

Constructions of sexual violence against women in the apartheid printed news  
media

René Chikwira

Department of Psychology

University of Cape Town

Supervisors: Dr Taryn van Niekerk & Associate Prof. Floretta Boonzaier

Word count:

Abstract: 218

Main body: 9703

## **Abstract**

Sexual violence is highly pervasive in South Africa, and has been so for many decades, perpetuated by the country's violent history of apartheid. The construction of sexual violence against women by political and societal institutions in South Africa, including the media, has been shown to be harmful and negative. While there is a growing media scholarship that examines current printed news media themes of sexual violence against women, there is a gap in the literature that examines such themes within the apartheid printed news media. The aim of this qualitative study is to explore the constructions of sexual violence against women in printed news media published during the apartheid era. Purposive sampling was used to collect archival printed news media articles on sexual violence from the SA Media electronic database, for the period of 1984 to 1994. The articles were analysed using qualitative thematic discourse analysis. Four themes emerged in the data: sexual violence against women as 'alleged', safety precautions as women's responsibility, race and racism in reporting sexual violence and women as survivors. The findings of this study suggest that the printed news media during apartheid constructed and transmitted negative and harmful discourses of sexual violence against women, which have a range of negative influences and implications on public thought regarding sexual violence and women in general.

*Keywords:* apartheid, printed news media, sexual violence, social constructionism, thematic discourse analysis, women

## PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

1. I know that Plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it is one's own.
2. I have used the *American Psychological Association* (APA) convention for citation and referencing. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this essay from the work or works, of other people has been attributed, cited and referenced.
3. This research project is my own work.
4. I have not allowed, and will not allow anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.
5. I acknowledge that copying someone else's assignment or essay, or part of it, is wrong, and declare that this is my own work.

**Name:** René Chikwira

**Student number:** CHKREN002

**Date:** 17/11/2016

## **Introduction**

South Africa has one of the highest levels of sexual violence in the world. Research shows that South Africa might have the highest rates of sexual violence for a country not in a time of war, with an estimated one in three women likely to be raped in their lifetime (Moffett, 2006; Poltera, 2011). A year after the end of apartheid, the Human Rights Watch report on rape and domestic violence, labelled South Africa ‘rape capital of the world’ (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Sexual violence can be defined as “any person (‘A’) unlawfully and intentionally commit[ing] an act of sexual penetration with a complainant (‘B’), without the consent of B” (Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act 32, 2007, pp. 10). It also involves any coercion into a sexual act and being sexually violated without one’s consent (Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act 32, 2007). In 1996, the Crime Information Analysis Centre (CIAC) in South Africa estimated that 210 per 100 000 females in South Africa compared to 80 per 100 000 females in the United States were raped in 1990 (CIAC, 2002, as cited in Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

There was a reported 15% increase in the number of cases of sexual violence from 1995 to 2004 (Combrinck, 2005). Some scholars have argued that the increase in the number of reported sexual violence cases post-apartheid, is due to the marginalisation and minimisation of sexual violence against women during apartheid (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Posel, 2005). According to Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) and Poltera (2011), the true prevalence of sexual violence during apartheid was under-reported, which may have contributed towards an inaccurate portrayal of sexual violence at that time.

While the statistics show an increase in the number of reported cases of sexual violence from apartheid until the current day, the printed news media showed an increase in negative constructions of sexual violence against women (Poltera, 2011; Posel, 2005). The media at large can be viewed as a tool by which dominant social groups and classes maintain their control over the rest of society, by privileging certain views and interests above others (Meyers, 2004; Steenveld, 2004). Isaacs (2016) and Bonnes (2006) argue that the way in which the media frames social issues, plays a pivotal role in influencing the public’s perceptions of the phenomenon at hand. Thus, it may be argued that the printed news media is a powerful transmitter of particular ideas, in this case, of sexual violence discourses. However, very little is known about the form and content of messages about sexual violence against women circulating in the apartheid printed news media.

The current study aimed to attend to the gap in knowledge by exploring the constructions of sexual violence against women in the apartheid printed news media. In addition, it is hoped that this study's findings about the apartheid media constructions of sexual violence against women may help to understand the continuities in how sexual violence is constructed in the media today.

### **A violent history**

Apartheid in South Africa was a time of extreme violence and a context where acts of social injustice as well as violence were morally and legally justified by the apartheid state (Poltera, 2011). South African research has found linkages between violent masculinities in society and high rates of sexual violence against women (Buiten & Naidoo, 2013; Salo, 2005; Walker, 2005). Violent masculinities, thus might have been forged through our apartheid history and are worth briefly discussing, as they appear linked to sexual violence.

Acts of interpersonal violence were often morally justified and silenced during apartheid (Poltera, 2011). Violent masculinities thus, may have been forged through apartheid history because violence was rampant and often seen as being justified. In this way, violence and violent masculinities were permitted to escape scrutiny and retribution. Furthermore, patriarchy, which was a normal part of apartheid society, has also been used to justify acts of sexual violence against women (Meyers, 2004; Moffet, 2006).

Patriarchy being used to explain and justify acts of sexual violence may come from the finding that in times of conflict, sexual violence is said to increase in its prevalence and intensity, as a means of males asserting their power and control over women (Armstrong, 1994). This finding has also been provided as an explanation for high rates of sexual violence against women in South Africa (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, Levin, Ratsaka & Schrieber, 2001), and may even normalise and justify sexual violence within wider institutions, such as the print media (Moffett, 2006).

### **Themes of sexual violence in current day printed news media**

Discourses of female victims of sexual violence have commonly emerged in the South African media through binary constructions of 'fallen angels' or 'whores' (Bonnes, 2006). The printed media portrays female victims of sexual violence as 'whores' if the victim behaved or dressed in a way that may have 'brought on' an act of sexual violence (Bonnes, 2006; Franiuk, Seefelt & Vandello 2008). Such behaviours include being promiscuous, drinking heavily and being a sex-worker (Bonnes, 2006; Franiuk et al., 2008; Worthington, 2008). On the other hand, Bonnes (2006) found that women victims who had taken measures to avoid rape - such as not drinking heavily or dressing conservatively- are constructed as

responsible victims of violence in the printed media. These harmful constructions of women victims of sexual violence in print media hold the victims responsible for being sexually assaulted and may allow that violent acts are justified rather than chastised (Bonnes, 2006). Such victim-blaming discourses also serve to admonish perpetrator responsibility as the victim's behaviour becomes the focus of attention.

Local and international literature has pointed to sexist and gendered constructions in narratives of femininity in the media. For example, since the Media Monitoring Project began reporting how women are portrayed in the media from 1995 many manifestations of sexist and gendered stereotypes were found (Bosch, 2011). Non-contextualised 'patriarchal framing' of narratives that seek to endorse sexual violence as a way of subordinating women and maintaining patriarchy, are prevalent in the findings of the Media Monitoring Project (Bosch, 2011, Gadzekpo, 2009). This is a finding similarly echoed in other South African research on the printed media by Buiten (2009), Buiten and Naidoo (2013) and Moffett (2006). Moffett (2006) found that in addition to media discourses on sexual violence being gendered, they are also largely racialised and classed.

International and local printed media coverage of sexual violence has been represented through a lens of race and class, particularly in regard to constructions of perpetrators (Bonnes, 2006; Meyers, 2004; Shelby & Hatch, 2014). In South Africa, the media saw a change in publications and censorship as the apartheid system drew to a close (Poltera, 2011). This allowed greater uncensored coverage of social issues such as sexual violence, which is said to have been racialised as a black problem (Buiten & Naidoo, 2013; Moffett, 2006; Posel, 2005). South African media portrayals of sexual violence, often suggest that perpetrators are working class, black men (Bonnes, 2006; Moffett 2006; Reddy & Potgieter 2006). The portrayal of black males as sexually violent, hypersexualised and unable to control their sexual urges dates to the colonial era (Lewis, 2011; Tamale, 2011). However, to my knowledge, no literature exists on the racialisation of sexual violence as a black problem in printed news media published during apartheid, but some literature exists on current day media racialisation of sexual violence. Bonnes (2006) analysed newspaper articles about rape in the Grocott's Mail South African newspaper between 14 October 2008 and 29 October 2009. She drew on myths of sexual violence that are present in existing literature and found that the way the paper reports on rape, constructs and perpetuates race, class and gendered stereotypes. In post-apartheid South Africa, an increase in the reporting of sexual violence related to black and poor groups may give the perception that sexual violence is inherently a 'black problem' or a working-class problem. These raced and classed notions

presented by the media feed into myths and fears about poor, black perpetrators who are largely over-represented, even in other crimes (Bonnes, 2006; Meyers, 2004, Shelby & Hatch, 2014). To understand this context and portrayal of sexual violence against women in South Africa, looking back into the apartheid context of sexual violence may be helpful.

### **Sexual violence against women during apartheid**

Constructions of sexual violence against women need to be understood as a product of South Africa's violent history and it would therefore be of interest to examine media discourses on sexual violence during apartheid (Buiten & Naidoo, 2013; Salo, 2005; Walker, 2005). Posel (2006) and Armstrong (1994) are two scholars who have attempted to understand the dynamics of sexual violence within the apartheid context. They argue that sexual violence during apartheid was largely marginalised and not seen as an important issue. Great effort was put into the concealment and marginalisation of sexual violence against women (Posel, 2006). It was not part of popular public discourse and if discussed, it was viewed as being a normal part of life, especially among poor black women (Armstrong, 1994). Although the prevalence of sexual violence was increasing, Armstrong (1994) argued that a blind eye was turned to this issue. There seems to have been a political regulation of sexual violence by the apartheid state, in the same way that race relations were regulated (Armstrong, 1994; Posel, 2006). Despite these insights, the exploration of constructions of sexual violence in the apartheid media is an inactive area of media and communication research, thereby resulting in a gap in the literature.

In summary, high rates of sexual violence against women continue to pervade South Africa, perpetuated by its history of apartheid as well as normalised through current societal and political institutions. The media has been identified as a societal institution that, through the way in which it constructs accounts of sexual violence, may negatively influence the public's perceptions, and possibly their attitudes and behaviours towards sexual violence against women. While on the one hand, there appears to be a growing literature base which examines current day South African printed media and themes about sexual violence against women, on the other hand there appears to be a gap in literature in terms of examining this phenomenon in the context of apartheid print media. Given the extent to which the apartheid system may have contributed towards marginalising, silencing and possibly reproducing permissive discourses of sexual violence against women, it would be a beneficial contribution to South African media scholarship to gain a deeper understanding of this area of work.

## **Aims & Objectives**

### **Aim**

The objective of this research was to explore the different constructions of sexual violence against women in printed news media articles published during the time of apartheid. The constructions of sexual violence against women were identified through themes and discourses that appeared in newspaper articles of the time. Furthermore, the research aimed to explore the ways in which the apartheid print media may have participated in justifications of sexual violence, and investigates constructions of survivors of sexual violence and the male perpetrators of sexual violence against women.

### **Main research question**

How is sexual violence against women constructed in the printed news media published during the apartheid era?

### **Sub-Questions**

How are victims and perpetrators of sexual violence constructed in the apartheid printed news media?

In what ways might sexual violence against women be sanctioned or challenged in the apartheid printed news media?

## **Method**

### **Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework that this research draws upon is that of social constructionism. The theory behind social constructionism is that humans create a particular understanding of their world, which emerge from shared assumptions of reality (Galbin, 2014). It seeks to uncover the different roles and processes that individuals employ in constructing knowledge and realities (Galbin, 2014).

Language is central to social constructionism as it is the primary channel through which meaning is made and sustained (Walker, 2015). It is one of the most fundamental aspects in producing knowledge and constructing our world (Galbin, 2014). Language is a vehicle of transmission of particular thoughts and feelings about a particular phenomenon or lived experience. Through the use of particular language, certain concepts or knowledge is created, gaining importance and meaning in society, and ultimately becoming a 'reality' (Galbin, 2014; Walker, 2015).

The interaction of individuals is also key in the construction of realities, as communication between individuals is the primary mechanism by which language is used to create and share knowledge (Walker, 2015). This interaction between individuals allows a



particular world view to be created in the ways that humans influence each other, interpersonally and socially (Galbin, 2014). Social constructionism then extends itself beyond the notion that these interactions occur, to investigating and challenge how these interactions produce a social influence on individuals and society (Galbin, 2014).

As a society, we establish and explain our realities from information and meanings that are readily available to us (Taylor & Ussher, 2001). The media is a powerful tool that interacts with society and communicates ‘knowledges’, meanings of social phenomenon and thought systems into society. It is thus a transmitter of specific social constructions or socially constructed realities of certain phenomena, including that of sexual violence against women. The research is interested in understanding the ways in which the apartheid printed news media constructs a version of social reality about sexual violence against women, in the language that it uses to report on sexual violence. Thus, this research lends itself to the theory of social constructionism in order to assist in our understanding of the relationship between the apartheid media and how it portrayed sexual violence against women during apartheid.

### **Research design**

**Qualitative research design.** Qualitative research is aligned with the idea that experiences and meanings are socially constructed through various interactions that people have with their everyday world (Merriam, 2002). This includes the cognitions and systems of thought that we use to explain and understand one or another aspect of our social world (Höijer, 2011), and how that particular system of thought comes to construct our understanding of a particular social phenomenon.

This qualitative study was conducted from a social constructionist perspective, adopting the assumptions that have been outlined above. Through using a qualitative social constructionist theoretical framework, this research was able to explore the emerging themes and discourses present in print media constructions of sexual violence against women to gain a deeper understanding of this area of work.

### **Sampling strategy**

The research employed purposive sampling for the collection of archival data in the form of printed news media articles. Printed news media articles were used for the ease with which they can be accessed and analysed. The newspaper articles were sampled from 1984 to 1994 – a time-frame which is motivated by the political climate in South Africa during that period. During the period of 1990 to 1994, South Africa was facing major political upheaval. With the 1989 presidential election of F. W. de Klerk, who would open negotiations to end apartheid, and the release of Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990, the nation was in a time of

political and social transition (Marx, 1997). During this period of transition, Posel (2005) argued that a parallel shift in gendered and sexual politics arose, allowing for previously marginalised issues, such as sexual violence against women, to emerge more emphatically in popular discourse. This may indicate that an increase in media coverage of sexual violence was prevalent during the period of transition, from 1990 to 1994 as opposed to the years prior. Thus, the choice to study media themes and discourses on sexual violence during the last 10 years of apartheid, was made to include a period where the issue was silenced as well as a period into its transition of potentially increased coverage of sexual violence issues. It was rationalised that this ten-year period may be a time when not only the number of cases of sexual violence reported in the media transitioned and increased, but also a transition in how they were constructed.

### **Data collection tool and procedure**

Data was collected using the SA Media electronic database where the newspaper articles, in PDF format, were downloaded onto a computer for analysis. Access to the newspaper articles were gained through the South African Media electronic database (SA Media via Sabinet Reference), accessed through University of Cape Town Libraries website. Only newspaper articles that were published in the period of 1984 to 1994 were accessed, by selecting only these dates as part of the search on the database. Some key words that were used to search on the database included, 'sexual violence', 'rape' and 'sexual abuse.' Articles that were excluded were those with reports on interpersonal violence other than sexual violence, articles that were in another language and articles where the text was not clearly visible. In total, 68 articles from 22 publications (see Appendix) were sampled for analysis.

### **Data Analysis**

The current study employed thematic discourse analysis, which is a qualitative research method of analysis. Thematic discourse analyses involve a 'pattern-type' analysis of the data, through identifying common patterns or themes within the data, to form analyses of the different discourses present within those themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This will allow provision of provide rich, comprehensive and intricate analyses of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The current study adopts Singer and Hunter's (1999) definition of discourse. Discourses are described as conversations with a particular agenda, that aim to establish a particular view or social reality (Singer & Hunter, 1999). The knowledge that discourses produce set out to preserve established 'power relationships within society' (Singer & Hunter, 1999, p. 3). Singer and Hunter (1999) argue that this knowledge also impacts how

individuals make meaning out of the experience concerned, namely, sexual violence against women (Singer & Hunter, 1999, p. 66).

The guideline that was used for this research was from a study conducted by Taylor and Ussher (2001), which involves a step-by-step process to identify, code and analyse themes. Upon completion of coding and examining the data for differences and similarities within and between different coded themes, different discourses become apparent (Taylor & Ussher, 2001). It should be mentioned here that thematic discourse analysis is not a widely-used form of thematic analysis. However, having already identified that the media is a powerful transmitter of particular discourses around sexual violence, which appear through themes often of victims and perpetrators, an inductive approach to thematic discourse analysis seemed an appropriate and suitable method of data analysis for this research.

### **Ethical Considerations**

As this research is archival in nature and did not involve human subjects, ethical considerations did not need to be addressed.

### **Reflexivity**

As a qualitative researcher, it is important to be conscious and aware of one's role as researcher through reflexivity. Reflexivity is a process of self-consciousness that allows a researcher to acknowledge and monitor their intersectional subjectivity throughout the research process, including how it may influence the research process at different stages (Few, Stephens & Rouse-Arnett, 2003; Macbeth, 2001).

I (as the researcher) am a black female who was researching a topic on females in the context of apartheid, which was a very oppressive time for people of colour and for females. I had to consistently be aware of how my identity might urge me to paint a very negative picture of apartheid and of the apartheid media, in terms of the data that I would sample and how I might have analysed it. This occurred in the context of already being aware from existing literature, that the apartheid printed news media painted a bleak picture of people of colour and of women who had survived sexual violence. That said, it was often, quite difficult to be objective in my approach of analysing my data. However, as I was aware of this difficulty, I took conscious effort to ensure that I was critical in my approach of data collection, sampling and analysis. Furthermore, combing over my data multiple times and having my analysis peer reviewed by supervisors ensured that I had been subjective and neutral in the developing of the themes present in the data.

### **Analysis and Discussion**

The current study aimed to explore how the printed news media constructed sexual

violence against women during a ten-year period of apartheid, as well as the influence that the constructions may have had on public thought. The data for this study was analysed through thematic discourse analysis, and the guidelines for thematic discourse analysis offered by Taylor and Ussher (2001) as well as Braun and Clarke (2006) were employed. The analysis aims to answer the following research question, namely, ‘How is sexual violence against women constructed in printed news media published during the apartheid era?’, alongside the two sub-questions, ‘How are victims and perpetrators of sexual violence constructed in the apartheid printed news media?’ and ‘In what ways are sexual violence against women sanctioned or challenged in apartheid printed news media?’ The data for this study was sampled from January 1984 to March 1994, the year of the first democratic election. Four main themes emerged, namely: *Sexual violence against women as ‘alleged’*, *Safety precautions as women’s responsibility*, *Race and racism in reporting sexual violence* and *Women as survivors*.

### **Sexual violence against women as “alleged”**

In the current study, language such as “alleged” and “apparently” were employed by journalists when reporting on cases of sexual violence against women. These terms were employed in approximately a quarter of the reports (16), possibly calling into question the validity of victims’ claims about having been raped:

*A special constable was stabbed to death and an off-duty policeman seriously injured while his girlfriend was allegedly raped by a mob in two separate incidents in Kimberley township of Galeshwe on Saturday, police said yesterday.*

(“Policeman dies, woman raped in Cape violence”, The Star, 7 May 1990)

*A Bonteheuwel woman told yesterday how a knife-wielding mob went on a rampage on a train, stabbing and seriously wounding one person and apparently raping two women. Three Peninsula Technikon students were stabbed and 30 other commuters on a train travelling from Unibel station to Bonteheuwel on Tuesday about 4:30pm, a Technikon spokesperson said.*

(“Woman tells of train rampage”, Cape Times, 10 March 1994)

*Partners against crime Lance Sergeant Pearl Faku and constable Frances Ruselo of New Brighton were instrumental in the arrest of a man who*

*allegedly raped a young girl last week and left her for dead after he had stabbed her five times.*

(“Policewomen hitting rapists”, *Eastern Province Herald*, 11 February 1992)

The above extracts show how there is a discrepancy in how sexual violence against women and physical violence are constructed in news reports. Through employing language such as “alleged” that calls women’s claims of sexual assault into question, survivors are constructed as suspicious and dishonest. In addition, the word “apparently” precedes the word ‘rape’, which only seemed to occur when a case of sexual violence was reported. When the journalists reported other cases of physical violence against men and women, such as the stabbing of the male constable and off-duty policeman, they did not make use of the words “allegedly” or “apparently”. In dissecting the statement made by the Bonteheuwel woman in the *Cape Times* newspaper article in 1994, one cannot be sure whether she reported both crimes that she had witnessed in this way. As it appears in the extract and the article, both the accounts of violence were witnessed and reported by the same woman. It is unlikely then, that she reported one incident with certainty and the *two* incidents of rape with doubt. Similarly, in the *Eastern Province Herald* article of 1992, the journalist states that a young girl was “allegedly raped”, but not “allegedly stabbed” five times. The extracts above show how some incidents of sexual violence against women were constructed as rumoured and lacking proof, whilst in the very same articles, other acts of violence (such as physical violence, mob violence) were taken as fact. The use of such language calls the validity of a woman’s claims of sexual assault into question and ultimately constructs survivors of sexual violence as untrustworthy. Furthermore, as observed with the evidence above, it has been found that when there are eyewitnesses to a crime other than rape, the word “alleged” seems to be absent, including legal cases and courts of law (Estrich, 1992).

One of the most difficult endeavours faced by a woman survivor of rape, seems to be proving that she was raped. Feminist scholars Estrich (1992) and Odem and Clay-Warner (1998) have argued that there is a long-standing myth that female survivors of sexual violence are untrustworthy in their accounts of rape and that their accounts of rape are not viewed as credible. In her paper, Estrich (1992) discusses the issues with rape law and rape cases in the United States. She argues that often in rape cases, the court goes beyond the facts of a rape and the guilt of an alleged perpetrator to discuss the culpability versus credibility of the accuser. The credibility of survivors of sexual violence is said to be questioned for different reasons, including that women lie about rape because they are spiteful, seeking

revenge against ex-lovers or that they are refusing to accept responsibility for their sexual relations and behaviours (Estrich, 1992). Sometimes the language used in questioning the credibility of a survivor of sexual violence and constructing her as untrustworthy is explicit, and other times, as this study's findings show, it is in the power of one word, such as "alleged".

The implication of painting survivors as untrustworthy in courts of law is something that Albertyn and Mills (2006, as cited in Hassim, 2009) and Estrich (1992) have eluded to, in relation to judges and juries not trusting women to tell the truth, and thus proceeding with loaded caution to assess allegations of rape made by women. In South Africa, the construction of female survivors of sexual violence as untrustworthy was made highly evident in the case of 'S v Zuma' in 2006, where the then deputy president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, was accused of rape by a woman named 'Khwezi' (Hassim, 2009). The trial in question drew much public attention, scrutiny and uproar. Khwezi was accused of lying about being raped, subsequently facing threats and acts of violence by supporters (including women) of Zuma. Zuma was acquitted of the rape, even after extensive and elaborate testimony by Khwezi of a rape having occurred (Hassim, 2009). This example provides insight into how women are forced into 'proving their case' of rape, lest they be constructed as dishonest and lacking credibility.

The contestation that this theme brings to light is that crimes other than sexual violence against women are regarded unquestionably as fact – in this study's sample of reports and possibly by some members of society – whereas the rape of a woman is portrayed as requiring proof. This may make it difficult for women to share their truth about rape and seek legal action against it, in a society being fed the construction by the media and justice system the credibility of her claim of sexual assault is questionable and up for debate. In the sample of cases for this study, it seems that the only time that women's claims were not called into question, were under the condition that the perpetrator was presumed to be a black male and the survivor presumed to be a white woman. This was observed in a small number (3) of articles. In reporting on a rape and murder of a presumably young white woman, *Miss Joubert*, by a presumably black male, *William Sekgola*, a journalist for *The Citizen* in 1992 writes:

*A 21-year-old Mamelodi man was yesterday sentenced to death for the brutal rape and murder of a young Pretoria Technikon student at her Silverton home a year ago.*

In another paragraph, the journalist reports on what the presiding judge in the case had said:

*Miss Joubert had been a defenceless slender girl in the prime of her life. It was unthinkable that someone could bring himself to murder such a child, the judge said.*

(“Killer rapist gets death sentence”, *The Citizen*, 6 February 1992)

In this instance, the rape is not reported as “alleged” but rather as “brutal”. The above case of rape was reported with certainty, and the decision to do so may have been swayed by a number of factors, including the racial identities of the perpetrator and victim. Furthermore, the survivor is presented as defenceless, slender and as in the prime of her life, as if had she not been so, her rape and murder might have been excusable. van Niekerk (2015) found that journalist from the *Daily Voice* had a tendency to ‘name’ certain female victims of violence in such a way that some victims are presented as more worthy of a crime than others. As in the above extract, the victim is named and presented in such a way that the crime committed against her is more devastating than it would have been if it was another victim who did not hold similar mentioned positive characteristics (van Niekerk, 2015). Here again, the language that the journalists use is powerful in constructing victims/survivors of sexual violence in a certain light.

The power of the printed news media in producing a discourse that constructs women as untrustworthy, through the language that they use around cases of sexual violence, should not be underestimated. The extracts provided in this theme and the case of Khwezi, although occurring after apartheid, shows continuity in how survivors of sexual violence were constructed as untrustworthy in apartheid media, and still continue to be constructed as such in current day South Africa. This is a heavy burden to place on women who have been raped, after already facing the terrible ordeal of being sexually violated and may have implications for public thinking about victim-blaming. Another burden that the apartheid printed news media may have placed on women, is that of taking measures to avoid being raped and of attributing responsibility of the rape to the survivor- in short, blaming the ‘victim’.

### **Safety precautions as women’s responsibility**

In just over a sixth (12) of the reports in the current study, the notion of taking “practical precaution” to protect oneself from being raped, was directed at girls and women. Journalists from the print news media reported that women should take some, if not all responsibility in preventing sexual violence:

*Is self-defence the answer to the threat of being raped or does a woman who fight back risk further violence? Self-defence classes encourage women to protect themselves; to take charge of their bodies and to use their physical strength.*

(“Should you fight a rapist?”, *The Citizen*, 11 November 1985)

This extract highlights the notion that women ought to take some practical action to prevent being sexually assaulted. A few paragraphs later, as if to make this notion even more clear, the same journalists writes:

*The Citizen approached several women and asked them what they are doing about their own protection.*

(“Should you fight a rapist?”, *The Citizen*, 11 November 1985)

Here, *The Citizen* seems to expect that women have a well-thought out plan of action to protect themselves from sexual violence. This shifts the responsibility of protection against sexual violence from other parties, such as the perpetrators themselves, onto girls and women. Should safety precautions and preventative measures not be taken by girls and women, they may find themselves responsible or to blame for the incident. In other articles, women are given advise as to how they should protect themselves.

*The Rape Crisis spokesman agreed that women should become more security conscious but suggested they learn self-defence skills rather than lock themselves away. ‘Women should be educated from an early age to become more self-assertive, so they no longer grow up as natural rape victims’ the spokesman said.*

(“Warning to women as sexual attacks increase”, *The Citizen*, 5 March 1984)

The journalist of this article, uses the term “natural rape victims”, which portrays girls and women as inherent targets of men’s perpetration of rape, unless they learn skills that will defend themselves against rape. This language may produce fear in girls and women, reinforcing ideas that rape is ‘natural’, ‘fixed’ and ‘normal’, and that it is the responsibility of girls and women to defend and protect themselves:



*Women can take precautions not to be raped, they can be careful about opening the door to strangers, not hitch-hiking and avoiding putting themselves in vulnerable situations like being alone in unfamiliar places, but women still get raped. Why is this?*

(“Sensational ‘stranger rapes’ are just a drop in the ocean”, *The Natal Witness*, 14 November 1990)

*"Take every precaution necessary" the police say, and indeed, some people are careless. But surely these women have done everything they could. Perhaps the message should be [to] take practical precautions and then live alertly, careful to avoid and/or report situations or persons or behaviour that seem dangerous or unusual. And, lest alert living turn to paranoia and panic, the cultivation of a network of sensible friends is important for every woman.*

(“Rape. *The Natal Witness*”, 7 November 1990)

The last two extracts mention that women need to take ‘precautions’ not to be raped, even giving advice on how they should do so. This, along with the other evidence presented, serves to construct women as responsible for their safety.

The female survivor of sexual violence is often subject to much scrutiny and interrogation within the media, as the evidence suggests. Literature that was analysed on current day printed news media has shown that the media often scrutinise not only survivors, but all women on the measures that they ought to take to avoid sexual assault attacks (Bonnes, 2006; Franiuk et al, 2008). Furthermore, the discursive and binary construction of a ‘fallen angel’ or ‘whore’ being subject to rape seems to also involve a woman who is either passive when she realises that she might be raped or one who is ‘wise enough’ to protect herself from being raped (Franiuk, et al., 2008). This type of discourse and reporting constructs victims of sexual violence as culpable for having being raped and attributes blame to the victim (Anderson, Simpson-Taylor & Herrmann, 2004; Estrich, 1992; Snow, 1994). Anderson, Simpson-Taylor and Herrmann (2004) and Estrich (1992) have argued that these constructions that place blame on victims are part of a long-standing and pervasive rape myth that women ought to take precaution and protect themselves from rape – a finding echoed in this study’s data.

The notion of victim-blaming noted in this study’s analysis of the apartheid print news

media, has meaning for survivors and perpetrators of sexual violence. The problem with victim blaming is that it places blame and responsibility of rape prevention on women or the survivors of sexual violence, while mitigating the accountability of perpetrators. Women are constructed as primarily responsible for preventing rape whereas perpetrators of sexual violence are silenced in this discourse. In addition, women who have not taken practical steps to prevent a rape are constructed as irresponsible. One of the biggest implications of this discourse, is that it makes cases of rape seem justified, and it leads to the underreporting of rape (Anderson et al., 2004; George & Martinez, 2002).

Some scholars have argued that the printed news media and other forms of media are responsible for the messages that they circulate (Bird & Garda, 1997), particularly if these messages serve to condone harmful ideas. This argument may have been especially important in the case of the apartheid print news media, which The Media Monitoring Project has identified as having been a voice that was easily capable of persuading the public with the approval of the apartheid government (Bird & Garda, 1997). The apartheid print media was regulated and censored by the apartheid government (Bird & Garda, 1997), which was argued to have turned a blind eye to the increasing rates of sexual violence against women (Armstrong, 1994; Posel, 2006). One of the ways in which they may have turned a blind eye to the high rates of sexual violence is by regulating media reporting on the issue. Furthermore, the apartheid state could have been encouraging journalist reporting on how to avoid getting raped, as opposed to reporting on how the state and police were preventing rape by perpetrators, because the latter would turn out little or no result. Interestingly, the apartheid police and authorities themselves provided tips to women on how to avoid behaviours and situations that may lead to sexual violence, and in the unfortunate event, how to fight off an attacker, as shown in the extract below:

*The attitude of the authorities is that women who wear mini-dresses attract men to commit rape. They also blame women for walking alone at night thus inviting trouble for themselves.*

(“Women to march over daily rape”, Sowetan, 31 January 1990)

Thus, the question as to whose interests the apartheid printed news media serves, becomes important, because of the regulation of messages that could be circulated and the implications that these messages may have had on the public. Victim blaming by the media, in addition to mitigating perpetrators of sexual violence, seems to add an excessive amount of

responsibility onto the rape survivor and girls and women in general. This would most likely have negative implications for how the police and state would deal with cases of rape and negative perceptions of rape survivors from the public. Another other important factor and theme uncovered from the data for this study which could lead to negative perceptions of those both involved and uninvolved in cases of sexual violence, is race and racism in reporting on sexual violence.

### **Race and racism in reporting sexual violence**

The news reports analysed for the current study, published circa 1989, elicited detailed information on sexual violence, sometimes revealing the identity and assumed racial group of survivors and perpetrators of sexual violence. These reports seemed to draw heavily on incidents of sexual violence involving black survivors and perpetrators – particularly in black townships – and incidents involving white survivors and black perpetrators. This theme emerged in ten articles in this study’s data, and illustrates how race was employed in news reports to construct rape as a problem within a specific race. In a 1992 *Cape Times* article, racial constructions of black students were included in a narrative about incidents of rape at the University of Cape Town:

*The Cape Town Rape Crisis centre reported counselling a “high number” of students from UCT residences – almost all of whom were white – once more refuting the notion that sexual violence on campus was a black students’ problem the report said. Investigators were disturbed to find that black students “were quick to justify abuse of women as their customary right”. The black students denounced disciplinary actions against sex offenders as “racist”.*

(“Sex attack: SRC man to resign”, *The Cape Times*, 27 January 1992)

This *Cape Times* report questions the legitimacy of constructions of rape as a problem of black groups. Although such questioning might be considered key to altering and raising public consciousness on problematic racialized constructions of rape, it still serves to racialize rape. This questioning also distracts from the issue of rape as well as the gendered dynamics of rape, which includes how rape may be an expression of men’s power and control over women, especially in the context of apartheid (Armstrong, 1994; Meyers, 2004). In a 1985 *Sunday Star* article that spoke to race and sexual violence in townships, the journalist emphasises that the Apartheid system is ‘NOT to blame’ when it comes to sexual violence

within black townships and among black people:

*Very often we hear all kinds of true stories about apartheid. We know – or do we? – that apartheid is to blame for the lawlessness of the townships, and that it is at the root of illiteracy among black people. Some days ago it was revealed that 1157 women were raped in the townships last year and someone promptly blamed apartheid.*

(“When the system is NOT to blame”, The Sunday Star, 17 March 1985)

From the sampled cases for this study, from 1989 onwards, sexual violence against women was constructed as a “black problem” in the print news media, with black males from townships being the main perpetrators of sexual violence. There appeared to be little to no mention of rape cases perpetrated by men affiliated with other racial groups, such as Coloured, Indian or Asian or white. This othering and construction of black men and women as deviant and criminal could also be interpreted within colonial discourse. Thus, the social construction of black males as sexually violent is one that precedes apartheid and stretches far back into the colonial era, when black men as well as women were viewed as having a ‘pathological sexuality’ (George & Martinez, 2002; Lewis, 2011; Tamale, 2011).

“The image of the lewd black man, the myth of the pure white female body, the portrayal of the black/African body as grotesque, uncivilised and crudely sexual...” (Lewis, 2011, p. 199). This quote highlights the way in which stereotypical constructions of black bodies and sexualities might feed into discourses of sexual violence. In colonial times, black African male bodies were perceived as being hypersexualised, promiscuous and sexually deviant, and posing a threat in the form of raping white women, who were largely perceived as being more chaste than black women (Lewis, 2011; Tamale, 2011). In addition, black African women were also constructed and stereotyped as sexually excessive, deviant and promiscuous (George & Martinez, 2002; Lewis, 2011; Tamale, 2011). These negative stereotypes of rape and sexual deviance as a problem related to black bodies still seem to pervade in today’s media and society (Bonnes, 2006; Meyers, 2004, Shelby & Hatch, 2014) and in the printed news media in South Africa from around 1989, as was observed from the data in this study. In examining the impact of such constructions on public thought, it is important to understand the role of the print media during apartheid, in relation to issues of race.

Among the many roles that the journalists and print media played during Apartheid,

one of them was to legitimise and validate the position of the state and its views, through circulating particular views (Bird & Garda, 1997). The apartheid state-fuelled print news media was left little to no choice but to assert the separation of people based on race, culture and educational quality, which persuaded and presented the public with unequal and unfair representations of black people as compared to other races (Bird & Garda, 1997). The extracts provided for this theme illustrate such unfair constructions and representations of black South Africans, especially those who lived in townships. The Group Areas Act of 1950 was implemented as a method of segregation of people different races during apartheid (Jensen, 1999; Maharaj, 1994). Most black people were confined to localities that the state had selected – these localities became more commonly known as townships (Maharaj, 1994). From the data collected, black townships were constructed as one of the primary or only places where sexual violence against women occurred, with the only perpetrators mentioned being black males. The data showed how the apartheid police go so far as to warn tourists to steer away from black townships, where high rates of (sexual) violence were said to be occurring:

*SOUTH Africa's strained tourism industry has been given a further blow with British tourists visiting South Africa being warned not to travel to remote areas. This follows the rape on Tuesday of a British woman at Umgababa, south of Durban, less than a week after the murder of two British women at Sodwana Bay. The British consul in Durban, Jamie Waterrton, also warned visitors to not enter black townships after dark.*

(“Safety warning to tourists”, The Natal Witness, 10 December 1992)

From this article and others like it, by warning tourists to stay away from black townships, the police and journalists insinuate that black townships, and in turn black people, are unsafe to be around, because they are (sexually) violent beings. Such journalist reporting and police statements on sexual violence are problematic because they generalise sexual violence as rampant in all black townships, constructing sexual violence in South Africa as a black problem. One drastic implication that this construction may have is that it distracts from the actual problem of sexual violence, no matter who the perpetrator and survivors are. It may also leave room for black male perpetrators of sexual violence to use their race as an excuse for having committed a crime of sexual violence. Furthermore, the public of the time, fuelled by the state and the media constructions, may have been led to believe that it is in the nature of

black males to be ‘sexually deviant’ and to commit acts of sexual violence, thereby reinforcing racist discourses of sexual violence.

It is important to understand how the state and the print media came to represent black men and women as dangerous and sexually deviant. The data analysed for this study, and particularly the current theme of race and racism in reporting, reveals that changes in news media reporting on incidents of sexual violence already began emerging in the late 1980s - which is about the time when the apartheid state began to be actively and seriously opposed and challenged (Bird & Garda, 1997). Although South Africa became a democratic country by April 1994, the repressive regulation of the media only came to an end in 1996 (Wasserman & de Beer, 2005). The changes in print news media reporting on sexual violence that seemed to occur in the late 1980s, may have been related to the political climate and shifts at the time. Following the National Union of Miners (NUM) wage strike in 1987 that lasted three weeks, the apartheid state began to face more resistance and opposition than it previously had from different sectors (Bird & Garda, 1997; Moodie, 2009). This included, among others, the economic and political international community, voices of apartheid within South Africa, the black workforce. Issues of human rights, including the freedom of the press, came to the fore (Bird & Garda, 1997).

Journalists in Africa have had to work in tightly controlled conditions for many decades, and often have to present themselves as puppets and “willing tools” of African governments, in order to retain their jobs (Eribo & Jong-Ebot, 1997). From the Media Monitoring Project, an organisation committed to promoting fair and ethical journalism, it was argued that the journalists during Apartheid were forced to be willing tools of the apartheid state (Bird & Garda, 1997). Media Monitoring Africa has identified that only after the NUM strike, did the print media begin to challenge the restrictions and regulations that had been placed on them, to gain their freedom from sanctions the apartheid state. This is around the same time that alternative press, which had previously been banned, began to raise its head (Bird & Garda, 1997). Thus, the full realisation of alternative, unregulated, and unhindered print media, combined with racial apartheid views, begins to become clear in the way that the journalists reported on the elements of race in relation to sexual violence against women, from the late 1980s. As noted in the introduction of this project, the portrayed media identity of perpetrators in South Africa continues to be that of a working class, black male (Bonnes, 2006; Moffet, 2006; Reddy & Potgieter, 2006). Another crucial change occurred during this time in how *victims* of sexual violence were represented in news reports, which will be explored in the final theme: women as *survivors*.

## **Women as survivors**

From the early 1990s, the data sample for this study shows a shift in the portrayal of women who had been subject to sexual violence. This shift was in the naming and labelling of women who had been sexually violated by men - rather than being referred to as 'victims' of sexual violence, they were referred to as 'survivors' of sexual violence. Prior to the early 1990s, women who had been raped were referred to as victims of sexual violence in almost all of the articles analysed:

*For years the police have acknowledged that victims of rape need special and sympathetic attention.*

(“Reporting rape”, The Star, 29 March 1985)

*RAPE victims in South Africa are often treated brusquely and unsympathetically by the SAP and District Surgeons.*

(“Rape victim”, The Friend, 9 April 1985)

The use of the term ‘survivor’ was predominantly prevalent in news reports representing organisations against rape, such as Rape Crisis and in the Law Commission, particularly for cases analysed before 1990. In reporting on reforms on sexual violence that were urged by feminist groups and the Law commission of South Africa, the term “survivor” is employed:

*More streamlined abortion procedures for rape survivors.*

However, in the last line of the same article, the journalist then refers to survivors of sexual violence as victims of sexual violence, when speaking on a suggestion for rape law reforms:

*The introduction of older, better trained and experienced people to deal with rape victims should be accompanied by the recruitment and training of more police in this field.*

(“Rape reforms welcome ‘but do not go far enough’”. The Argus, 29 May 1985)

Out of the 68 printed news media articles from the sampled for this study, nine articles named women who had been raped as survivors. The two extracts below illustrate the shift in

naming:

*Ignorance and fear of the authorities keep many rape survivors from reporting their experiences, leaving the way open for their attackers to strike again. In the last two-part series on rape, crime reporter Traci Mackie takes a look at rape in the townships and the role of the police.*

(“Policewomen hitting rapists”, Eastern Province Herald, 11 February 1992)

*Women are beginning to mobilise against rape and this week saw Durban's first public forum on violence against women. The forum followed the massive public interest created by **Sunday Tribune's** stories in rape survivor Anne Watts, who shattered the silence and shame surrounding rape by becoming the first survivor in the country to be publicly named and photographed.*

(“Unity against rape”, Sunday Tribune, 27 October 1991)

As pointed out in the previous theme, from around 1989, when the apartheid state of South Africa began to be seriously and dramatically challenged, the printed news media also seemed to experience changes in reporting. The change or shift that occurred in the printed news media terms used to describe women who have been sexually assaulted was a positive one, as can be found in discourses on the ‘survivor’ as opposed to the ‘victim’ of sexual violence. One of the findings from the Media Monitoring Project’s analysis of media coverage of the 16 Days of No violence against women and children campaign in 2005 surrounded the use of the terms ‘victim’ and survivor’. The Media Monitoring Project found that it is a tendency of the media to use the term ‘victim’ rather than ‘survivor’ of abuse (Fine, Kalu, Harries, Bird & May, 2006). A year prior to the 2005 analysis the media had been made aware of the aforementioned tendency, and had made slight improvements in referring to survivors as such. Fine and colleagues (2006) describe the tendency of the media to refer to survivors of abuse as victims of abuse as a longstanding weakness of the media when they report on abuse against women and children; a weakness that has long been a part of the discourse on sexual violence against women. The current study’s findings provide insight into when this shift in language from ‘victim’ to ‘survivor’ began in the printed news media, and Fine and colleagues (2006) findings show that in spite of these political transformations 15 years later, the media has only echoed these shifts minimally.

The weakness in framing and constructing women as victims, rather than survivors of sexual abuse lies in the implications that it has on the beliefs, perceptions, attitudes,



behaviours and experiences related to the incident of rape (Hocket & Saucier, 2015). On the one hand, the term 'victim' has been found to be disempowering, and to express weakness and vulnerability (Fine et al., 2006; Hocket & Saucier, 2015; Thompson, 2000). According to Jordan (2013), the word 'victim', in relation to crimes such as sexual violence, is often used when there is some implied complicity from a woman who has been raped, which has been found to add to negative connotations around the survivor, including victim blaming (Hunter, 2010). On the other hand, the term 'survivor' harnesses a positive sense of self, agency, empowerment, strength and recovery (Fine et al., 2006; Hocket & Saucier, 2015; Thompson, 2000) and often reflects a state of transcendence from the negative experience of being raped to having overcome the terrible ordeal (Jordan, 2013). The 'survival' aspect could speak to surviving the physical and psychological effects of the attack, surviving police interrogation and the criminal trial if applicable (Jordan, 2013). Therefore, the language used to construct women who have experienced sexual violence has the power to construct the narrative and aftermath of a rape as well as the potential to construct the survivor in two very different ways, which comes with different sets of implications in society.

### **Summary and Conclusion**

The findings from this study suggest that the printed news media published during 1984 to 1994 period of apartheid constructed sexual violence against women, and survivors and perpetrators of this violence, in various ways. The apartheid printed news media has been shown to have been a powerful institution, that was regulated by the apartheid state and an institution that constructed and transmitted some harmful discourses on sexual violence against women. Four themes emerged from the data, namely, *Sexual violence against women as 'alleged'*, *Safety precautions as women's responsibility*, *Race and racism in reporting sexual violence* and *Women as survivors*.

The first theme, *sexual violence against women as "alleged"*, spoke to the ways in which the printed news media constructed survivors of sexual violence as untrustworthy, through the use of language such as "alleged" and "apparently" when reporting on cases of sexual violence. In the second theme, *safety precautions as women's responsibility*, the media constructed women and girls as responsible for protecting themselves from being raped. The last two themes emerged from data during a time when the media underwent important transitions from being censored and policed, to being largely unregulated by the apartheid state. *Race and racism in reporting sexual violence* emerged as a theme through the ways in which the printed news media constructed sexual violence as a racialised problem, experienced by and as a result of black groups. This theme, as well as the first two themes

involved the circulation of harmful constructions of sexual violence, which could have negative implications on public thought and responses to cases of sexual violence. The final theme, *women as survivors*, was the only theme through which the media may have transmitted positive constructions of survivors of sexual violence. Women and girls who experienced sexual violence were named ‘survivors’ and not ‘victims’ of sexual violence, which the discourse presented within this theme has shown to have positive implications for survivors. Through these four themes, this study has shown that the printed news media during the period of 1984 to 1994, circulated harmful representations of sexual violence that reinforced oppressive colonial and patriarchal discourses serving to subjugate girls, women, and black people. In addition, these dominant discourses of sexual violence were prevalent when the media was sanctioned/regulated and unregulated by the apartheid state.

As with most research, this study had its limitations. These limitations can be divided into two broad categories. Firstly, a language limitation presented itself in that some of the printed news media articles were in Afrikaans. The first language of the researcher is English, with limited language proficiency in Afrikaans. Thus, in not being able to interpret the articles that were in Afrikaans, these articles were not included in the final sample for analysis, limiting the scope of the study to some degree. In future research of this kind, planning in the form of having a translator or software that can translate from English to Afrikaans, would be useful. This would ensure that potentially important data for the research is not missed. Secondly, the scope of the research was limited by time constraints. Time constraints affected the research that includes only a small sample size could be analysed. This limitation unfortunately limits the generalisation of the findings.

In future printed media research, data collected over a longer and/or different time period of apartheid, or research that examining another media source, such as magazines published widely during apartheid, could add scope to this kind of study. One question that could also provide valuable scope to this kind of research is understanding how media constructions of sexual violence directly influence the public’s perception of sexual violence. This would provide a clearer understanding of the power of the constructions of sexual violence against women by the printed news media in South Africa during and after apartheid.

Apartheid was an extremely significant period in the history of South Africa. Remnants of apartheid still remain in different domains of society, including the political, economic, social and everyday lived experiences of people. For the country to have been dubbed ‘rape capital of the world’ just one year after the end of apartheid is telling of what

must have been occurring with regards to sexual violence during apartheid. The way in which sexual violence is normalised through various political and societal institutions has been explored in current day South African literature with little known about constructions of sexual violence in the context of apartheid. This study was a starting point in addressing the gap that exists in exploring and understanding the constructions of sexual violence against women in the apartheid printed news media in South Africa and how these constructions might influence the public's perception of sexual violence. This research could be useful in contributing to larger projects on media coverage analyses, such as the Media Monitoring Project, to make the media aware of some of the harmful discourses that they transmit and the implications thereof, in the hopes that they would remedy their actions and improve the construction and portrayal of sexual violence against women.

## References

- Anderson, V. N., Simpson-Taylor, D., & Herrmann, D. J. (2004). Gender, age, and rape-supportive rules. *Sex Roles*, 50(1-2), 77-90.  
DOI:10.1023/B:SERS.0000011074.76248.3a
- Armstrong, S. (1994). Rape in South Africa: an invisible part of apartheid's legacy. *Gender & Development*, 2(2), 35-39. DOI: 10.1080/09682869308520009
- Bird, E., & Garda, Z. (1997). Reporting the truth commission analysis of media coverage of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa. *International Communication Gazette*, 59(4), 331-343. DOI: 10.1177/0016549297059004006
- Bonnes, S. (2013). Gender and racial stereotyping in rape coverage: An analysis of rape coverage in a South African newspaper, Grocott's Mail. *Feminist Media Studies*, 13(2), 208-227. DOI: 10.1080/14680777.2011.623170
- Bosch, T. (2011). African feminist media studies: A view from the global south. *Feminist Media Studies*, 11(01), 27-33. DOI: 10.1080/14680777.2011.537021
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. DOI: 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa
- Buiten, D. (2009). *Gender transformation and media representations: Journalistic discourses in three South African newspapers*. (Doctoral dissertation). University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa.
- Buiten, D., & Naidoo, K. (2013). Constructions and representations of masculinity in South Africa's tabloid press: Reflections on discursive tensions in the Sunday Sun. *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, 39(2), 194-209. DOI: 10.1080/02500167.2013.791333
- Combrinck, H. (2005). 'The dark side of the rainbow: Violence against women in South Africa after ten years of democracy', in C Murray and M O'Sullivan (Eds.), *Advancing Women's Rights: The First Decade of Democracy*, (p. 171). Cape Town: Juta.
- Eribo, F., & Jong-Ebot, W. (1997). *Press freedom and communication in Africa*. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Estrich, S. (1992). Palm beach stories. *Law and Philosophy*, 11(1), 5-33.  
DOI:10.1007/BF01000917
- Few, A. L., Stephens, D. P., & Rouse-Arnett, M. (2003). Sister-to-sister talk: Transcending boundaries and challenges in qualitative research with Black women. *Family Relations*, 52(3), 205-215. DOI: 10.1111/j.1741-3729.2003.00205.x

- Fine, J., Kalu, G., Harries, G., & Bird, W. (2006). *Getting the best out of the media: Analysis of media coverage of the 16 Days of No Violence Against Women and Children campaign 2005*. The Media Monitoring Project. Retrieved from [http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/images/uploads/16\\_days\\_Final\\_Report\\_v16.pdf](http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/images/uploads/16_days_Final_Report_v16.pdf)
- Franiuk, R., Seefeldt, J. L., & Vandello, J. A. (2008). Prevalence of rape myths in headlines and their effects on attitudes toward rape. *Sex Roles, 58*(11-12), 790-801. DOI: 10.1007/s11199-007-9372-4
- Galbin, A. (2014). An introduction to social constructionism. *Social Research Reports, 26*, 82-92.
- Gadzekpo, A. (2009). Missing links: African media studies and feminist concerns. *Journal of African media studies, 1*(1), 69-80. DOI: 10.1386/jams.1.1.69\_1
- George, W. H., & Martínez, L. J. (2002). Victim blaming in rape: Effects of victim and perpetrator race, type of rape, and participant racism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 26*(2), 110-119. DOI: 10.1111/1471-6402.00049
- Hassim, S. (2009). Democracy's shadows: Sexual rights and gender politics in the rape trial of Jacob Zuma. *African Studies, 68*(1), 57-77. DOI: 10.1080/00020180902827431
- Hockett, J. M., & Saucier, D. A. (2015). A systematic literature review of “rape victims” versus “rape survivors”: Implications for theory, research, and practice. *Aggression and violent behavior, 25*, 1-14. DOI: 10.1016/j.avb.2015.07.003
- Höjjer, B. (2011). Social representations theory. *Nordicom Review, 32*(2), 3–16.
- Hunter, S. V. (2010). Evolving narratives about childhood sexual abuse: Challenging the dominance of the victim and survivor paradigm. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy, 31*(02), 176-190. DOI: 10.1375/anft.31.2.176
- Isaacs, D. H. (2016). Social representations of intimate partner violence in the South African media. *South African Journal of Psychology*. Advance online publication. DOI: 10.1177/0081246316628815
- Jensen, S. (1999). Discourses of violence: Coping with violence on the Cape Flats. *Social Dynamics, 25*(2), 75-97. DOI: 10.1080/02533959908458676
- Jewkes, R., & Abrahams, N. (2002). The epidemiology of rape and sexual coercion in South Africa: An overview. *Social science & medicine, 55*(7), 1231-1244. DOI: 10.1016/S0277-9536(01)00242-8
- Jewkes, R., Penn-Kekana, L., Levin, J., Ratsaka, M., & Schrieber, M. (2001). Prevalence of emotional, physical and sexual abuse of women in three South African

- provinces. *South African medical journal*= *Suid-Afrikaanse tydskrif vir geneeskunde*, 91(5), 421-428. DOI: 10.1016/S0277-9536(01)00242-8
- Jordan, J. (2013). From victim to survivor-and from survivor to victim: Reconceptualising the survivor journey. *Sexual Abuse in Australia and New Zealand*, 5(2), 48.
- Lewis, D. (2011). Representing African sexualities. In S. Tamale (Ed.), *African sexualities: A reader*, (pp. 199-216). Oxford: Fahamu/Pambazuka.
- Macbeth, D. (2001). On “reflexivity” in qualitative research: Two readings, and a third. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 7(1), 35-68. DOI: 10.1177/107780040100700103
- Maharaj, B. (1994). The group areas act and community destruction in South Africa. In *Urban Forum*, 5(2), 1-25. DOI: 10.1007/BF03036683
- Marx, A. (1997). Apartheid’s end:South Africa's transition from racial domination. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.1997.9993971
- Merriam, S. B. (2002). Introduction to qualitative research. *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis*, 1, 1-17.
- Meyers, M. (2004). African American women and violence: Gender, race, and class in the news. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 21(2), 95-118. DOI: 10.1080/07393180410001688029
- Moffett, H. (2006). ‘These women, they force us to rape them’: Rape as narrative of social control in post-apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(1), 129-144. DOI: 10.1080/03057070500493845
- Moodie, T. D. (2009). Managing the 1987 Mine Workers' Strike. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35(1), 45-64. DOI: 10.1080/03057070802685544
- Odem, M. E., & Clay-Warner, J. (1998). *Confronting rape and sexual assault* (Vol. 3). Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Poltera, J. (2011). Violence and Silencing: A philosophical investigation of Apartheid. *Critical Horizons*, 12(2), 232-250. DOI:10.1558/crit.v12i2.232
- Posel, D. (2005). The scandal of manhood: ‘Baby rape’ and the politicization of sexual violence in post-apartheid South Africa. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 7(3), 239-252. DOI: 10.1080/13691050412331293467
- Reddy, V., & Potgieter, C. (2006). 'Real men stand up for the truth': discursive meanings in the Jacob Zuma rape trial. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 24(4), 511-521. DOI: 10.2989/16073610609486438
- Salo, E. (2005). Mans is ma soe: Ideologies of masculinity, gender and generational relations, and ganging practices in Manenberg, South Africa. Paper presented at ‘From Boys to

- Men: Masculinities and Risk'. University of the Western Cape, Cape Town.
- Shelby, R. M., & Hatch, A. R. (2014). Obscuring sexual crime: examining media representations of sexual violence in Megan's law. *Criminal justice studies*, 27(4), 402-418. DOI: 10.1080/1478601X.2014.928459
- Sexual Offences And Related Matters Amendment Act 32, South Africa. (2007). Retrieved from <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/2007-032.pdf>
- Singer, D., & Hunter, M. (1999). The experience of premature menopause: A thematic discourse analysis. *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology*, 17(1), 63-81. DOI: 10.1080/02646839908404585
- Snow, N. E. (1994). Self-blame and blame of rape victims. *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 8(4), 377-393. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40435895>
- Steenveld, L. (2004). Transforming the media: A cultural approach. *Critical Arts*, 18(1), 92-115. DOI: 10.1080/02560240485310061
- Tamale, S. (2011). *African sexualities: A reader*. Oxford: Fahamu/Pambazuka.
- Taylor, G. W., & Ussher, J. M. (2001). Making sense of S&M: A discourse analytic account. *Sexualities*, 4(3), 293-314. DOI: 10.1177/136346001004003002
- Thompson, M. (2000). Life after rape: A chance to speak? *Sexual and Relationship Therapy*, 15(4), 325-343. DOI: 10.1080/713697439
- van Niekerk, T. J. (2015). Respectability, morality and reputation: Social representations of intimate partner violence against women in Cape Town. (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Walker, CA. (2015). Social Constructionism and Qualitative research. *The Journal of Theory Construction & Testing*, 19(2), 37-38.
- Walker, L. (2005). Men behaving differently: South African men since 1994. *Culture, health & sexuality*, 7(3), 225-238. DOI: 10.1080/13691050410001713215
- Wasserman, H., & De Beer, A. (2005). Which public? Whose interest? The South African media and its role during the first ten years of democracy. *Critical arts*, 19(1-2), 36-51. DOI: 10.1080/02560040585310041
- Worthington, N. (2008). Encoding and decoding rape news: How progressive reporting inverts textual orientations. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 31(3), 344-367. DOI: 10.1080/136910504100017132

## Appendix

### Number of Articles per Publication

<b>Name of Publication</b>	<b>Number of articles</b>
The Star	9
The Citizen	7
The Natal Witness	6
The Cape Times	6
The Natal Mercury	4
The Argus	4
The Daily News	3
The Sunday Star	3
Sunday Tribune	3
The New Nation	4
The Friend	2
The Weekend Argus	2
Eastern Province Herald	2
Sowetan	2
Weekly Mail	2
Daily Dispatch	2
Weekly Mail & Guardian	2
Cape Herald	1
Protea News	1
City Press	1
Sunday Times	1
Mayibuye	1