hobbies are soccer, going to the ZCC church and watching TV. People in Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Kenya and Botswana are welcome to write and send

Looking for pen-pals? Want to make new friends locally as well as from overseas? Then send your details — as briefly as possible please — to Friends and Lovers, P.O. Box 784696, Sandton 2146.

photos. I promise to reply to letters written in Northern Sotho, Setswana and English. Joseph Machabedi, PO Box 416, Glen Cowie 1061, South Africa.

FROM LESOTHO WITH LOVE. Hidden in the mountain kingdom is a lady aged 21, searching for a lifetime partner from South Africa. Interested men should be aged 21-30. A real man for all seasons, strictly an Anglican Christian who has experienced the ups and downs of this cruel world. He must be ready to sit down and let the two of us prepare for a brighter future. I prefer indoor life, and like watching TV, listening to the radio and

soft music, like Western and soul. Esther Motletsane, PO Box 102, Maseru 100, Lesotho, Southern Africa.

LEARNING ABOUT LOVE. A 21-year-old guy is lonely and looking for love. He would like to correspond with ladies aged 17-20. His hobbies are going to church, reading and travelling, and he promises to reply to all letters with or without photos written in Tswana or English. Patrick Nkukuleko Krawe, Phatsimang College of Education, PO Box 5047, Mankurwane, Kimberley 8300.

NATURE'S CHILD. I'm a 23-year-old lady who would like to correspond with guys or girls aged 30-40. My hobbies are listening to music, going to church, TV, the sea, and I enjoy endless hours being at one with Nature. I'm interested in sports, especially athletics, soccer and gymnastics. Please write in Afrikaans or English. Deliah Burger, 11 Buckhurst Road, Epping Forest, Elsies River 7490.

Advice column 4: *My father rapes me* (February 1992: 96)

MY FATHER RAPES ME

I AM a girl of 17 in love with a guy of 20. My problem is that my boyfriend is very fond of sex, but my worst problem is that my mother separated from my father six years ago and since then my father has been forcefully having sex with me. Should I dare resist, he beats me to a pulp. Sis Dolly, I now have a boyfriend and I find it difficult to cope with both their sexual demands. I don't know what to do, although I still love my boyfriend. — A.N., Sesthege.

• I don't believe you should subject yourself to such abuse. It is your right to say 'No! At 17 you should be feeling proud of your virginity and jealously guarding yourself in preparation for the man of your dreams. I'm disgusted about what your father makes you go through and I am not going to say 'let bygones be bygones'. No way! Take this matter further, report him to the highest authority! Go to your local department of welfare and let them help you put this man behind bars. He's an animal! As for your boyfriend, don't allow him to abuse you. From what I gather, he's out to use you as much as he can and when he's ready to settle down he will go for a girl who is able to say 'No! Set your terms and if he can't take it, forget him.

SHE'S A BIGAMIST

I AM a married man of 29 and my wife is 22. We've been together for six years with two children. While I was away at work she decided to move out of our home and went back to her parents. On my return she told me it was over between us and showed me a marriage certificate to another man. Sis Dolly, I did think of reporting her to the police for bigamy, but soon I remembered she was my children's mother and I couldn't bring myself to do it. How can I get out of this mess? — D.J., Bloemfontein.

• You are already out of the mess and it is not you who should worry about being arrested for the offence. Your wife's ignorance is no problem of yours. She may have been thinking she was sparing you by marrying another man without divorcing you but she caused herself a big problem. After all you were the one who got married to her first and so

your marriage is still valid. But that doesn't solve your problem. You will need to attend to the welfare of your children and acknowledge the fact that it's over between the two of you. I suggest you consult with a lawyer to advise you accordingly. Cheer up.

I'M TEMPTED TO RAPE HER

I AM a guy of 22 and I have never been involved with a woman before. Sex has always been a myth to me because all the girls that I approach reject me outright. But recently I proposed to another who promised to give an answer after a week. Ten weeks have gone by with no response. Each time I look at this girl I feel very bitter and have a very strong urge to rape her for what she's doing to my feelings. What else can a man do, Sis Dolly? — T.B., Swere.

• It's a big NO! for rape! Rape is the worst form of sexual abuse. It's dirty, cruel and totally unacceptable! I'm not requesting you to stop entertaining such thoughts, I'm instructing you to do so. Can you imagine how you'll feel afterwards? Terrible! It's true that rapists are those men who feel very bitter against women, but think again. How many women are just as bitter against men? Nothing is justifiable here. Problem is that some men believe they're the only living creatures who can feel pain. And rape is definitely not the answer. All you need do is to sit back and find out what it is with your character that causes women to reject you. Rather work on resolving that problem and learn to respect other people's feelings. DON'T DO IT!

NO BETTER LIFE WITHOUT HIM

SIS Dolly I am a girl of 21 and my boyfriend is 28. We've been living together for three years. I have a four-year-old son and he's also got children with other women. Our problem is we can't have a baby and this has already caused a rift between us. Things are in such bad shape that he has asked me to leave him alone because there are many girls who would like to have him. Sis Dolly this man has been very good to me and my child. I don't want to know what life would be like without him. Please help me. — K.M., Mount Fletcher.

• I have never accepted that

DEAR DOLLY



If you have a problem, DRUM's Dolly will do her best to help you. Write to her at P.O. Box 784696, Sandton, 2146. By helping you, she'll be helping others with a similar problem.

love goes hand in hand with having to conceive a baby. Granted, having children does add some excitement to a relationship that has already been built on strong foundations, but that's no excuse to stop loving each other. The only reason your boyfriend wants you out of his life is because he has stopped loving you or has never loved you at all. He could have been nice to you and your child, but that was when he was still going through infatuation and nothing more. Accept the challenge and start a new life without him. Time is the greatest healer. Good luck.

I'M CRAZY ABOUT HIM

I AM a girl of 16 and I think I am in love with a guy of 18. My problem is that I keep thinking and dreaming about him every day. All I really need to know from you, Sis Dolly, is if he also thinks about me? Even if it's not everyday, but a little consideration sometime? We've known each other from childhood and our parents have been good friends since long before we were born. His father bought a shop and said he would like us to get married and own it in future. How can I know if he's interested? Please help. — M.M.P., Ermelo.

• Both of you are at a very sensitive age. It is a time in your lives when you begin to be exposed to sexual relationships and the real meaning of heartbreaks. I would hate to encourage you to carry on deceiving yourself about this boy's feelings.

DRUM February 1992

Dear Dolly



Drum's Sis Dolly

Only cares about sex

Q My husband is serving a long jail sentence. I spent many lonely nights on my own until a handsome man came into my life. Although he explained he was married, the situation seemed ideal because so am I. But it has become a "sex only" relationship in which my emotions and feelings are being ignored. He visits me every day for sex but is furious if I ask him to take me out anywhere or for financial help. He always has ready excuses: his responsibilities at home, his wife, children, and anything else you can think of. I'm aware he's using me to satisfy his lust, but I'm still fond of him and would like to improve the situation. E.R., Umtazi.

A Do you really think your husband's absence from home entitles you to have a relationship with another man? Remember you took a vow to stand by him for better or for worse. I'm certain your last words to him as he was led away to serve his sentence were a promise to wait. You are partly to blame for this other guy's treatment of you because you led him to believe you are cheap and unfaithful. He will never take you out or give you any financial help because he sees you as easy game. I advise you to forget him. His wife and children don't deserve to be hurt. Stop lowering yourself, regain your dignity, sit back, relax and pray for your husband's safe return. Look forward to the day he walks back into your arms.

Why did she lie to me?

Q I'm a very disturbed guy of 25. A while ago my girlfriend of 19 told me she was pregnant. Two months later I discovered she had had an abortion. I decided to spend an entire weekend with her hoping she would tell me herself but to no avail. The fact that she's keeping quiet about it makes me

furious. I think she was lying about the pregnancy and wanted me to propose marriage. Should I stop seeing her? S.P., Hammanskraal.

A A relationship can never be built on mistrust. Your girlfriend told you that she was pregnant. It is up to you to find out how she's coping with her pregnancy or what actually happened to terminate it. You cannot rely on gossip-mongers who might be out to destroy your relationship. Don't stop seeing her. Instead work on building trust and honesty in the relationship.

I'm not in control

Q I'm a young man of 23 who's just started being sexually active. She is my first girlfriend ever. Our love is so strong we've decided to engage in sexual intercourse. Nothing seems to work out though. We've tried to make love several times without success. The fault lies with me and I'm concerned I will eventually lose her. During foreplay I get an erection, but it quickly dies whenever I try to enter her. Do you think this is a sickness or what? R.R., Harare, Zimbabwe.

A Your problem stems from the mind. In my opinion you get over-excited too soon. Many men experience this, so you are not sick, but simply need to discipline yourself. You must relax mentally and concentrate on what you are doing instead of thinking ahead. Take things slowly and enjoy yourself. Cheer up.

I'm better off dead

Q I am troubled by urges to kill myself. I think one day I will if my mother carries on ignoring my cries for help. I'm 16 and for almost two years I've been sexually abused by my uncle. I feel dirty and used. I've stopped appreciating life and live like a recluse. At times I break down and cry for days on end.

Each time my mother notices my behaviour she accuses me of worrying too much about boys. I've done all I can to alert her to my situation. What can I do to get my mother's attention? P.G., Soweto.

A I hope that your mother reads my reply. Perhaps you can show it to her. It is my firm belief that mothers should encourage their teenage daughters to confide in them by establishing openness. If you were close enough, your uncle's abuse wouldn't have gone this far. The blame lies squarely on your mom's shoulders and it's time she became a real mother. She has to protect you. Now is the time for you to tell her what's happening. Your uncle may be her brother, but like any mother she would not permit what he's doing to you. Your uncle deserves a long jail sentence for his filthy deeds. Ask your mother to go with you to your local social welfare department and also report the case to the Child Protection Unit. Don't let this happen to you again. It's an offence and has to be dealt with accordingly. Dismiss all thoughts of killing yourself - it's not your fault. Good luck.

She is the one for me

Q I've known my girlfriend for six years. Our relationship ran smoothly until my family moved from Natal to the Free State. Then she was unavailable whenever I phoned her at home. I got frustrated and began seeing other girls but nobody could take her place. Sis Dolly, I think I made a mistake and I regret it because now it seems I've lost her to someone else. But what else could I have done if she ignored my efforts to stay in touch? I want her back. T.V., Bloemfontein.

A Yes, your girlfriend may once ► 97

Advice column 6: *I am forced to rape her* (April 1988: 66-67)**HE'S BEING CRUEL TO MY KIDS**

I AM a lady of 24, and a mother of two children. These children don't belong to the man I am presently living with. My problem is that I am now pregnant with his first baby and he's just said he no longer wants my other children. He says he would have accepted them if their father was a Zulu and not a Xhosa. At first, he pretended to love them, and stopped me from collecting maintenance from their father. And yet my ex-boyfriend gave me no problems with maintenance money. He used to say that, although we were separated, he still loved his children, and would continue maintaining them. Seemingly, my present boyfriend has had a change of heart, first he asked to take my children to his parents place, but his parents refused to keep them because they were not his. He's also got two other children from his ex-girlfriend. My other worry is that he keeps on telling me that he no longer loves me and he's merely sleeping with me for convenience sake. At times he claims to be visiting his parents, yet I have since discovered that he never does. Please help me Sis Dolly — K.K., *Mondlo*.

It is unfortunate that you find yourself in such a condition when things are already not working out for you. My advice is that you must jump off that train before emotional feelings drive you crazy and you will end up frustrated, silly! It is a pity that you are already expecting this man's child, but, one way or another, you must become selfish and put your life before anything else. The guy has made it clear to you that he no longer loves you, so why endure such heart-ache? For the sake of your unborn baby, keep away

from this cruel man and look forward to being a good mother to your three children. But do not forget to sue him for his child's maintenance once it is born. Sooner or later you will meet someone who will love you together with your three children. Cheer up!

HE WON'T LET ME USE CONTRACEPTIVES

I AM a lady of 20 and my boyfriend is 22. We have a 12-month-old baby. My problem is that he doesn't want me to use contraceptives. I am worried because although I have borne him a baby, he is flirting around, and ignoring me. I am now regretting that I ever fell in love with him. When I said this to him, he decided never to touch me again even when sleeping together. What must I do? — N.D.M., *Piet Retief*.

It is true that the word REALITY dawns for each one of us in a lifetime. Now the glove of reality is eventually fitting tightly in your hand, and you must face it with bravery. This man is through with you and you cannot avoid that fact. All you need do now, is to break away and give him a chance to flirt around as much as he wants to. I notice that you are not married to him, so I recommend you go back home and start looking for greener pastures. In the meantime, see to it that he maintains his child. Good luck.

CAN I MARRY WITHOUT DIVORCING?

I AM single lady aged 42. 20 years ago I was married to a man whom I left and came to Johannesburg after separation. Now another man would like to marry me. I wonder if my marrying him will cause any problems as I never changed my surname in my ID after my first marriage. Every-

DEAR DOLLY

If you have a problem, Drum's Dolly will do her best to help you. Write to her at Box 3413, Johannesburg 2000. By helping you, she'll probably be helping others with a similar problem.

thing is still in my maiden surname. Is there any need for me to apply for a divorce? — M.N.Z. — *Johannesburg*.

Yes, definitely there's a dire need for a divorce document first before committing yourself with another man. It is viewed as a very serious offence, in fact in legal terms it is called 'bigamy', which can put you into serious problems. So, don't take a chance, clear this matter first before committing yourself for the second time. Take care!

SHE SHOWS NO EXCITEMENT WHEN HAVING SEX

I AM a man of 20, madly in love with a girl of 16. What worries me most is that whenever we make love, she doesn't seem to be feeling anything. She doesn't move or make any sound to assure me that she is enjoying herself. I am also of the opinion

that I am not her first boyfriend. And at times she refuses to visit my place, but keeps insisting that she's in love with me. — *Worried K., Sebokeng*.

I think your lady is doing the best she can to treat this matter as diplomatically as she can. In short, she's not in love with you, but she can't break the ice. One can only respond accordingly to someone who really matters at heart. And secondly, I think she is merely keeping you until such time that she happens to come across someone she will really love. So I suggest you stop cheating yourself in allowing this woman to continue using you for her own ends. Forget her.

I AM FORCED TO RAPE HER

I AM a man of 24 and my wife is 26. We've been married for a year and we've got one child. Before and soon after our marriage things seemed to be running smoothly. Although I still dearly love my wife, she has started giving me a number of problems. Firstly, she no longer wants to cook for me, instead she asks me to do the cooking. Secondly, when she does the washing, she simply leaves my clothes aside. When I ask her about this, she says she washes our son's clothes because he is too young to do his own washing. She even suggested that as a grown-up I must do my own washing. But worst of all is that she never bathes before getting to bed. She also won't let me have sex with her. I have to battle to get to her to such an extent that our double-bed once broke down during our struggle. It is more of a rape than lovemaking. Whenever I question her about her behaviour, I get told that I must go and pay the balance of the lobola to her parents first. But I see no reason why

I should do that when she has already shown me her true colours. Sad man, Pietermaritzburg.

Your problem is a bit dicy. It all depends on which undertakings you took when proposing marriage and the paying of lobola to her parents. It could be that, as most people in our culture believe, you must go through all the necessities of black custom, like paying lobola in full, and having your in-laws accepting you officially by slaughtering a goat to give their daughter away to you. I suspect your wife is being driven by this influence and belief from her family. I do not believe that she doesn't love you anymore, she has been told to discipline you, so that it becomes a constant reminder to you that you must complete the required procedure first. I know that from this advice, you will be asking yourself why you

should go and waste your money on something that is no longer worth the trouble. But let me assure you, even if it doesn't work out, you will have nothing to lose because you already have a child with this woman. And because of that, the child will always remain rightfully yours. So why not take a chance and see if it will bring any relief?

NO SEX, AND THAT'S FINAL!

I AM a guy of 32 and in love with a 42-year-old lady since 1983. My problem is that, she allows me to share a bed with her, but no lovemaking. She's got three children from her previous affairs, and she also claims to be very much in love with me, but we don't agree on one thing - no lovemaking, no matter what! Must I leave her or what? E.N., Ingwama.

vuma.

It is being said that life begins at 40! But it seems as though your lady is doing it the other way round. At your age, I wouldn't recommend that you should continue with such a 'dead' relationship and waste your precious years of enjoying life and sexual relationships. But before moving out of her life, I suggest you try and offer some help in finding out if she's got a medical problem or not. If so, assist her in seeing gynaecologist. Your offer will be the one to determine if she has given up on sexual life of her own will, or if she is ill. Good luck.

MY PENIS IS TOO BIG

I AM a worried guy aged 19. My problem is that I've got a very large penis, in so much that all my girl-

friends complain whenever I make love to them. What can I do to reduce its size? - L.L., Kwa-Mbenambi.

I have always preached to all my readers that the size of a penis is not an ISSUE. The ISSUE is how you go about using it. As you are aware that yours is too big, then you need to take things easy and gentle when love-making. Firstly, you must make certain that you do a lot of foreplay to your woman so that by the time you start, she should be fully ready for you. Secondly, you must try and be as gentle as you can, because I suspect that your problem arises from the fact that you become excited and end up being too rough to the poor woman. Take my advice, and bear in mind that there's no muti for reducing or increasing the size of one's penis.

CUPID'S CORNER

HERE is a boy of 16, who would like to have penpals from all over the world, especially from Jamaica and USA. His hobbies are playing soccer, reading magazines and listening to Reggae music as well as watching TV. Only pen-pals between 12-17 are welcome. Please reply in English or Xhosa, with or without photos to Simphiwe E. Fulela, 7 Thuswa Street, Zwile Town, Port Elizabeth, 6205.



A ZIMBABWEAN man aged 22 would like to correspond with pen-pals of 18-20 especially from Johannesburg, Zambia, Botswana, and Malawi. Hobbies are listening to good music, watching TV and soccer. He is prepared to reply to all letters written in English with or without photos. Reply to Storewell Jere, 32062 Entumbane Township, P O

Mpopoma, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.



PUNK boys here is your chance of corresponding with lonely a 23-year-old girl. Her hobbies are listening to Rock music, watching TV, cooking and reading magazines. She is prepared to answer all letters with or without photos. Please reply to Liz Dumakie, 2708B Zone 2, P O Pimville, Soweto,



A MALAWIAN aged 26 working in South Africa would love to correspond with well mannered dolls from Swaziland, Zambia and S.Africa. His hobbies are going to church, watching TV and soccer, listening to the radio, exchanging gifts, photos and mountaineering. He will reply to all letters with photos included. Reply in English or Zulu to

Samson N Banda, Room 300, Section 1, Private Bag X3000, Evander, 2282.



GIRLS between 15-20, here is a handsome guy who would like to hear from you. Drinkers and smokers need not bother. His hobbies are listening to reggae music, watching TV and soccer. Please reply in English. Shona or Ndebele to Raphael Madzima, A267 Njube Township, P O Mpopoma, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.



I AM a friendly but lonely boy aged 19. I would like to hear from young ladies aged 14-19 from all over the world. My hobbies are watching TV, listening to disco music, and reading books. All letters must be in English. Letters with or without photos will be highly appreciated. Please reply to

Kennedy Muruge, Private Bag, X2355, Sibasa, Vondoland, 0970.



MEN aged between 34-40. Please take a chance and correspond with a lady aged 33 who doesn't drink or smoke. Hobbies are watching TV, going to church, and listening to music. Please reply in English or Zulu with photos included to Thembe E Hadebe, J1227 Umlazi Township, P O Umlazi, 4031.



OBED Mthikge, aged 39, living at 9268B Kilarney, Orlando West, 1804, would like to hear from lonely ladies aged 25-35 years, especially of sober habits. His hobbies are reading and going to soccer matches. Interested ladies can write him at the above address, or telephone him at (011) 939-0769.

Dear Dolly

She likes disgusting sex

Q I'm a guy of 29 who's done just about everything when it comes to sexual matters, but the one thing I've never tried is anal intercourse. Recently I met a stunning woman who demanded anal intercourse and who didn't seem to understand when I refused. Now she looks at me as though I'm a fool who's not up to date on sexual manners. This has caused a lot of stress in the relationship as it's made me feel very insecure. My lady keeps insisting it's the best sexual position, but I think the idea sounds rather sinister. I can't help feeling it would hurt my penis and thoroughly disgust me.
PH, Phalaborwa

A Sex should be an adventure for both partners, and you should both feel free to experiment and find the best ways of enjoying it. But that doesn't mean a partner should be made to feel degraded and uncomfortable by being forced to do something they don't like. Anal sex won't hurt you, but your lady is pushing her luck by insisting on it if it turns you off. It's time you expressed your discomfort and fears. When it comes to sex both partners should make some compromises. The two of you must talk about this problem before it's too late.

Older girlfriend treats me like a sex machine

Q I'm 19, my girlfriend is 29. I love her very much and the age difference doesn't bother either one of us. The problem is she demands sex all the time, and whenever I tell her I'm not in the mood she shouts and throws tantrums. When her friends come to visit she boasts about what we did the night before, going into graphic detail. She tells them she'll never leave her sex machine. When night comes I feel like running away. She makes me perform these strange acts on her, and she forces me even when I don't feel comfortable. I tried to tell her once we should break up and she slapped me, saying for my own protection I should never suggest that again. I am too young to live like this.
TM, Pretoria

A Your lady sounds like a control freak. Even nymphomaniacs don't go around

telling their bedroom secrets. But as much as I sympathise with you I do feel you should stop feeling sorry for yourself and try to take control. The woman is abusing you and it's time you simply walked out of her life. The longer you leave it the harder it will be. Better luck next time.

Condoms broke, and now I don't trust them

Q I am 14, my boyfriend is 19. We are a perfect couple. He is gentle and caring and never hurts me in any way. We started having sex a few months ago and since then I cannot get enough of him. Sex is good fun. We're always careful to use condoms, but I still worry they might leak and I might fall pregnant. The condom has broken twice while we were having sex and that's scary. I had faith in condoms but I have my doubts now. My problem is I can't use any other form of contraception because my parents will find out and get very angry at me.
LT, Maseru

A You're in deep trouble. You're far too young to be having sex - in fact you're so far from the legal age of consent your boyfriend could be arrested for raping a child. And this means the chances of a family planning clinic putting you on the Pill - which you could easily take without your parents finding out - are virtually nil. So you're faced with two choices: fall pregnant by accident and ruin the rest of your life, or stop sleeping around. You should be concentrating on your studies, not worrying about bursting condoms and pregnancies. Stop your nonsense!

Does my wife have the right to say no?

Q I'm a married man of 25, my wife is 21. Everything's fine except she often isn't in the mood to have sex - and when she says no she means it. Even when I beg, going down on my knees in the middle of the night with a painfully erect penis, she won't give in. She says it's her legal right to refuse to have sex with me. On several occasions I've tried to force myself on her, but she kicked, screamed and threatened

to have me arrested for rape until I gave up. I feel like a reject. I would hate to mess up my marriage, but I'm getting tired of her nonsense. If a man says please he should at least be considered.
OM Springs

A Neither of you has the right to force the other to have sex, but neither of you has the right to refuse sex all the time either. Making love always has to be a reasonable compromise. If she's saying no all the time then my guess is there's something seriously wrong with your relationship. She may no longer love you and be trying to drive you away. To find out the truth try a different approach. Instead of forcing her to have sex, talk to her about your lack of joy in your marriage and let her tell you her side of the story too.

Uncle always nags, and he beats me too

Q I am a 16-year-old girl. My uncle is always nagging me. He acts as though he owns me and whenever I make a mistake he beats me up, and my parents let him. Once, when my parents weren't at home, I stayed out until 9 pm. When I got home he refused to open up for me and told me to go back where I came from. I had to sleep at my boyfriend's house. Another time, when I got back from a party at 8 pm, I had to climb through the window because he wouldn't unlock the door. My parents tell me he's teaching me responsibility, but I'm convinced this is abuse. I've attempted suicide several times to no avail. I can't take this any more. I'm on the verge of breaking down.
TM, Thokoz

A Both of you have to try to solve this problem. You need to realise if you want your family to respect you you can't just go where you please and come home when it suits you. You need to ask permission, respect your parents' and uncle's rules, and stick to them. Your uncle needs to respect your needs and realise bullying you and locking you out of the house won't help. My advice is to go to your parents, apologise for causing trouble, say you're ready to compromise and tell them your uncle's behaviour is making you desperately unhappy. If you give, I'm sure they'll be willing to meet

Advice column 8: *Must I leave her?* (June 1988: 68)**15 - BUT NO MENSTRUATION**

I AM a girl of 15. My problem is that I have never menstruated in my life. I am worried because all my friends have had their periods. I have a boyfriend and we do make love, so I am confused if maybe that could be the cause of my problem. — **N.S. Howick.**
There is no cause to panic. People are all different individuals and have different body development systems as well. It is not possible that you may fall pregnant before having your first menstruation, but by so saying, I do not mean to encourage you to carry on having sex with your boyfriend at your age. Because lawfully, at 15, you are not supposed to. In fact, your boyfriend can get into serious trouble by doing that. Keep away!

SHE'S GOT ANOTHER LOVER

I AM a male of 23, and my girlfriend is 20. My problem is that when I first proposed love to her, she told me that she had a boyfriend but finally she gave in to my begging. Now I am deeply in love with the woman and I think she feels the same way for me. And I would really like her to forget about the other guy in her life. What can I do to have her for myself? — **H.B.K. Hazy-view.**

Your relationship with this guy is already shattered. Granted, you may succeed in having her for yourself, but yours too, will not last long. By merely giving in to your advances, whilst cheating on her boyfriend, leaves a lot to be desired as to what she can also do to you in the near future. A relationship without trust has never worked out. You will never be in a position to trust her for one minute. So I suggest

you stop being selfish and let her carry on with her boyfriend, faithfully.

WE'VE NEVER MADE LOVE

I AM a guy of 17 with a girlfriend of the same age. My problem is that my girlfriend has just fallen pregnant, completely out of the blue. We've never gone out or even had sex together. But she keeps on telling me that she had no other boyfriend but me. I am so worried because we live in different places and I love her dearly and would like to marry her. Please Sis Dolly help me and tell me what to do. **Worried** — **Bloemfontein.**
Have you put enough effort into proving beyond doubt that she is positively pregnant? If not, then I suggest you take her to a gynaecologist before making any unfounded conclusions. By so saying, I am not trying to defend your girlfriend as such, but I believe that a person has a right to be proved wrong before being sacrificed. Maybe your doctor will tell you she has a cyst (growth), which normally stops the menstruation, and encourages people to think they are pregnant. But if this is not so, then I suggest you forget her, so that she can have enough freedom with her baby's father. I know how heartbreaking this realisation will be to you, but as the days go by, that wound will definitely heal. Cheer up.

MUST I LEAVE HER?

I AM a man of 23 in love with a 20 year old woman. My problem is that while I was away working, she fell in love with another guy. When I confronted her about this, she said the man forced himself onto her by beating her up. I decided to leave her, but we can't do

without each other. Now I am so scared because this man threatens to give me a hiding if I don't leave this girl alone. I am very concerned as this guy is older than myself and I am not prepared to get involved in fighting over a woman. But in the meantime, I am also not prepared to do away with my four-year-old affair because of a guy who only entered the scene a couple of months ago. Tell me Sis Dolly, do I leave my woman for this man or fight for her to a bitter end? **Confused** — **S. F. Randfontein.**
Behaving like a thug and fighting over women has always been wrong. I do not think you are ready to put your dignity and life at risk over a hooligan. In fact, this issue doesn't involve you in any way, it is up to your girlfriend to see to the disciplining of this guy, long before deciding on giving in to his nasty demands. The law is there to protect people against such things. I do not think your girlfriend put enough effort into getting this matter corrected. It's simple, she must approach this guy and tell him it's over, so that when he reacts by beating her up, she can easily report him to the nearest police station. But you must also be very careful, because my instincts tell me she might be in love with the guy, and only fooling you with those excuses. This, you can only detect if she doesn't agree to tell this guy off. Then my guess will be as good as yours — to forget her.

THEY ALL DITCH ME

I AM a girl of 22 with a very serious problem. In 1984, I went out with a guy of 27, and eventually we had a baby. In February 1986, he got involved in an affair with another woman. Gradually his love for me subsided, and then I decided

DEAR DOLLY

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to leave him. I soon found myself another man, but this relationship was to last one year only. Even after this trauma, I managed to find another man, who told me he had a baby by another woman who later jilted him and started drinking and flirting around. I poured out all my troubles to this man, not knowing he would also desert me later. Now I'm in a dilemma because all these men used to promise me Heaven and Earth. At times I look at myself in the mirror to notice whether anything is wrong with me. What worries me most is that my last man is back now, he wants us to start afresh. I am worried because he fails to tell me what went wrong with our affair. **Worried** — **E.J.R. Francistown.**

I think this is a blessing in disguise for your boyfriend to decide on a reconciliation with you. In other words, he is now at your mercy, so the onus is on you to get what

PERSONAL ADVICE COLUMN

SHE WAS SEXUALLY ABUSED

I AM 22, in love with a girl at 19. We promised to marry before we came to Johannesburg. We came to Jo'burg and went to live with our respective relatives. My girlfriend failed to find her family and we lost contact. She went and lived with some guys as she was homeless and was sexually abused until she fell pregnant.

We accidentally met in town and she poured her heart out. She told me she would send the child back home and then come and live with me. My problem is, what if the child's father refuses to let go? I must admit, I still love her very much, but I do not want to use force. — S.F.S., Malmeth.

• I think it will be wise to hear both sides of the story. If your girl was being forced, why didn't she report the man to the police? Yes, I know you might say she was stranded and couldn't take the risk, but if you went to one or two people who were closer to her, or neighbours, you might come up with something solid. You are correct, don't use force and endanger your life. You can only decide on steps to take after clarifying her relationship with the other guy. And if all what she says is true, don't hesitate to report the matter to the police and the social welfare department. They will assist in resolving the child issue and I wish you all the luck.

HE WON'T LOOK ME IN THE EYE

MY boyfriend's behaviour is something out of this world, Sis Dolly. He is 26, I am 18, and he is never at ease with me. I do realise that he loves me because he visits me everyday. But when we are together we never discuss things. He utters one or two words and that's it. Then he'll keep looking at me smiling endlessly. When we part, he will stand there watching me. I don't know why he does this, but I am extremely extroverted and he always leaves it up to me to bring up a topic. I love him, but I do not know how to handle our relationship. Please help. — Worried, F.R.N.

• Yes, your problem is valid. But you have to understand that most introverts enjoy the company of extroverts. In fact, they are fascinated by them! Don't change! Be your natural self and work towards making him feel at ease when you are together. It will take some time. He will gain confidence as soon as he realises you are not perturbed by his behaviour. Be patient.

I DIDN'T LOSE MY VIRGINITY

HOW possible is it that virginity can be lost without having had sex? I am a lady of 26, the same age as my boyfriend. My problem is that I have never had sex. And this has happened to me. My boyfriend would like to have sex with me, but I have refused, telling him I'd like to stay a virgin until I get married. He says he'll send his relatives to check me. Sis Dolly, I am worried because I no longer feel like a virgin. — S.A., Pietermaritzburg.

• I would like to believe you, but I'd hate to confirm your suspicions. See your doctor. Yes, it does happen that a woman can lose her virginity for reasons other than sex. I am told some of the causes are vigorous exercises, climbing trees or generally being too physically active. But your doctor will be able to tell.

HE'D RATHER KILL HIMSELF

I AM a girl of 21 in love with a guy of 24. I have a serious problem. My boyfriend is in love with another girl. When I want to know why, he tells me he will never love another girl as he loves me. He also threatens to take his life rather than lose me. My problem is that I also love him and I don't want him to lose his life. Please help me Sis Dolly. P.K., Mazyview.

• Don't be fooled by a selfish man. If he loves you more than his life, why another woman? This man has read your emotions and is playing with your sympathy. It is wrong to allow another person, a selfish one at that, to run your life. He does not deserve your love and faith. I dare you — move out of his life and see if he will really commit suicide. Believe me, he won't forget him.

IS IT MY BABY?

THE woman I once loved is 22 and I am a guy of 24. We went out for a year, then I moved to Jo'burg to find work. On my return, I discovered she had fallen pregnant but had a miscarriage. When she was discharged from hospital she went to live with another man. After a few months we got back together, but soon after I'd left for work, I was told she was pregnant with my baby. Again I discovered she was still seeing the other man. Who's baby is it, Sis Dolly? I am already married and she's pleading for forgiveness and would like us to get back together again.

DEAR DOLLY



If you have a problem, DRUM's Dolly will do her best to help you. Write to her at P.O. Box 784696, Sandton, 2146. By helping you, she'll be helping others with a similar problem.

I am prepared to maintain the baby if it's mine, but I do not want to jeopardise my marriage. I promised my wife "till death do us part" — T.C.N., Thekoza.

• Your ex-girlfriend must realise that it doesn't pay to be promiscuous. At that time she thought she was the most sought-after and smartest woman on earth, but now who's left behind holding a fatherless baby? (I put the blame squarely on her, and you must tell her to stop harassing you. After all, you are happily married. If you feel strongly about the baby, discuss your problem with your wife, so that you can will able to go for blood tests and satisfy yourself. Cheer up.

I HATE MEN!

I AM a woman of 35, the same age as my boyfriend. We have been going out for 10 years. My problem is that he's been promising to marry me, but instead I have discovered that he's got a child with another woman and has already paid lobola. When I want to know about us, he tells me he's still getting to know the other woman better and needs a chance. I hate him for what he's done to me and he's made me hate all men and never to trust them. I gave my all, but now I'm shattered. M.M.M., Clermontville.

• I'm terribly moved, dear sister. This is like spilt milk, cry no more! I know you are strong. Let bygones be bygones. Look ahead and get on with life. This man has long made up his mind on his future but he was a coward not to let you know. Forget him. But don't forget to look back at your

relationship. You may find some faults there which you must correct before another man breaks your heart. Men have a tendency NOT to discuss their women's shortfalls with them. What they'd rather do is waste their time and leave them high and dry. Be strong.

SEX WEAKENS ME

I AM a guy of 22 and the lady I love is 20. We've been going out since 1987. My greatest problem is that each time we have sex, I experience excruciating pains in my back. We've been to doctors, even Inyangal, without luck. I also feel weak and disgruntled the day after. I do trust my girl, but the love I have for her is fast diminishing. I feel like forgetting about women, but it won't be easy. Please help. — A.W.M., Sephuthatswana.

• I do not think it's fair to put the blame on your girlfriend. The problem is with you and it is only you who can work towards resolving it. I'm not blaming you for what's happening, but you must take it upon yourself to see a specialist to seek help.

SHE WON'T SAY IT

I AM a guy of 22 and my girlfriend is 21. I must say I am a very handsome guy but my girlfriend doesn't want to tell me she loves me. She confides in me about all her troubles and goes around telling her friends that she loves me, but she will never say it to me. I think death is better than what I'm going through. Help Sis Dolly. — L.E., Mtunzini.

• Life is too precious to sacrifice it for another human being. I do not think your problem is that big. All you need to do is accept her for what she is and keep on loving her. You must understand that most people are not good at expressing themselves and from what I gather, your girlfriend has entrusted her inner feelings to you and looks upon you as someone who's a good listener. Keep up the good work and love her just the way she is. Be good.

WHY AM I STILL ENJOYING SEX?

SIS Dolly, I am four months pregnant, my boyfriend is 23 and I am 21. I am beginning to worry because I find that I still enjoy sex as much as before. Do you think there's something wrong with me? — N.Z., Seshonqwe.

• Whoever told you that falling pregnant means the end of your sex life. In fact, you can carry on enjoying sex to the last day!

Advice column 10: *Teachers snatch our girls* (April 1994: 56)

Dear Dolly

(From page 54)

your support more than ever before. What you need to do is reassure her of your feelings, talk her out of nagging about your ages, and organise your relationship to suit both your needs. Ask her to introduce you to her parents. Good luck.

My moody boyfriend

Q I'm 32. My child's father is 37. He's quite loving, but only when he's in a good mood. And that isn't often. He did tell me he was divorced, but I didn't realise he'd divorced four women! We have a lovely two-year-old daughter and he's very fond of her. Recently I discovered that his fourth ex-wife was suing for attempted murder. Sis Dolly, this allegation has frightened me so. I thought I could live with the nightmare of his mood swings but I don't think I'll be able to put up with the violence. Where do I go from here?
L.V. Soweto.

A *This man's mood swings show that he has emotional problems and needs professional help. Although he was too scared to tell you the truth about his divorces, the feeling I get is that under normal circumstances both of you could be happy together. He obviously needs a companion and he wants to settle down. But he can't sort things out by himself. Encourage him to get medical advice or you might live the rest of your life feeling guilty that you did nothing to help him. Give him a chance, but don't let him get violent. Good luck.*

Difficult mother-in-law

Q When I first met my 26-year-old boyfriend, he had just broken up with the mother of his two children. I later discovered that his mother was against the break up and still invited the woman to their home. Both of us decided to overlook what his mother was doing and made a promise to be honest with each other. But now that he's lost his job our relationship has changed. He sends me messages through his friends that he's unable to see me because his mother threatens to chase him out of the house. I've also discovered that his children's mother stays at his place and his mother will only maintain him if he doesn't see me any more. Sis Dolly, am I fighting a losing

battle here?
D.M. Krugersdorp.

A *I'm afraid you are dealing with a very weak man. For him to allow his mom to push him into a "loveless" relationship shows him up as someone who's too scared to put his foot down. As much as I feel sorry for the children and their mother, it's important that she too stops being pushed around by his mom. But why do I get the feeling that your boyfriend is sorry that he ever got involved with you? He's a weakling and undecided. Stop prolonging this relationship, leave him to sort his life out on his own. Someday the man of your dreams will come along. Cheer up.*

He is dull in bed

Q I'm 21 and my 26-year-old boyfriend has no experience in making love. I know that I am supposed to help him but unfortunately I lied and told him that I had never had sex before. Whenever I think of helping him, I get the jitters. Please help me find a solution because if I don't, I'll be forced to jilt him although I love him.
L.L. Empangeni.

A *Your boyfriend needs help and it won't be nice of you to leave him. You do of course realise that lying is a bad thing. Remember, men are also human and it helps them to know what their lovers need. You do not have to dig up the past by revealing previous involvements. Just be yourself and tell him how you'd like him to make love to you. I assure you he won't question it.*

Will our baby live?

Q I'm 21 and my 18-year-old girlfriend is pregnant. My concern is that when I was 17, I shaved off my pubic hair. But later I was told you are not supposed to do this because all your children will die at birth. This is worrying me because my girlfriend is pregnant and we might lose our baby.
S.S., Rustenburg.

A *This is certainly not true. Somebody must have been joking with you. In fact, it is healthy and hygienic to shave off pubic hair and allow new hair to grow. Relax, your girlfriend will give birth to a healthy and lively baby. Good luck.*

Should I leave school?

Q I'm 27 and my boyfriend of 28 lives in another town. He has asked me to leave school and study by correspondence. He also told me that he has another girlfriend but said he wanted to marry me. One day I decided to visit him and discovered that he actually lives with this girl as husband and wife. Please help me, I might lose him.
E.M., Libanon.

A *Such men are not worth another thought. Firstly, he wants you to leave school for no apparent reason, and secondly, he is cheating on you. He has realised how naive you are and is abusing you. Education is your future: don't leave school. You shouldn't have accepted what he told you about this other girl. Granted, you may be scared to lose him, but I assure you he is not worth it.*

Teachers snatch our girls

Q I'm a schoolboy of 17 in love with a girl of 16. But every time I get involved with a girl, a teacher comes along and snatches her. I then meet them at parties and shebeens. I now have this problem with my current girlfriend. She believes it will be best for her to leave school because the male teachers are harassing her. What should we do?
S.S., Johannesburg.

A *It is a disgrace that teachers harass schoolgirls. You, and this girl, can put a stop to this problem. Take the matter up with the headmaster, education authorities and your parents. But I am not suggesting that you should start competing for girls with the teachers. Your parents sent you to school to achieve future goals. Forget parties and shebeens and concentrate on your studies.*

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