DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF RAPE IN SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS (1948-1994): A CASE FOR "POLICING THE PENIS"

by

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This thesis is dedicated to William Francis Campbell (1917-1989) Kenneth Walter Campbell and Todd James Campbell. The best men I have ever known.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

South Africa currently has the highest rate of rape in the world. South African historiography has ignored this as an area worthy of research in spite of the fact that rape has been at crisis levels throughout the last century. This thesis attempts to remedy this omission by examining intra-racial rape in South African townships during the apartheid era. Through a discourse analysis concentrating on the areas of official discourse, newspapers and autobiographies/biographies, the thesis argues that rape within african and coloured communities could not gain public attention until the apartheid system of rule was demolished. Furthermore, by subsuming rape to larger economic and political concerns the state, the media, and township communities ensured that discussions of intra-racial township rape remained veiled in silence.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
MP	Member of Parliament
NP	National Party
R	Rand
SABRA	South African Bureau of Racial Affairs
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAIRR	South African Institute of Racial Relations
SAP	South African Police
SASM	South African Students Movement
SASO	South Africa Students Organisation
SWA	South West Africa

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

On February 26, 1997 the South African Mail and Guardian newspaper reported that South Africa had the highest incidence of reported rape in the world:

> In 1995, a total of 36 888 rapes were reported to the South African police, of these 10 037 involved children under the age of 18.[1]

Estimates claim that only one in twenty[2] rape victims actually report their sexual assault in South Africa, making the actual incidence of rape 20 times higher. While rape has achieved both domestic and international notice in the last decade, it has been a problem throughout South Africa's history. No attempts have been made to investigate the preponderance of rape in african and coloured communities in spite of this historical and contemporary epidemic.

The failure to examine gender violence in african and coloured[3] townships is a tragedy of South African historiography. Susan Brownmiller, a noted feminist and researcher of rape since the 1970s, has argued for the importance of historical examinations of sexual violence against women. Not only does Brownmiller perceive rape as an issue worthy of examination; it is also a useful tool with which to access larger themes of power, gender, property rights, violence, war, and culture. This thesis is the first of hopefully many historical analyses of intra-racial rape[4] in South African townships. It believes that research into rape in South Africa allows insight into broader historical themes.

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[1] Alan Morris, "South Africa Tops the Rape Charts," Electronic Mail and Guardian, February 26, 1997.
[2] CietAfrica, Finding the Facts Bout Johannesburg Rape May 28, 1998.
[3] See section on terminology for further explanation.

Areas that may be accessed include african and coloured sexuality, perceptions of crime, the power of men over women and the state over women, gender stereotypes, township life, and the apartheid state's attention to and understanding of social issues in subordinated populations. Although this is not the goal of the thesis, the complexity of rape as a historical issue and its relationship to these broader themes is an important consideration.

"Discourse Analysis of Rape in South African Townships (1948-1994): A Case for 'Policing the Penis'" investigates why intra-racial township rape was not an issue during the apartheid era. This thesis will focus on separate areas of discourse in order to determine how the government, white population, victims of this crime, and their communities have understood rape and allowed it to be relegated to the background in favour of other societal concerns.

A number of matters must be examined to determine how South African society could dismiss intra-racial rape during the apartheid era. To find the answer, the research must begin with the apartheid state itself. Specifically, how did the South African government construct its understanding of township rape during apartheid? Did it realise the problem's prevalence within these communities, or was it unaware of sexual assault's frequency? Provided that the South African government was, in fact, conscious of the numbers of women raped in townships, why did it not address the issue? What were the possible

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[4] The act of rape by members of the same racial group.

justifications for such inaction even when the state became informed of the situation? Is there any possible explanation for these silences?

Liberal, white South African newspapers provide the second component in the rape discourse picture. Investigations into this area will examine the liberal white populations' attitudes regarding intra-racial rape and how they supported a regime that ignored its prevalence. Interest in these publications lay in their portrayal of african and coloured women's rape by men of the same race. What kind of coverage did they give to the issue? Was the coverage in-depth or merely superficial? Was different coverage provided to inter-racial rape? How was this a reflection of liberal white values and their attitudes towards africans and coloureds? Towards violence and the townships? Towards women?

How female victims perceived their rape is an additionally vital area. How did they discuss and understand its existence? Considering its prevalence, why did township women not force it as a political issue? Who were they afraid of and how did they protect themselves? Furthermore, why didn't their male partners and family members ensure women's safety? Why didn't women demand their own safety? If they did, when?

The thesis will demonstrate through the analysis of the three discourses that apartheid's creation in South Africa suppressed any qualitative discussions on sexual violence in the townships. As apartheid's end approached, leeway was made for the issue to enter into the public arena. Thus, it was only in the

post-apartheid era that the crisis of high rape rates, both inter- and intra-racial, could finally be in the spotlight.

RAPE THEORY

A number of debates about the causes and consequences of rape have proved insightful in the research. Since the 1970s, three theories have dominated rape discourse. They are known as the Feminist, Social Learning and Evolutionary/Biological theories of rape. In spite of their popularity, these theories have proven inadequate in explaining the South African situation due to their western focus. However, the ideas of the Feminist theory and those of the Social Learning theory have influenced my perspective of the roots of rape.

Supported by Brownmiller, Clark and Lewis and Dworkin,[5] the Feminist theory proposes that rape is the "result of long and deep rooted social traditions in which males have dominated nearly all important political and economic activities."[6] The theory argues that women have been prohibited from obtaining social and economic power within society. Consequently, they have been perceived as unequal participants and possessions of men.[7] Women's rape is

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[5] Susan Brownmiller, Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape (New York, 1975); L. Clark and D.Lewis, Rape:The Price of Coercive Sexuality (Toronto, 1977); A. Dworkin, Pornography: Men Possessing Women (London, 1981).

[6] Lee Ellis, Theories of Rape: Inquiries into the Causes of Sexual Aggression (New York, 1989), p.10.

[7] Dianne Herman and Laura Shapiro both use this approach in their chapters found in Women: A Feminist Perspective, ed. by Jo Freeman (Palo Alto, 1979).

the result of men executing an act of dominance and reinforcing the subordination of women through physical violation.[8]

The Social Learning theory advanced by Donnerstein and Malamuth,[9] focuses on the importance of societal factors in explaining rape. This approach argues that rape is part of a learned behaviour acquired due to culture's influence and the predominance of violence within a society. Hence, images of sex and violence, or "rape myths", and desensitisation to these influences all play a role in the development of a "rape culture."[10]

The third rape theory was the result of work by such natural scientists as Deutsch, Symons and most recently Thornhill and Palmer.[11] It asserts that aggressive sexual behaviour by men is a response to the natural selection process and the need to reproduce. These theorists consider that "aggressive copulatory tactics [are] an extreme response to natural selection pressure for males generally to be more assertive than females in their attempts to copulate."[12]

The Feminist and Social Learning theories both provide useful insights into South Africa's rape crisis. Feminist theory's identification of a gender hierarchy is certainly applicable to the male dominated townships. Women have not experienced great social or political power within these communities due to

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[8] Ibid, p.10.
[9] E. Donnerstein, "Aggressive Erotica and Violence Against Women," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 39, No. 2 (1980), pp.269-277.
[10] Ellis, pp. 12-14.
[11] H. Deutsch, The Psychology of Women, (London, 1944).

their marginalisation as citizens and their identification as "property" of male family members or partners. The Social Learning school of thought also has relevance to a discussion of South Africa. The link between violence and society has already been soundly made in the study of South Africa. Townships violent nature compounded by their gender inequities indicates a tendency towards "rape culture."

Although the Feminist and Social Learning theories have made interesting contributions to our understandings of rape, they are somewhat limited in a historical analysis. The Feminist theory postulates that all men rape all women due to the status of the latter in society. Further, it does not address the changes in rape statistics at different points in history, nor does it allow for rape as a purely sexual act. The Social Learning approach is similarly fraught with difficulties. Primarily, it addresses the "rape culture" of the western world and cannot deal with cultural variances, vital to this study, or differences in gender and power hierarchies. Nevertheless, when handled carefully both of these theories provide interesting questions in addressing sexual violence.

While the Biological/Evolutionary theory is certainly something to consider in this analysis of rape, it has little historical value. The theory founds its research on questionable examinations of animal species such as the scorpion fly and is inherently flawed due to its premise that all men are genetically pre-determined to rape. The Biological/Evolutionary theory cannot address such

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[12] Ellis, p.15.

variables as high rape rates in poor economic areas and gang rape, a behavioural rather than biological phenomenon.

I have chosen not to use any of the theories as a framework for the thesis due to their inability to address the particularities of the South African situation during the apartheid era. Although the Feminist and Social Learning theories have influenced the thesis's perspective of the roots of rape they remain inadequate in explaining the world beyond western borders.

ORGANISATION OF THESIS

This thesis focuses on the crisis of sexual assault in South African townships from 1948-1994. Specifically, it will examine the discourses of sexual violence[13] used during the apartheid era to determine why the rape crisis was ignored until recently despite the epidemic of violence against women. What emerges is the historical subordination of african and coloured gender violence to larger political debates. These grander issues relegated intra-racial rape to the background.

Beginning with a discussion of official discourse, the thesis will determine what recognition the South African government gave to sexual violence in the townships. The second chapter on media discourse narrows this focus. It will examine how liberal white newspapers in the Witwatersrand and Cape provinces

[13] For the purposes of the thesis rape has been defined as forced sexual acts on a woman by a man (or men) in which the women's permission is absent or coerced through the use of threats or punishment.

depicted rape in african and coloured communities to its readers. The fourth chapter will examine the group most impacted by the sexual violence crisis - women. Chapter Four will attempt to access women's voices through an investigation of autobiographies and biographies by african and coloured, men and women. Initiating the discussion with the large picture (discourse that was accessed by the entire South African population) and narrowing it to a restricted discourse utilised by smaller groups in society determines the discourse used within various levels of society. Thus, the thesis will be able to discover why intra-racial rape could not gain public attention in South Africa until apartheid was destroyed.

The structure of "*Policing the Penis*" was designed so that the entire work provides a picture of what South Africans said about intra-racial rape in the townships. Discourse is a complex, multi-layered blend of thoughts; beliefs, experiences and dialogue on any given issue. Theo van Leeuwen asserts that every culture, "or a given context within a culture," has its own discourse, manipulated and prescribed specifically according to its social context and "subject to historical context."[14] This thesis is in agreement with this component of van Leeuwen's argument and will assert that no single set of discourses were subscribed to by the entire South African population regarding township rape. Some groups have been excluded from the scope of the thesis, including the

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[14] Theo van Leeuwen, "The Representation of Social Actors," in Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis ed. by Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard (New York, 1996), p.34.

indians. However, this was necessary in order to provide a detailed examination of the discourses identified. Additionally, documentation on these communities could not be accessed.

METHODOLOGY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Linzi Manicom argues in "Ruling Relations: Rethinking State and Gender in South African History" (1992) that the "nascent study of women's and gender history in South Africa" was a result of "the ghettoisation and marginalisation of feminist and gender-sensitive history."[15] The paucity of rape research in South Africa is the result of historians' initial avoidance of topics perceived as "women's history." The little literature produced focuses on inter-racial rape cases - predominantly white men raping black women or the existence of the "black peril"[16] prior to 1948.

Until this thesis, South African gender history did not address sexual violence between individuals of the same racial group. Though reference was made in a variety of literatures[17] to the high rape rate in the townships, no one has worked directly on this problem. Consequently, I have had to be creative in

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[15] Linzi Manicom, "Ruling Relations: Rethinking Gender in Southern African Studies," Journal of African History, Vol. 33 (1992), pp.441-465.

[16] Black Peril is the term assigned to the fear of black men raping white women. Examples include: Norman Etherington, "Natal's Black Rape Scare of the 1870s," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 15, No.1 (October, 1998); Jenny Sharpe, "The Unspeakable Limits of Rape: Colonial Violence and Counter Insurgency," Genders No. 10 (Spring 1991); Pamela Scully, Liberating the Family? Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa 1823-1883 (Portsmouth, 1997).

developing a resource base on intra-racial rape in South African townships during the apartheid era. Aside from those primary sources drawn from specifically for the purposes of analysis in each of the three chapters (*e.g.* official discourse, white liberal newspapers and autobiographies/biographies), I also utilised secondary literature. Extracted from research in areas such as gender roles and relations,[18] South African gangs,[19] apartheid,[20] violence,[21] and the emerging literature on masculinities,[22] these materials provide a context to place issues that emerged from the analysis.

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[17] Bodies of literature in South African historiography that have addressed intra-racial rape include: literature on masculinities, gangs, non-fiction and general works on gender history.
[18] Jacklyn Cock, Women and War in South Africa, (Cape Town, 1991); Ruth Meena, "Gender Research/Studies in South Africa: An Overview," in Gender in SouthernAfrica: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues ed. by Ruth Meena (Harare, 1992); Elaine Unterhalter. "Class, Race and Gender," in South Africa in Question ed. by John Lonsdale (Cambridge, 1988); Cherryl Walker ed, Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945, (Cape Town, 1990); Cherryl Walker. Women and Resistance in South Africa, (Claremont, 1991);
[19] Clive Glaser, "We Must Infiltrate the Tsotsis': School Politics and Youth Gangs in Soweto, 1968-1976," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 24, No. 2 (June 1998),pp.719-736; Clive Glaser, "Swines, Hazels and the Dirty Dozen: Masculinity, Territoriality and the Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1960-1976," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 24, No.4 (December,1998), pp.719-736; Gary Kynoch, "From the Ninevites to the Hard Livings Gag: Township Gangsters and Urban Violence in 20th Century South Africa," African Studies Vol. 58, No. 1 (1999).
[20] Gavin Cawthia, Brutal Force: The Apartheid War Machine. (London, 1986); Flemming Rogilds. In the Land of the Elephant Bird, (Hants, England, 1994); Tom Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945, (New York, 1983).
[21] P.L. Bonner, "Family, Crime and Political Consciousness on the East Rand," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 14, No.2 (April, 1988); Jacklyn Cock. Women and War in South Africa (London, 1991); van Vuuren, Women Against Apartheid: The Fight for Freedom in South Africa (Palo Alto, 1979); Wilma Hoffman and Brian McKendrick. People and Violence in South Africa (Cape Town, 1990); van NieKerk, Barend. "The Police in Apartheid Society," in Law, Justice and Society ed. by Peter Randall et al. (Johannesburg, 1972).
[22] Keith Breckenridge, "The Allure of Violence: Men, Race and Masculinity on the South African Goldmines, 1900-1950," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 24, No. 4 (December, 1998); Catherine Burns, "A Man is a Clumsy Thing Who Does Not Know How to Handle a Sick Person': Aspects of the History of Masculinity and Race in the Shaping of Male Nursing in South Africa, 1900-1950," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 24, No.4 (December 1998); Catherine Campbell, "Learning to Kill? Masculinity, the Family and Violence in Natal," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 18, No. 3 (September, 1992); Katie Mooney, "Ducktails, Flick-knives and Pugnacity,': Subcultural and Hegemonic Masculinities in South Africa, 1948-1960," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 24, No. 4 (December,1998); Robert Morrell, "Of Boys

The disparate primary sources for each of the chapters required methodological approaches specific to their form. Sara Mills recognises the need for methodological specificity in a discourse analysis: "Statements do not exist in isolation since there is a set of structures which makes those statements make sense and gives them their force."[23] Recognition of these structures is essential to interpreting the meaning of discourse as one technique of analysis would be inappropriate for three conflicting areas of discourse. Consequently, a discussion of the theory and method utilised within chapters will each be considered in turn.

Official Discourse

For the purposes of this study, official discourse is defined as the discourse utilised by the apartheid state to discuss criminal rape[24] within South African townships. This definition includes statements by government members as well as government institutions such as the South African Police, Law Commissions, Committees and Annual Surveys. Official discourse incorporates discussions by government sanctioned bodies that reflected the values and ideals of the apartheid regime. Members of the judiciary, law journals, and academic publications are thus covered under this interpretation of the term.

Analysing official discourse is a complex task. Although one would like to argue that there is only one set of official discourses in South Africa, the

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and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern Africa Studies," Journalof Southern African Studies Vol. 24, No.4 (December, 1998).

[23] Sara Mills, Discourse (London, 1997), p.49.

evidence proves otherwise. Not only is it clear that changes occurred within discourse as a result of historical events, but there are various legitimate representations of official discourse. Aletta J. Norval argues in Deconstructing Apartheid that multitudinous discourses existed as "apartheid was not a fully fledged blueprint for the ordering of society and, even in the attempt to become so, it constantly had to take cognisance of the forces opposing it."[25] The struggle between these discourses shaped concrete action in South Africa. Thus, the dialogue that becomes action can be defined as "official discourse" according to Adam Ashforth. He states that it can be seen as "...the articulation of concrete plans of action designed to achieve the "proper" (that is deemed to be legitimate though subjectable to debate) means and objectives of power."[26] Recognition of the inevitable conflict due to differing "doctrines, assertions or ideologies"[27] is the strength of Ashforth's position. However, it is beyond the scope of this Master's thesis due to an inability to access the necessary resources, to document the battles between discourses in a work determined to present an analysis of rape in South African townships. Thus, it is the "ways in which the state 'power' speaks"[28] that is represented in Chapter Two. This consists of both "written and spoken"[29] action and the relationship between the two.

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[24] The criminal act of rape under South African law for which an individual would be punished.
[25] Aletta J. Norval, Deconstructing Apartheid (London, 1996), p.8.
[26] Adam Ashforth, The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth Century South Africa (Oxford 1990), p.8.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Mills, p.5.

Official discourse is distinguished within the chapter as more than just language. The use of language combined with action determines what is incorporated into this category. With this type of dialogue, institutions and government bodies play an important role in the "development and maintenance of discourses."[30] Ashforth describes this as the representation of "intellectual processes which are formally structured."[31] Thus, the government and its sanctioned representatives, be they organisations or individuals, appropriate the dominant discourse and translate it into observable, concrete action such as the creation of laws.

Government representatives adopted in apartheid South Africa discourse "which [was] determined by that social context and which contribute[d] to the way that social context continue[d] its existence."[32] Power in this era was a defining element in society. Apartheid South Africa's ideology, according to Adam Ashforth, made concrete racial advantage – white power over africans, coloureds, and indians.[33] Aletta J. Norval disagrees somewhat with this position. She asserts that hegemonic discourses rested on a combination of processes through which a dominant discourse was forged.[34] The resulting "official discourse" had to thereafter prove its merit when confronted with conflict. Where it failed was where discursive shifts become evident.

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[30] Ibid, p.11.
[31] Ibid, p.11.
[32] Mills, p.19.
[33] Ashforth, p. 473.
[34] Norval, p.4.

A number of key concepts need to be remembered in an official discourse analysis of intra-racial rape in South African townships. The first is the sheer size of the South African government. As it is impossible to include all government bodies, approved agents', and individual representatives' discourses some discretion had to be used. Thus, only those most relevant to this discussion were included. Secondly, discourse analysis here is "necessarily an analysis of systems of privilege and of the way language is used to obscure racism at the same time as it functions to reproduce it."[35] This is a reminder that the analysis must be careful to examine each piece of evidence for the biases of the government body, or individual, that produces it. Similarly, it is critical to determine how this evidence indicates state action as well as representation. Finally, when discursive shifts are found, the analysis must account for the specific conditions from which they emerged.

News Media Discourse

Teun A. van Dijk argues that, similar to official discourse, the "ideologies and opinions of newspapers are not personal, but social."[36] His idea that newspaper articles and editorials are reflections of the dominant ideology (should it be a mainstream publication) or of a resistance ideology (in a publication by

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[35] Erica Burman, Amanda Kottler, Ann Levitt and Ian Parker, "On Discourse, Power, Culture and Change," Culture, Power and Difference: Discourse Analysis in South Africa ed. by Erica Burman, Amanda Kottler, Ann Levitt and Ian Parker (London, 1997), p.203.

[36] Teun A. van Dijk, "Opinions and Ideologies in the Press," Approaches to Media Discourse ed. by Allan Bell and Peter Garett (Oxford, 1998), p.22.

subordinate groups like Drum magazine), shapes the approach of the third chapter. Not only has discourse been used by news media as a way to transmit accepted social norms of the dominant population, it also has provided a medium to challenge these values. By using articles, editorials, the subtle use of photographs, positioning of subject matter on the page, and headlines, newspapers can transmit powerful messages to society. Van Dijk argues that despite personal and contextual variations "opinions about events may be expected to express underlying ideological frameworks..."[37]

The reader is not, however, a passive receiver of information. A newspaper appropriates discourse from beliefs of the majority of its readers. The discourse presented within the text *influences* the opinions of its readers, and yet the readership restrains the writer from moving beyond "acceptable" borders. As van Dijk points out, a writer may chose words that "generally or contextually express values or norms and that are therefore used to express a value judgement."[38] In reading an article an individual confronts various views and must formulate his or her opinion. But a writer must be careful not to completely alienate his or her public in order to continue having his or her work published.[39]

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[37] Ibid, p. 41.
[38] Ibid, p.31.
[39] Although valuable, this simplistic process described by van Dijk is problematic. It assumes that newspaper writers reflect the ideology of powerful governing bodies and that the reader will concur. This is a static concept that does not include the possibility that both writer and reader would challenge status quo and perceive dissenting views. As well, it presumes that a journalist would not be compelled to publish pieces that provoke his or her readership. Consequently, it is the argument's essence that will shape this chapter. The relationships described by van Dijk remain useful in analysing South African newspaper articles on inter-racial rape. As the source of this Chapter's analysis are white South African newspapers, support of the hierarchical apartheid

Autobiographies and Biographies

Access to written documents that portray the historical realities of township life, as well as detail personal experiences with sexual violence, is difficult. Known for unemployment, inadequate educational systems, and cultures of violence, South African townships have not produced many personal histories from the apartheid era. In recognition of this difficulty autobiographies and biographies have been utilised in order to gain entrance into the world of the townships and their perceptions of women's experience of rape. The past two decades have seen a rise in interest in the life stories of South African men and women, producing a new wealth of resources on the subject. This literature allows for a detailed examination of women's experiences with rape through the voices found in male and female autobiographies.

Women's autobiographies in particular allow female subjects to explore intimate areas of their lives, more so than with oral interviews. Interviewers may hesitate to force or manipulate individuals into discussing sensitive topics thus preventing the subject from having the "space and permission to explore some of the deeper, more conflicted parts of their stories."[40] With the autobiography format it is up to the author to discuss painful aspects of her past with an unknown, unseen audience. In a face-to-face interview concerns of trust and

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state is bound to appear. Likewise, since they are directed towards whites who did not strictly subscribe to racist and sexist ideology, dissenting opinions are also likely to make an appearance. Van Dijk's analysis of media discourse proves invaluable in understanding how both dominant and subordinate ideologies can co-exist in these sources.

[40] Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses,"

disclosure may exist between interviewer and subject. It can be assumed that the information provided is more honest and intimate in nature than if extracted through an oral interview. This proves invaluable when examining such sensitive areas as sexuality and rape.

In spite of the numerous South African women's autobiographies published of late, it remains an inadequate resource base from which to undertake an analysis. In order to attain as many women's voices as possible, the autobiographies of South African men have also been embraced as sources through which to access the voice of South African women. Many of the autobiographies produced from african and coloured men have been more personal then those produced by women. Rather than using the autobiography as a tool by which to explore the history of political resistance in South Africa,[41] men have used it as an instrument to explore their personal history within the larger, more complex South African past. As a result, discussions of issues such as sexuality, violence, and rape are more directly confronted within the texts.[42]

Alternatively, the choice of subject in women's autobiographies is often based on a perceived public interest. As a result there are numerous sources

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in Women's Words ed. by Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York, 1991), p.12.

[41] Nelson Mandela's autobiography Long Walk To Freedom (Boston, 1994) is one such exception.

[42] The paucity of discourse on these subjects can be accounted for by the silence surrounding sexuality within female spaces. As Mamphela Ramphela notes in her autobiography Across Boundaries: The Journey of a South African Woman Leader (New York, 1996): "It is interesting how little the discourse of sexuality between parents and their children has changed over the years particularly amongst working class folk in South Africa. In my work in the Western Cape townships I still come across the same silences and the unwillingness of parents to be open to their children about sexuality and their growing bodies." (p. 34.)

written by political activists and public figures. There is a noticeable absence of autobiographies written by the "average woman."[43] Penelope Hetherington notes that "...even the autobiographical work of black women tends to explore the public rather than the private domain."[44] Consequently, South African women's autobiographies tend to be more a history of their political than personal lives.

When confronted with the life stories of lesser-known women, it is usually in a biography format with an academic used to filter the subject's voice. This produces concerns surrounding the information provided. Zoe Wicomb points out the questionable validity of such sources:

> Our culture boasts of a number of such ambiguous biographies/autobiographies of illiterate servants written by white women whose voices cannot be effaced. How can we attempt to read these opaque works without considering the question of how meaning is produced?[45]

It must be asked how much personal discretion the author has used in deciding the information that will be presented and in what format. Also, what were the author's biases in regards to such sensitive areas as sexuality and violence? What personal dynamic was developed between the subject and the author and how did this influence the amount of information that the subject disclosed?

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[43] The average woman living in the townships was illiterate and simply unable to access these literary forms of expression.

[44] Penelope Hetherington, "Women in South Africa: The Historiography in English," International Journal of African Historical Studies Vol. 26 No. 2 (1993), p.266.

[45] Zoe Wicomb, "To Hear the Variety of Discourse," in South African Feminisms: Writing, Theory and Criticisms, ed. by M.J. Daymond (New York, 1996), p.5.

Finally, what kind of influence did the race, class, and gender of both interviewer and subject play?

The need for these queries cannot be avoided and must be considered when using biographies as a source of analysis. Acknowledgement of the issues is the first step towards the utilisation of such sources. The next is to examine and question the methodology of the author. In most instances the author is an academic – often a sociologist, historian, or anthropologist -- who provides a methodological description to the reader. Finally, it must be remembered that the purpose of these works is to record women's experience of apartheid and to "engage seriously and openly with the experiences and writings of black women."[46] Thus, to ignore these words would be to silence women's voices once again.

As stated, men's autobiographies have also been included within *"I Am Afraid of the Jackrollers: Women's Voices,"* due to their ability to provide a window into township women's lives in addition to their importance as members of township communities. However, like academics, they are imperfect filters and thus must be questioned on a number of levels. As men's autobiographies and biographies have been used in order to access women's experience, the motivation of these men to include such discussions in a story designed mainly to reflect the events of their own lives must be considered. Gender and power

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[46] David Schalkwyk, "The Authority of Experience or the Tyranny of Discourse: An Inescapable Impasse?" in South African Feminisms: Writing Theory and Criticism ed. by M.J. Daymond (New York, 1996),p.57.

relations that have influenced their perceptions of women and of sexual violence are also a concern. Since autobiographies are analysed as opposed to purely academic pieces, such biases will become evident in the written work. Furthermore, identification of these attitudes will assist in understanding the perpetrators of this crime and their social relationships with their victims.

In spite of these concerns the use of autobiographies and biographies remain the best route by which to access women's voices. Application of these resources provides invaluable insight into the rape discourse in the township communities. The community's inaction in regards to the crises of sexual violence throughout the apartheid era becomes evident through the utilisation of african and coloured township men and women's life stories.

TERMINOLOGY

Terms used within the thesis tend to be loaded with meanings that are potentially confusing for the reader. This section will attempt to alleviate any difficulties that might arise.

"Intra-racial rape," "township rape," "sexual violence," "sexual assault" and "gender violence" are all terms that have been used to describe the rape of african and coloured women. Specifically, they concern the forced sexual violation of women by men of the same race. The terms are used interchangeably in recognition that rape does not always include penetration of the vagina by the penis, as was described in South African law. Rather, the

multiple terminology honours the fact that women can be raped by anal penetration, foreign object penetration, and/or other forced sexual acts. The thesis accordingly does not discriminate against women who were not raped in a "traditional"[47] sense.

The thesis also focuses on rape *between* residents in township communities. Townships were those areas predominantly occupied by africans, coloureds and indians in South Africa. With the advent of the *Group Areas Act* in 1950, satellite townships[48] grew in size and population. Urban growth in the townships coincided with rising poverty. Colin Murray characterised these areas as "rural slums which are 'urban' in respect of their population densities but 'rural' in respect of the absence of proper urban infrastructure or services."[49] These areas were chosen for their propensity for high rape rates. Lloyd Vogelman estimates that between 95-98% of rapes in South Africa are intra-racial, the dominant number occurring in african and coloured communities.[50] This statistic is consistent with those provided throughout the apartheid era.

Racial terms, specifically "african," "bantu," "coloured," and "white" are used throughout the thesis to delineate between individuals and communities designated as such by the South African apartheid government. However, these classifications are not capitalised (except when quoting directly from a source) as

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[47] "Traditional" rape being the forced sexual act on a woman by a man, vaginally, using his penis.
[48] Satellite townships were those communities created outside of major urban centres and Bantustans for africans, coloureds and indians to reside in. The motive
[49] Colin Murray, "Displaced Urbanisation" in South Africa in Question ed. by John Lonsdale, (Cambridge, 1988), p.116.

to do so would acknowledge the legitimacy of defining people, and their worth in society, according to racial categories. Additionally, it would recognise the legitimacy of the racially based apartheid regime. For similar reasons I have chosen not to capitalise "apartheid."

CONCLUSION

British and Canadian[51] historians have recognised the need to examine rape in historical studies. As of yet, Africanists specialising in South African history have not realised that examination of rape is not just women's history. Through a study of rape one accesses a much more complex history of gender relations, crime, government, power structures, and class and community relations. Sylvana Tomaselli points out the need to emerge out of a timeless indifference to rape and the discarding of the past as irrelevant.[52] This thesis is the first attempt to remedy the historical negligence of rape as an issue worthy of concern. The study of discourse on intra-racial rape is essential in creating a basis for further study. Understanding how township rape was perceived serves as the foundation for more detailed historical studies that can determine how rape became an epidemic in South Africa. These kinds of historical

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[50] Lloyd Vogelman, The Sexual Face of Violence: Rapists on Rape (Johannesburg, 1990), p.116.
[51] Shani D'Cruze, Crimes of Outrage: Sex, Violence and Victorian Working Women (London, 1998); Karen Dubinsky, Improper Advances: From the Parlor to the Kitchen (Chicago, 1993).
[52] Sylvana Tomaselli, "Introduction," Rape: An Historical and Cultural Enquiry (Oxford, 1986), p. 5.

examinations are needed to effect solutions to rape in South African society today.

CHAPTER TWO – MORAL DISINTEGRATION AND SEXUAL MISADVENTURE: ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL DISCOURSE IN SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two focuses on the subtle transformations that occurred in official discourse regarding african and coloured people's status in South Africa. The essence of official discourse relied on the belief in white superiority with political and economic systems founded on this very conviction. The boundaries of South African official discourse were tested through a number of challenges between 1948 and 1994. However, the spirit of its foundation remained unquestioned. By examining evidence of larger patterns in official discourse, the state's perception of sexual violence in South African townships can be discerned. What becomes apparent is the government's disregard of township women's safety in favour of other matters concerning the state, such as population control. Official discourse in the apartheid era thus set a precedent for subsuming gender violence to larger political concerns.

Transformations in official discourse reflected the internal differentiation within the apartheid state. Peter Delius, Philip Bonner and Deborah Posel assert that the state was a "site of conflict and...grappled with, and was influenced by, wider contradictions and conflict."[1] The state and its related bodies were sites of conflict where various official bodies struggled with diverse opinions on various topics including that of rape. Although this chapter acknowledges that strife occurred in the discourse on intra-racial rape, accessibility to the sources has

been limited. Due to this inability to access the necessary resources a fair and accurate portrayal of these discussions is not possible. However, what is possible is the observation of the various shifts that occurred in the dominant discourse.

Official discourse on rape experienced three major shifts during the apartheid era. These changes reflected the dominant political ideology concerning african and coloured people's status in South Africa. The state's interest in african and coloured urban presence in addition to the accessibility of this cheap labour force dictated the government's perspective of social issues concerning subordinate population groups. As opinions of african and coloured's status were not stagnant, changes within this larger sphere of discourse defined official perceptions of intra-racial rape. Each shift within South African official discourse on rape was consequently determined by the dominant ideology and time period in which that ideology ruled.

The first definitive phase in South African official discourse coincided with the apartheid regime's establishment. From 1948 to the mid-1960s, official discourse was influenced by a number of academic fields including anthropology, sociology, and psychology. During these two decades South African academia produced a body of work concerned with the culture, social aspects, and major characteristics of africans and coloureds. By using this body of work, the

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[1] Philip Bonner, Peter Delius and Deborah Posel, Apartheid's Genesis (1935-1962) (Braamfontein, 1993), p.2.

governing National Party (NP)[2] formed a knowledge base from which they were able to argue that africans were not suited to urban life. Academia's perceptions of africans' sexuality, their adaptability to urbanisation and, "civilised" life were used to support the official perception of township rape as a natural product of their inability to adapt to urban life.

The second definitive phase marked a shift in the discourse regarding african and coloured presence in the cities. In the mid-1960s urban sexual violence was seen as a reflection of african and coloured immorality. While the discourse in the early period emphasised how life in urban areas initiated the moral disintegration of "pure" and "innocent" "tribal" africans, this later period accepted small groups of africans and coloureds presence in urban areas as a necessity to fulfil labour needs. Those considered excessive to the labour force such as the unemployed and elderly were consequently removed. Official's observations of townships' disintegrating social life provided a basis for the expulsion of unwanted individuals. Rape was not seen as a symbol of african's inability to adapt to urban areas, rather that it was a reflection of their moral decay in a hostile environment.

The third phase took place during the mid-1980s. The South African state initiated inquiries into the viability of oppressive laws governing africans and coloureds. Black resistance movements also focused on their new role within South Africa's transformation to democracy. As both groups looked to the future

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[2] The National Party won the 1948 South African elections on the basis of their apartheid platform.

previously ignored issues such as sexual violence garnered attention. Increased attention to gender violence issues during this decade initiated consideration of rape laws and examinations into the criminal system's effectiveness in dealing with the crises.

URBAN AFRICANS AS BOTH RAPIST AND VICTIM (1948-1965)

Apartheid's establishment in South Africa ushered in the first era of official discourse. The apartheid government devoted the first two decades of rule to considering african and coloured roles in urban centres. Long standing historical issues--industrialisation and urbanisation--aggravated this concern. Numbers of africans moving to the cities from rural areas increased with the institution of apartheid legislation. East London, Sophiatown and what was to become Soweto township, saw rapid and unprecedented population growth. While more than 75% of africans were living in rural areas at the beginning of the century, approximately 62% resided in urban areas by 1960.[3] Although the rapid rise of africans into urban areas was considered a resource from which the growing manufacturing industry could draw, it also posed a threat to the National Party in terms of population control. During this period, the government felt it needed to understand the urbanisation process in order to devise an appropriate response limiting the possibility of racial mixing.

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[3] State Department of Information. Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality, (Republic of South Africa, 1974), p.53.

Ruling whites drew from various academic fields claiming expertise on african and coloured communities. Beneficial to the apartheid state, use of academia also attracted white liberals to native policy issues under the NP government.[4] For both the government and its liberal opposition, interest lay in analysing african migration and urbanisation. Ethnological publications from the Department of Native Affairs (such as Venda Law: Part Two: Married Life by N. N. van Warmelo) and studies completed by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR)[5] (*e.g.* Primitive Marriage and European Law by D.W.T. Shropshire[6]) drew from these disciplines and contributed to official perceptions of african and coloured urban life during the period. Through such investigations, the Afrikaner - dominated NP determined in order to gain authority over the "self-administered and totally out of control"[7] townships, african populations residing within urban areas needed stabilisation through a combined process of providing amenities for those already present in addition to restricting any future migration. Accordingly, the NP undertook provision of rudimentary housing and education schemes for the townships. Furthermore, it entrenched into law legislation meant

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[4] Paul B. Rich, White Power and the Liberal Conscience: Racial Segregation and South African Liberalism 1921-1965 (Manchester, 1984), p.34.

[5] The South African Institute for Race Relations (established in 1929) strove to avoid direct political involvement in favour of producing anthropological materials that would put subtle pressure on the government and its "native policy."

[6] Shrophsire's examination of "traditional marriage" (1948) was funded by the SAIRR.

[7] Phillip Bonner, "African Urbanisation on the Rand Between the 1930s and 1960s: its Social Character and Political Consequences," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 21 No. 1 (March 1995), p.121.

to control the influx of african migrants, including the *Group Areas Act*[8] (1950), *Abolition of Pass Laws and the Co-ordination of Documents Act*[9] (1952).

Anthropologists and sociologists were major contributors to this discourse. Both of these disciplines identified as their goal the need to conceptualise and understand the social lives of africans and coloureds. More liberal academics were concerned with "alleviat[ing] the harsh economic and social consequences of industrialisation in a racially divided society."[10] Meanwhile, more racist prone academia attempted to provide further stigmatisation with their work. As noted in the methodology section of the introduction to the thesis, official discourse was the result of a negotiation process. The discourse that was translated from words into action was primarily determined to be the dominant discourse. This does not preclude the existence of differing ideologies within academia. Dissenting opinions existed both in the academic as well as in official discourse. However, the resources available do not provide detailed information regarding these debates making a fair discussion difficult. In terms of academic production from institutions such as the SAIRR versus the Department of Bantu Affairs, the resources are also limited.

Due to academic influence, members of the NP, and ministries such as the Department of Bantu Affairs conceived african movement to urban centres as

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[8] The Group Areas Act (1950) established residential segregation based on race. It is this act that created the Bantustans.
[9] This act regulated the movement of african men and women. It required african men carry passes at all times and that each month it signed by their employer. The legislation also extended the carrying of passes to african women, to their great consternation.
[10] Rich, p. 123.

upsetting the natural order of a "traditional" african lifestyle. African men and women who migrated to urban areas were perceived as corrupted once exposed to a modern western lifestyle. Official discourse described africans as depressing into demoralised elements of society when confronted by white civilisation. Rates of lawlessness, the disintegration of customary marriage unions, increased numbers of illegitimate children and a loss of parental control were all cited as evidence. A welfare officer[11] quoted in Primitive Marriage and European Law: A South African Investigation commented "[T]hat the lack of a moral code on the part of the Native is due both to the abandonment of ancestral customs and the enforcement upon him of European standards. We have condemned his customs as illegal but have provided no adequate substitute."[12] The lack of replacement institutions for traditional practices such as circumcision and initiation schools was blamed for a rise in tsotsi culture and crime in the townships.[13]

African women's hyper-sexuality was also identified as an aggravating factor in the academic literature of this period. Women's relatively recent move

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[11] Welfare officers and social workers that worked in the townships contributed greatly to the official discourse as well as to conflicting discourse. As they worked directly in the areas being discussed their insight was particularly provocative. However, without access to their studies and documents (beyond Shropshire's) the thesis is limited in terms of what it can convey regarding their particular discourse and their contributions to others.

[12] D.W.T. Shropshire, Primitive Marriage and European Law: A South African Investigation (London, 1970), p.19.

[13] Ibid.

Laura Longmore, The Dispossessed: A Study of the Sex-Life of Bantu Women in Urban Areas In and Around Johannesburg (London, 1959), p.183.

into urban centres[14] concerned the apartheid state. The state did not want to accommodate a group perceived of as contributors to the criminal constitution of african communities. African women were stereotyped as liquor brewers, shebeen owners, and sexually promiscuous mothers of illegitimate children. Such characterisations were recurrent with derogatory expressions of "loose women,"[15] and of the "sexual promiscuity among native women."[16]

In spite of their reputation, women migrated to urban areas to escape the control of chiefs and male family members. In the city women undertook menial employment positions such as nursemaid, domestic servant, manufacturing and more illegal activities of prostitution, liquor brewing and selling. Though not well - paying jobs, these positions allowed women to join the workforce and earn their own wages. Since life in the city was based on the individual worker rather than the family unit, the extended patriarchal family of the countryside and its authority were reduced.[17] Thus, for these african women, independence was both a draw to and a result of living in the townships.

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[14] Beginning in the 1940s, African women migrated in large numbers to the cities. While some of these women undertook the transition in the hopes of re-uniting with their migrant labourer husbands, other women did so as a result of "female infertility, the exaction's of chiefs, harsh and unsympathetic in-laws, inadequate maintenance by migrant husbands and desertions." These reasons and others are detailed in P.L. Bonner's "Family, Crime and Political Consciousness on the East Rand," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol.14, No.3 (April 1988). For further information on female migration to the urban areas see Deborah Posel's "State, Power and Gender: Conflict over the Registration of African Customary Marriage in South Africa c. 1910-1970," Journal of Historical Sociology Vol. 8, No.3 (September 1995).

[15] Shropshire, p. 11.

[16] Louis Franklin Freed, Crime in South Africa: An Integralist Approach (Cape Town, 1963), p.145.

[17] Cherryl Walker, Women and Resistance in South Africa (Claremont, 1991), p.3.

Women's economic independence from men encouraged other forms of autonomy as well. Tom Lodge argues that the insecurity of township life encouraged the weakening of traditional patriarchal controls with a growing number of female breadwinners, an increase in spinsterdom and single parent families, in addition to the subservience of most men's work experience contributing to women's assertion both socially[18] and politically.[19] Cherryl Walker furthers Lodge's assertion by noting that township life allowed women to access a greater range of political, social and cultural organisations and encouraged them "in independence and mobility."[20] This new power manifested itself in women's political militancy and the lessened social importance of marriage.

Laura Longmore's study of the sexual lives of "Bantu" women in Johannesburg[21] is one example of an academic piece that placed blame with african women. Longmore argued that flirtatious african women encouraged men's sexual needs to overwhelm them. In describing a typical exchange between a young couple she noted the young woman's teasing of a young man:

> Boy: Would you like to go to the bioscope with me on Saturday?
> Girl: Why especially with you?
> Boy: Don't you know I love you?
> The girl may run away and the boy may run after her. This may take place several times and if

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[18] This was evidenced in an increase in women's social organisations.
[19] Tom Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945 (London, 1983), p.140.
[20] Walker, p.3.
[21] The purpose of Longmore's anthropological study was to investigate the effects of modern contact on african marriage and family systems under the impact of urbanisation. As noted, "Bantu" women are the primary focus of her study. It is noteworthy that she provides no specifics regarding her sources *i.e.* age, occupation, location etc.

> the girl refuses the boy openly, he may decide to assault her.[22]

Longmore's analysis is not entirely biased against women's position in the townships. She provides sympathy to more educated and/or professional women remarking that "many girls fear going to school because when school hours are over the boys in the street molest them and ask them for love. If these girls do not give in to them they are beaten and raped."[23] Longmore's specification of professional, educated women is notable as it excluded a large number of women from its focus *e.g.* migrant women. It was those women who did not work in white areas that the government hoped to move out of the townships who did not fall under Longmore's definition of acceptability.[24] Longmore's recognition of african social classes is rare in the official discourse, as it was typical to ignore the social divisions' existent in the townships. Thus, official discourse remained ignorant regarding possible differences in a woman's experience of rape based on social as well as racial status.[25]

Coinciding with the perceived hyper-sexuality of women was the representation of african men as unable to control their primal responses. According to the evidence, african men were virtually powerless against the virility and endowments of african women:

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[22] Longmore, p.24.
[23] Ibid, p.40.
[24] She does not provide any additional comments regarding the uneducated and lower classes.
[25] In this preliminary work it is difficult to tell whether official discourse's silence regarding class was in recognition of rape not being a class issue. However, such enlightenment in the early period is doubtful. Rather, it is likely given the narrow focus of official discourse on rape in the townships that room for such detailed discussions did not exist.

> The urban African woman wears European clothing...her thighs and breasts which were formerly exposed are covered and there is no longer talk about virginity. In fact the most popular type of girl in modern urban African society is one who has inviting ways and who has been in love with a number of men. [26]

Their reputation for being "highly sexed"[27] encouraged the belief that african and coloured men lost control of their morals when confronted with sexual lavicousness:

> A rapid disintegration is going on through the opportunities of sex adventures. There are many unattached girls in urban areas flitting about from job to job...for here women are for the asking...many Africans marry loose women...[28]

Urban women were thus seen as temptresses who initiated sexual liaisons by "attaching themselves to men with immorality."[29] A strong link was made between the economic independence of urban african women and their promiscuity. These women were thought to be in touch with their baser instincts until such time as they were put under the authority of a male figure. In the interim, urban women were blamed for causing major disturbances in the social balance of townships, most notably with the production of illegitimate children.

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[26] Longmore, p.23.
[27] Ibid, p.139.
[28] This quote, taken from D.W.T. Shrophsire's Primitive Marriage and European Law: A South African Investigation (London, 1970), p.11. Shropshire's work was originally published in 1946 and though it was funded by the SAIRR, it reflects the dominant ideology of the time in regards to the perception of african women's sexuality. This perception of african women as overly sexual carried on to the later apartheid period.
[29] Deborah Posel, "State, Power and Gender: Conflict over the Registration of African Customary Marriage in South Africa c. 1910-1970," Journal of Historical Sociology Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 1995), p.241.

Dr. G.D. English, Minister of Housing in Durban drew attention to this issue in his Annual Report of 1957:

> ... the moral degradation to which thousands of native women living in the city's location...(and) the prevalence of sexual promiscuity among native women has resulted in more than 300 illegitimate Native children being added to Durban's population without the remotest possibility of parental control.[30]

NP politicians foresaw that difficulties could arise from large numbers of illegitimate children that would not be subjected to the strict moral upbringing found in the "traditional" family unit.

The historically entrenched theory of african men's propensity for rape was well rooted, as were perceptions of african women's hyper-sexuality. Arguments that black men could not control their sexual urges date back to Black Peril[31] movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During these rape scares, african men were described as "sexual deviants" who revelled in "sensual indulgence."[32] White women in the colony thus needed to be aware of the dangers posed by their male servants. Ironically, it was the same perception of african women as highly sexual beings that provided justification for white men's rape of black women.

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[30] Franklin Freed, p.145.
[31] The "Black Peril" was the term allocated to the fear of black men raping white women.
[32] Jeremy Martens, "Settler Homes, Manhood and 'Houseboys': An Analysis of Natal's Rape Scare of 1886," Unpublished paper, p. .26. (cited with permission of author)

Louis Franklin Freed's studies[33] of 1950s crime in South Africa embraced the notion that african and coloured men were rapists by nature. Freed noted that "aggression in its most dangerous forms is extremely common among the Native and Coloured populations."[34] His assertion reflected the hypothesis of B.J. F. Laubscher's earlier work which described african men's sexual control as not of high order.[35] Laubscher argued that rape resulted from "the fact that Natives generally have not yet emerged from the phase where the male considers force a legitimate means of conducting his amours."[36] The high incidence of rape in South African townships was thus interpreted as the reflection of these men's natural disposition. Simply put, african and coloured men were "known" as rapists and these studies provided the necessary evidence.

Official statistics for this period seem to confirm this perception of african and coloured men. Franklin Freed's study found that those *convicted* for Class C crimes of Indecency and Immorality[37] were predominantly african. 61% of those convicted were classified as "native," 22% "white," 14% "coloured" and 1% "asian."[38] These statistics problematic nature was not recognised in the official doctrine. They did not indicate the number of suspects actually arrested or the

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[33] Franklin Freed's work was resulted from an examination of crime statistics and interviews with relevant officials conducted in 1958. Freed's sociology and criminology background gives his statistical analysis more depth. However, his obvious bias against africans and coloureds also influences his work in that he does not find fault in the actions of the white south african state.
[34] Franklin Freed, p.50.
[35] B.J.F. Laubscher, Sex, Custom and Psychopathology (London, 1937),p.265.
[36] Ibid.
[37] The crimes of rape and attempted rape are included under this class of crime.
[38] Franklin Freed, p.51.

racial status of victims. Neither did they indicate how the accused's race might have influenced a woman's decision to report her rape or the possibility of bias in the criminal system. However, they provided evidence explaining how those who produced official discourse based their perception of african and coloured men as rapists. To adherents of racial theory, it "[was] self-evident that Africans have an ethnic propensity towards violence and plunder and criminal statistics [were] merely seen as confirmation of what every white man [was] considered to know from common experience."[39]

Approaches to coloured rape were different in this early period. In addition to their deficient physical characteristics identified by eugenicists such as G. Eloff and H.B. Fantham,[40] coloureds were believed to be vulnerable to criminal activity due to their weak biological makeup. "Mentally, physically and morally inferior"[41] to whites, coloureds were prone to "absenteeism, drink and violence."[42] Moral inferiority in the coloured population was subsequently determined as the cause for violence in coloured areas. Cape Town and the Western Cape were considered coloured homelands in which coloured's development as a nation, separate from whites (in order to avoid familiarity and thus elevated levels of racial mixing) was to occur. It was only logical that the

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[39] Albie Sachs, Justice in South Africa (London, 1973), p.185.
[40] Those children produced from miscegenation were believed to be prone to ill health, pulmonary complaints and physical deformity i.e. large native teeth and small European mouths. For more information on such theories refer to Saul Dubow's, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of "Race", Journal of African History Vol. 33 (1992), pp..209-237.
[41] Saul Dubow, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualization of "Race", Journal of African History, Vol. 33 (1992), p.228.
[42] Ian Goldin, Making Race: The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa, (Essex, 1989), p.149.

crime in these areas was blamed on the numerically prominent coloured population. Louis Franklin Freed wrote in 1963: "The coloured population is largely responsible for the high incidence of crime in this city. In almost every coloured district of the Cape peninsula... rape... pimping... illicit liquor running... and hand bag snatching are the order of the day."[43] Although concerned with crime rates in the Cape peninsula, focus remained on the african population.

The first seventeen years of apartheid proved to be a challenge for those in power. In spite of the apartheid state's designation of an ideology it still had to instigate reforms that would mould the South African populace into a rigid economic and politically racist system. Relying on the work of academics (*e.g.* ethnographic publications), official discourse was one powerful tool employed by South Africa in order to achieve this goal.

Mass movements of africans from rural to urban centres confronted the early apartheid state and tested its discourse's strength. Academic works focusing on the biological and social nature of africans and coloureds were used to design influx control laws restricting migration to the cities. This body of literature was used to explain the high rate of township crime. Believing that crimes occurred in african and coloured areas due to these groups moral degradation when confronted with urban life, officials found blame in a number of areas. African women's hyper-sexuality and independence from men, the african and coloured males inability to control both sexual and criminal behaviour, elevated levels of illegitimacy and the genetic inferiority of coloureds were all

blamed. Rape in the townships was of little interest to the state as it was merely seen as reflecting the moral corruptibility of the african and coloured male and his inability to adapt to urban life. Sexual violence could not be an issue until this perception changed.

THE "NATURE" OF AFRICAN AND COLOURED RAPE (1965-1985)

Official discourse on rape in the townships was transformed in the mid-sixties. The South African government realised that the presence of small groups of africans in urban areas was both permanent and necessary. As the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development noted in May of 1975 "...Bantu persons are allowed in the White homeland to do work which they can do here and not because they have equal claims with Whites to be present."[44] Rather than finding justifications for why africans could not conform to city life, the government[45] examined how urban life caused moral corruption. As "guardian(s) over the weaker peoples,"[46] white South Africans held themselves as morally and spiritually superior to africans and coloureds. The state could continue to relegate the population's majority to a subordinate position by claiming expertise. Concern with tradition and culture was isolated to the previous period while the discourse of this era focused on depraved township conditions.

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[43] Franklin Freed, p.138.
[44] Republic of South Africa, Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard), (Pretoria, 2 May 1975), p.5354.
[45] In combination and influenced by the work of academics.

Official literature from the mid-sixties through to the mid-eighties emphasised the rampant violence that existed in african and coloured communities. Violence was believed to be a result of africans living in an urban setting (for which it had already been proven they were entirely unsuited to) compounded by social problems such as unemployment, poverty, lack of education, alcohol abuse and lack of parental control. High rape rates were thus seen as a logical result of urban decay.

Influx control and forced removals typified the Afrikaner government's approach to africans and coloureds in urban areas during the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s. The *Group Areas Act* (1950) entrenched into law separate residential areas for the various races but was not stringently enforced until the 1960s. By dividing regions of the country into designated "white," "black," "indian" or "coloured" areas, the apartheid state attempted to keep racial mixing to a minimum. Those individuals living in a zone designated for a different race[47] were forced to leave businesses, homes, communities and family networks to relocate to the appropriate racial area. Ruling whites had to justify these population removals to more liberal South Africans as well as to an international audience.

The pursuit of a moral angle provided justification for these mass removals. The Theron Commission on Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group (1976) identified the causes of increasing crime rates in african and coloured communities as the influence of "socio-economic conditions, poor

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[46] Dubow, p.224.

housing... unemployment or underemployment particularly of young persons, the presence of youth who had not been trained in the habits of regular work."[48] The State Department of Information's publication, Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality (1974) further explored these social problems:

> The economic benefits of the new urban existence have exacted a terrible price in the shape of an urban pathology running the whole gamut of social morbidity. By the late forties the unregulated mass-flow of Blacks from the homelands to the White urban-industrial centres had created what is known in social-scientific jargon as a "poverty culture." The main symptoms of a "poverty culture" are social deprivation generally, an abnormally high incidence of violent crime, family disintegration, illegitimacy, drug abuse, alcoholism, illiteracy, malnutrition, income levels below the relevant urban poverty datum line, a relatively high death and birth rate, inadequate housing and educational facilities and, on the whole, a negative attitude to community rehabilitation and law enforcement.[49]

Unrestrained worker migration into cities was considered the main initiator of "poverty culture." Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality (1974) noted that "no country in the world will allow masses of unskilled workers from underdeveloped communities to inundate its urban areas, creating...social disorganisation."[50] Crime was considered the fault of "migrant workers" who

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[47] Particularly in those african, indian and racially mixed communities that were settled close to the heart of a city.

[48] Republic of South Africa, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group, (Pretoria, 1976), pp.9-10.

[49] State Department of Information, Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality (Republic of South Africa, 1974), p.54.

[50] Ibid, p.56.

could "easily degenerate into a rootless mass of marginal humanity doomed to a meaningless existence in a cultural, social and political vacuum."[51]

Migrant workers were not perceived as the sole factor influencing moral erosion in township societies. Township sex ratios were also considered an important element in the equation. An investigation conducted by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs' (SABRA)[52] Journal of Racial Affairs examined "Bantu" masculinity[53] ratios in South Africa. Authors P.S. Hattingh and M.L. Hugo argue that high masculinity rate in urban areas (finding 135 african men for every 100 women in designated white areas) created immoral behaviour in townships.[54] Their thesis stated "to a great degree the tempo of life in any community is a function of the ratio of males to females in its population."[55] Blame was once again placed with urban african men. Their numerical dominance upset normal social order and encouraged unrest.

Ironically, this situation was the result of state action. The *Native Consolidation Act* (no.25 of 1945) and the *Bantu Areas Act* (1964) ensured that women's access to the cities was limited severely. Any african woman who was born in the homelands that married a man qualified to live in the city was not allowed to live with her husband without official permission. Furthermore, if she did qualify and married a man who didn't, she was immediately endorsed out to

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[51] Ibid, p.59.
[52] The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs was established in 1948 at the request of the executive committee of the Broederbond. Attached to Stellenbosch University its purpose was to act as an Afrikaner think-tank in juxtoposition to the South African Institute of Race Relations.
[53] The ratio of men to women.
[54] P.S. Hattingh and M.L. Hugo, The Geographical Distribution of the Bantu Masculinity Ratio in South Africa, 1970, (October, 1972), p.188.

the Bantustans.[56] Consequently it was government action itself that ensured disproportionate gender ratios. The evidence suggests that the apartheid state's desire to keep women out of the townships grew out of a desire to ensure the permanent family settlement did not occur.

Official discourse found further justification in the rising number of illegitimate township children. High illegitimacy rates were linked to crime rates. The legislature argued that those children born out of wedlock would receive less attention than a child born in a legally sanctioned marriage:

> Many children in the townships are the illegitimate offspring of males who are allowed to enter the urban areas to work on the mines or in industry under the migratory system. The mother of an illegitimate child may be a domestic servant in the city and her child grows up in the township with perhaps grandparents or other relatives who cannot for various reasons control the child who grows up to become a criminal.[57]

In addition to a lack of supervision, factors such as "little or no sense of responsibility" in parents and "drink(ing) to excess" were identified as contributing to crime by illegitimate children.[58] The lack of morals was solely blamed for children's transformation into adult criminals. Mr. F.J. Le Roux summarised the basis of this belief in the House of Assembly:

> As a further cause of the increase in the crime rate, I would like to mention a frame of mind very difficult to

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[55] Ibid, p.188.
[56] Jacklyn Cock, Maids and Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation, (Johannesburg, 1987), pp.244-245.
[57] Republic of South Africa, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Penal System of South Africa (Pretoria, 1976) p.12.
[58] Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group, p,261.

> counter...Can we really say in all sincerity that parental discipline is still properly applied? Can we acknowledge in all sincerity that discipline wherever it exists is being exercised to its full effect?[59]

According to official South African discourse, a combination of the previously mentioned factors resulted in high township crime rates.[60] From 1974 to 1976 there was a 562.3% increase in arrests for public violence, a 302.6% increase for offences under the *Arms and Ammunitions Act*, a 94.9% increase in cases of cruelty against children, a 123.1% increase in drug offences, and a 99.4% increase in assaults between "non-whites."[61] Furthermore, incidents of murder, rape, assault with intent to do grievous harm, and robbery all increased by over 50% in Soweto during 1981.[62] For those officials that contributed to official discourse there was no doubt as to crime's origin -- blame could be placed with africans and coloureds in the cities. In a South African House of Assembly debate (March 9, 1973), Mr. L.E.D. Winchester MP commented on the increase of crime: "Sir, if you want to know where the crime rate comes from, I

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[59] Republic of South Africa, Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard), (Pretoria, February-15th June, 1973), p.2386.

[60] The only observable action to remedy this situation by the South African government was increased militarisation of the townships. Birth control and abortion remained illegal through to the post-apartheid era and those social programs for mothers were typically community organised. The state refused to provide financial assistance to single african mothers. The apartheid government's skill at identifying social problems seems to be much better than its subsequent action.

[61] Republic of South Africa, Annual Report of the Commissioner of the South African Police for the Period 1 July 1976 to 30 June 1977, (Pretoria, 1978), p.4.

[62] Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly: Questions and Replies, (Pretoria, 23 April 1982), pp.685-686.

can tell you: It comes from the ghettos, the slums that we have built for our people..."[63]

Coloureds were forced to live in townships, as the *Bantu Areas Act* did not identify any "homeland" to which they might migrate. The coloured group consisted of mixtures of various ethnic[64] groups from Chinese to Malays. This lack of cohesion was blamed for the coloured communities' lack of homogeneity and cultural tradition. Official discourse described the consequence for those falling within the "non-white" racial category as a perceived tendency of being "particularly prone to crimes of violence."[65]

Coloured's susceptibility to violent criminal activity was also justified by their vulnerability to living conditions that led to "physical and mental deterioration."[66] Officials' felt that due to a "western orientation" frustration inevitably arose out of "deprivation(s) of income, job opportunities and education."[67] This frustration translated into criminal activity performed to gain material status. Officials argued that this widespread phenomenon made criminal activity not only acceptable, but also popular, among coloureds. The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Penal System of South Africa (1976) found

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[63] Republic of South Africa, Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard), (Pretoria, February-15th June, 1973), p.2383.

[64] The Coloured racial group included the Gricquas (descendants of Adam Kok), Cape Coloureds (those with a genetic link to the khoisan), Cape Malay (originally Malay slaves brought to South Africa by the Dutch East India Co. who mixed with other racial groups), Maasbieker (those who originally came from Mozambique), Mauritian Coloureds etc.

[65] Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Penal System of South Africa, p.12.

[66] Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group, p,261.

[67] Republic of South Africa, Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard), (Pretoria, 23 June 1976), p.10358.

that a "[coloured] person who has clashed with the law is rated high in terms of personal prestige...One who has been in a prison, or who has received lashes, is highly regarded in the value system..."[68] These views found support in crime statistics that showed the ratio of coloured prisoners [male and female] to white was 58:1[69] in 1974/1975.[70]

Township rape received government attention during this second period. African and coloured townships established a permanent presence within South Africa and the government observed them accordingly. Statistics were kept on a regular basis, social problems were accounted for and analysed more seriously, and observations of township violence were considered a sobering reminder of the potential threat these communities posed. Criminal activity was recognised in african and coloured townships as a pervasive issue by members of parliament as well as in official documents such as the Annual Report(s) of the Commissioner of the South African Police. What is unusual about this discursive period was the recognition of intra-racial rape.[71] Previously, official discourse focused on the issue of inter-racial rape rather than intra-racial rape. Due to such historical ignorance, the 1970s and 1980s bore witness to intra-racial rape's recognition.

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[68] Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Penal System of South Africa, p.12.
[69] Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard), (23 June 1976), p.10356.
[70] These statistics are not accurate in reflecting the socio-economic conditions that prompted coloureds to resort to criminal activity. Nor do they incorporate the influence of a racist criminal and judicial system. However, they are the statistics on which the government based their assertions.
[71] Despite this change in focus the South African criminal system continued to more harshly punish black men who raped white women.

Annual Reports from the Commissioner of South African Police began to report statistics in the mid-1970's regarding rapists and their victim's racial identification.[72] Repeated demands were made to the ministers of Statistics and Law and Order that rape statistics be announced in the House of Assembly.[73] From these statistics, although more black men were reported for raping black women then for women of any other race, more black men were executed for raping white women. Statistics from 1974/75 indicate that 14 058 "non-white females" reported rape at the hands of a "non-white male,"[74] 14 596 of these kinds of intra-racial rape were reported in 1975/76,[75] and 15 232 in 1979.[76] Only 125 white females reported being raped by an african male in 1974/75 and 113 in 1975/1976.[77] In spite of the preponderance of black women's rape, those men who raped white women were most severely punished with three[78] executions of black men for this crime in 1973/1974 alone.[79]

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[72] Beginning in 1975, Annual Reports reported on the number of arrests made for the crime of rape. Until this time, the issue of race was excluded from the document except when discussing the race of those executed for rape.

[73] See House of Assembly: Questions and Replies on Friday, 23 April 1982 and Friday, February 8, 1980 for two examples.

[74] The category of "non-white" included those otherwise classified as "Africans" and "Coloureds." Within the crime statistics this category is not broken down any further.

[75] Annual Report of the Commissioner of the South African Police for the period 1 July 1975 to 30 June 1976, (Pretoria, 1977), p.5.

[76] Republic of South Africa, Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard), (Pretoria, 8 February 1980), p.22.

[77] Ibid.

[78] No white men were executed during this statistical year for rape. Those African men who were executed had been convicted of raping white women. A conference held at the University of Natal, Durban in August of 1983 found that offenders were more likely to get a strict sentence if they had little education, they had raped an older, married, professional, educated woman. It was also found that black men who raped white women received more severe sentences. For more information consult the conference's publication by M.C.J. Olmesdahl and N.C. Steytler Criminal Justice in South Africa (Cape Town, 1983), pp.162-173.

[79] Republic of South Africa. Report of the Commissioner of Prisons of the Republic of South Africa for the period 1 July 1973 to 30 June 1974 (Pretoria, 1975), p.9.

Although the Commissioner of Police presented more information on rape in South African townships during this period, white women's rape by african men continued to garner the most recognition. Cases discussed within the Commissioner's Annual Reports were reminiscent of the Black Peril scares in the late 1800s. These Reports frequently used the shock element in describing white women's rape by black males. For example:

> On 12 November 1973 at 6 p.m. Mrs. B. Walker aged 28 of Impala Estates. Sandspruit, Muldersdrift was found murdered on the sitting-room floor of her house. She had been alone with her nine-month old baby. Her throat was cut and there were multiple deep wounds on her body, arms and legs. There were signs that she had been raped. A Bantu male was subsequently arrested.[80]

Excessive use of details, such as the fact the victim's child was present for the crime, were used to enrage and shock readers. Passages describing intra-racial rape were rare, and, where they did occur, brief, with few details. This tactic is suggestive of the earlier Black Peril panics that preyed on the white population's prejudices and fears and is also typical of the media discourse that will be discussed in Chapter Three. In addition to such descriptions, senior police officers warned white housewives not to open their doors to strangers at any time. They further encouraged women to be armed within their households though they recognised that it was "unfortunately not practically possible [because] a housewife cannot go encumbered by carrying arms and ammunition

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[80]Republic of South Africa. Annual Report of the Commissioner of the South African Police for the Year Ended 30 June 1974, (Pretoria, 1975), p.9.

around with her."[81] No such expressions of concern existed in the documents for african and coloured women's rape. Intra-racial rape was noticeably absent despite its statistical dominance. The safety of white women remained of foremost concern although interest in intra-racial rape had increased in this period.

Official discourse was dominated during the twenty-year period between 1965 and 1985 saw high rates of crime as the result of african and coloured's presence in urban areas. The government blamed urban decay on the individuals who were most affected. Official discourse identified the mass influx of africans into the cities during the 1950s as the cause of depraved social and living conditions. Urban migration was believed to lead to an increase in social problems such as unemployment, poverty, alcohol abuse, illegitimacy, and loss of parental control. These social conditions incited the rise of crime in the townships, and consequently, to a high incidence of rape. Rape was thus seen as a result of urban decay in african and coloured communities.

OFFICIAL DISCOURSE'S RE-EVALUATION OF RAPE (1985-1994)

Apartheid in South Africa was seriously challenged and disintegrated during this final period. Resistance within the townships, fuelled by an economic recession, took an increasingly violent form. In reaction to factors including the

[81] Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard), (February 1980), p.2351-2352.

implementation of the tricameral parliamentary system,[82] the urban population explosion, unemployment, rent increases in the townships, strikes, and the collapse of schooling, state retaliation against political protest also grew in violence. In 1985 alone, 35 000 troops were used in townships throughout the country.[83]

Increases in violent activity within townships coincided with growth in reported sexual crimes. Rapists were township residents as well as members of the South African Police Force due to their increased presence during this period of turmoil. An additional 5000 rapes were reported in the police statistics from 1983 to 1989.[84] As the apartheid government questioned the validity of its racial policies and began to implement reforms,[85] previously ignored issues emerged as state concerns. Although sexual violence was not of primary importance during the transition to democracy, the state no longer assumed it did not exist.

African and coloured political organisations also began to focus on rape during the late 1980s. After the state of emergency passed and F.W. de Klerk was established as President, government negotiations with opposition groups began. Black political organisations such as the African National Congress and Pan African Congress were no longer banned, Nelson Mandela was released

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[82] This initiative endeavoured to incorporate coloureds and indians into the South African parliament with the notable exclusion of africans.
[83] Jacklyn Cock, Women and War in South Africa (Oxford, 1991) p.8.
[84] Bronwen Manby and Binaifer Nowrojee, Violence Against Women in South Africa: The State Response to Domestic Violence and Rape (Human Rights Watch Africa, 1995), p.14.
[85] Some reforms implemented by the government headed by P.W. Botha and later F. W. de Klerk included allowing africans to once again own private property, unbanning the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela, dismantling of the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas and the Population Registration Act. Most of the reforms occurred after the 1984-1986 crises.

from prison in 1990, and talks were introduced regarding the establishment of an intermediate constitution and bill of rights. These reforms permitted space for the state to consider new matters. Interest in gender issues and gender violence became apparent during this transition period. Noting the new emphasis on combating sexual violence in the townships, one woman commented:

> In the past, black men, and even black women, would say that domestic violence was a white issue. That it didn't happen here. Now, our sisters are coming around the townships banging on the doors and they are saying it does happen and we must do something about it.[86]

It was with apartheid state power's decline and the recognition of african and coloured rights in South Africa that discussions on women's rights occurred. Intra-racial rape prior to this time remained subordinated to larger concerns of influx control and the elimination of political resistance.

During this period, concern remained focused on discovering the roots of violence, be they sexual or otherwise. Official discourse favoured disenfranchised township youth as a major source of crime, so much so that questions periodically arose in the legislature regarding juvenile offenders.[87] Interest in increases in crime propagated by youth was not unfounded. Colin Bundy argues that social conditions in the townships ensured the creation of a politically active youth:

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[86] Nowrojee and Manby, p.14.

[87] For example, on April 9, 1985 Mr. P.R.C. Rogers asked the Minister of Law and Order what the statistics were for cases of juvenile rape by each racial group, in each province of the Republic of South Africa.

> By any stretch of the sociological imagination, the recipe for marginalising and alienating a generational unit is comprehensive enough. Take politically rightless, socially subordinate, economically vulnerable youths; educate them in numbers beyond their parent's wildest dreams, but in inadequate institutions; ensure that their awareness is shaped by punitive social practices in the world beyond the schoolyard – and then dump them in large numbers on the economic scrap-heap.[88]

Violent political and criminal activity allowed disenfranchised african and coloured male youths to assert their masculinity in a society that had prohibited other, more passive expressions. In Catherine Campbell's study of violence and masculinity in Natal she argues that "in a community where the opportunities for assertion of masculine power are limited, violence is a manifestation of the structural forces of patriarchy reasserting themselves at a time when race and class oppression has dealt the status of adult men a particularly severe blow."[89] African and coloured men either participated in the anti-apartheid movement as comrades (or in other capacities), or engaged in criminal activity for their personal benefit. Sometimes they even did both. Whichever choice township men made, either path allowed them to exhibit their masculinity and explore previously unexpressed assertions of power.

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[88] Colin Bundy, "Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of Youth and Student Resistance in Cape Town, 1985," Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 13, No. 3 (April 1987), p.313.

[89] Catherine Campbell, "Learning to Kill? Masculinity, the Family and Violence in Natal," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 18, No.3 (September 1992), pp. 623-624.

In 1987, an official was appointed to address the government's concern with uncontrollable youths. The Social Affairs on the Youth[90] of South Africa Committee found that "forces and influences" were having a "negative and destructive effect on the development of the youth" and "steps should be taken to counter these influences."[91] Drawing heavily from previous periods and from a number of academics[92], the report concluded that a loss of "tribal" culture resulted in disenfranchised township youth as well as their moral disintegration. Both of the previous discursive themes are identified in the following passage describing the influence of the migrant labour system:

> The migrant labour system operating amongst Blacks leads to the father of the family being away from home for long periods and to the disintegration of family and tribal ties. This promotes disobedience, rebelliousness and lawlessness. Life in the tribal context is broken down...in a strange place finds it difficult to maintain his way of life in accordance with high moral standards...[93]

Utilising discourse from the past forty years, this passage finds fault in a number of places. Its identification of the lack of kinship and tribal ties as linked directly to disobedience, rebelliousness, and difficulty in maintaining moral standards is reminiscent of official discourse's first phase which explained high rape rates as the consequence of "tribal africans" adjustment to city life. Furthermore,

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[90] Youth were identified as being from birth to age 24.

[91] President's Council Report of the Committee For Social Affairs on the Youth of South Africa, (Cape Town, 1987), p.5.

[92] Individuals that contributed to the report included Dr. J. E. Pieterse (sociology), Prof. J.P. de Lange (economics), Dr. C.J. Groenewald (Sociology), Prof. W.P. Esterhuyse (History), Dr. Ben Vosloo (Economics), Prof. I.M. Bredenkarp (Political Sociologist), Dr. C. van der Burgh (Sociology) , in addition to Members of Parliament and groups concerned with youth i.e. South African Defense Force and the Department of Education.

descriptions of fathers' absenteeism were influenced by official discourse's second period that described the loss of parental control as a causal factor of township violence. It is apparent that this phase's predecessors influenced its discourse.

Reliance on previous discourse to explain the low moral standards of township youth was only done as a basis for new theories. Poor communication, insufficient socialisation, loneliness, and alienation were also identified as causal factors. The media was blamed for showing promiscuous sex while modern music was denounced for contributing to the breakdown in moral standards.[94] Juvenile delinquency "combined with violence occurs more among less developed people and groups"[95] resulted in a rise in criminal activity.[96]

Official discourse during this decade also re-examined the South African criminal system's approach, and response to rape cases. The criminal act of rape, according to South African law, consisted of "intentional, unlawful, sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent" (*Immorality Act No. 23 of 1957*).[97] The key features of this definition:

> (a) It involved "sexual intercourse," requiring penetration of the vagina by the penis.
> (b) Such intercourse must fall within the legally predetermined category of 'unlawful' intercourse. The law regards as unlawful every act of intercourse

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[93] Ibid, p.28.
[94] Ibid, pp. 32-33.
[95] Ibid, p.51.
[96] As noted in footnote #62, the only evident response by the state to these problems was increased military presence in the townships.
[97] Colleen Hall, "Rape: The Politics of Definition," South African Law Journal, vol. 105 (1988), p.67.

> occurring between partners who are not married to each other.[98]

The legal definition of rape was reconsidered during this final period. The question of whether a sexual assault should be legally defined as rape if penetration did not occur, or if penetration occurred with an object other than a penis was posed. Whether the acts of sodomy or rape within marriage should be included under the *Immorality Act* was also questioned.

An Ad Hoc Committee of the President's Council was appointed in 1985 to re-evaluate the *Immorality Act* in its entirety. Individuals from a variety of backgrounds, including the Department of Health and Welfare and even a Professor from the Society of University Teachers at Law, sat on the committee. Organisations such as the Gay Advice Bureau, the South African National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders, churches (Anglican, Nederdvitsch Hervermde Kerk van Afrika) and government departments all contributed to the Committee[99]. They recommended that a "statutory offence be created so that a husband may be prosecuted for the rape of his wife, as he can already be prosecuted for indecent or common assault."[100] The Committee did not address the issue of penetration although it suggested that "cross examination of the complainant concerning previous sexual experience with persons other than the accused" be permitted "only after the

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[98] Ibid.

[99] Members of the Committee were all white except for the representative from the South African Hindu Dharma Sabha, an indian religious organisation.

[100] Republic of South Africa. Report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the President's Council on the Immorality Act (Act No. 23 of 1957), (Cape Town, 1985) p.43.

presiding judge or judicial officer has granted an application to this effect made *in camera*[101] on good grounds of relevance."[102] The Committee's position regarding a rape victim's sexual history was relatively liberal given the Afrikaner government's history of being influenced by a "gender-based, patriarchal ideology of which the [present] legal definition forms a part."[103] Reflecting the state's new concern with rape laws, this recommendation also illustrated the apartheid government's willingness to incorporate issues of gender into its agenda in recognition of the changing political climate regarding women's rights. However, attempts to address the specific needs of african and coloured women were not addressed at this juncture.

The Committee's Report on the Immorality Act was tabled in Parliament in May of 1985. Recommendations regarding the giving of evidence on the sexual history of a complainant and the rape of a wife by her husband were contained in the *Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure Act Amendment Bill* (1987).[104] Re-appearing in 1989 as the *Criminal Law and the Criminal Procedure Act Amendment Bill,* debates in the House of Parliament were lengthy and emotional. Conservative members of Parliament expressed concern that passing this legislation would encourage higher divorce rates and disintegration of the family

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[101] *In camera* is a legal term used to describe the right of judges to clear a courtroom of persons not directly related to the case during testimony.
[102] Ibid, p.43.
[103] Hall, p.69.
[104] These recommendations are evidence of the dissenting discourses which influenced the official discourse. The conservative NP government certainly would not have initiated such a debate without the influence of liberal politicians, academics and community members.
Republic of South Africa. South African Law Commission: 1987 Annual Report, (Pretoria, January 7,1988), p.38.

unit, while more open-minded MPs believed it to be a step forward in the fight for gender equality (though certainly not in the fight for racial equality).[105] The Minister of Justice endorsed the bill, asserting that "no matter what anybody says, a man has no right, even on religious grounds, to rape his wife...and no matter how we argue, the wife is presently unprotected."[106] Opposition members remained unmoved by such arguments countering that "both parties also publicly declare and indicate their voluntary consent as regards bodily union or the sexual aspect of their marriage."[107] In spite of this opposition, the amendments were passed on February 27th, 1989. However, it was not until 1993 that rape's legal definition, the "legitimisation of rape in marriage" and the use of a woman's past against her that had served as "structural impediments to legal control and deterrence of women abuse,"[108] were changed in South African law.

In the late eighties and early nineties official discourse was concerned with "structural impediments." Police response to rape reports and victims subsequent treatment by the criminal system was examined. It became rapidly evident that the South African Police and criminal system's service to african and coloured rape victims was unsatisfactory in spite of the high incidence of rape reported by these women. Although the government expressed concern in rising rates of township crime, including rape, it remained impotent to effect change.

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[105] These laws were applied to the all of the racial groups.
[106] Republic of South Africa, Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard), (Pretoria, 27 February 1989), p.1684.
[107] Republic of South Africa, Debates in the House of Assembly (Hansard), (Pretoria, 13 March 1989), p.2693.
[108] Gillian Eagle and Lloyd Vogelman. "Overcoming Endemic Violence against Women in South Africa," Social Justice Vol. 18, No. 1-2 (Spring/Summer 1991), p.217.

Homicide and serious assault statistics dramatically escalated in the late 1980s, drawing the South African government's attention. For example, 156 murders, 451 cases of common assault, 140 robberies, 728 assaults, and 85 cases of rape were reported in Alexandra Township (pop. 62 127)[109] during the 1983-1984 statistical period.[110] While increasing crime concerned the state, the reality of political opposition demanded most of the SAP's time. "[V]icious repression of political opposition by the apartheid police machinery, which at the same time largely ignored ordinary crime within black communities..."[111] encouraged the belief that the SAP was unconcerned with protecting black South Africans. Rape victims' experience with the SAP when reporting a crime further substantiated this view. One african woman described the pronounced disinterest in her assault:

> I reported the case to the police. I told them I know the man and that he had scratches on his face. But the police have done nothing. I even see him around here every once in a while. What's the use in going back [to the police].[112]

Police inaction was typical during this period. "The South African police were viewed as unsympathetic towards or sceptical of women's reports of violence, despite stated departmental policy."[113] The obvious link between the SAP and

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[109] Republic of South Africa, Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard), (Pretoria, 26 April 1985), p.1278.
[110] Republic of South Africa, Debates of the House of Assembly (Hansard), (Pretoria, 7 February 1985), p.27.
[111] Nowrojee and Manby, p.19.
[112] Ibid, p.89.
[113] Vogelman and Eagle, p.217.

repression under the apartheid state further added to women's lack of confidence in the police.

The South African Police force's inability to address rape victim's needs came to parliament's attention as a result of white women's mobilisation in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The Appropriation Committee (Assembly) approved in March 1993 the instillation of a program for rape victims based on the recommendations from a report entitled The Development of a Crisis Intervention Programme for Victims of Rape (1990). The program was designed to ensure that all rape victims would receive necessary services not provided by the police. Victims would be sent to a hospital where they would be "assisted by a multi-professional team of doctors, nurses, social workers and volunteers."[114] Following this, they would receive preparation for the judicial process.

In spite of the government's establishment of programs, the police continued to be perceived as inept in their dealings with rape cases. Rape kits[115] were not introduced until 1993 and then were used only by district surgeons -- the majority of whom were male, white, and reflective of the prejudices of the apartheid state.[116] By 1994, police insensitivity and under-preparation continued to rise in Parliament:

> ... the police are insensitive and uncaring. The formalism of police procedures needs to be softened

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[114] Republic of South Africa, Debates of Parliament, (Pretoria, 23 March 1990), p.4591.
[115] These kits contain slides, swabs, test tubes and other equipment for the collection of biological samples including blood, vaginal fluid, or foreign matter such as semen or hair. This medical evidence is essential in the conviction of many rapists.
[116] n.a., South Africa: Violence Against Women and the Medico-Legal System, (New York, 1999) p.4.

> and to take account of the emotional nature of such a crime. It is often said that the police are not psychologists and cannot hope to be...[117]

In a situation where crime victims most needed to trust the police, the SAP continued to disappoint. Between unsympathetic doctors and hostile, indifferent policemen, it is remarkable that township women reported their victimisation in such numbers. It is postulated that due to these factors which should deter rape reporting, the actual incidence of rape is much higher and that the statistics reflect only a minority of the actual township rapes that occurred. Despite the election of a democratic government in 1994, no resolution to these issues has been found.

Critiques of the criminal system's capacity to effectiveiy address rape victim's needs and the prosecution of rapists were also raised. Of the 27 056 rapes reported in 1993, only 8 998 were prosecuted of those cases brought to court, 4 753 resulted in convictions, just 17.5% of the reported total.[118] In 1958, only 32 whites and 749 africans were convicted of rape.[119] These statistics reflect the historical inability of the South African criminal justice system to effectively prosecute rape cases. The courts were dominated by stereotypes that determined what made a "proper victim" and what constituted a legitimate assault. Due to the racist and sexist culture that typified South Africa, "magistrates and judges often have [had] discriminatory and sexist assumptions

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[117] Republic of South Africa, Debates of the National Assembly (Pretoria, 20 September 1994), p.2941.
[118] n.a., Medico-Legal System Fails Women Victims of Violence (New York, 1999) p.2.
[119] Franklin Freed, p.51.

about women that prejudice those cases that [did] reach court."[120] Only those cases that fit the stereotype of a proper rape victim (*e.g.* virgins who did not know their attacker and put up the required amount of resistance, usually resulting in injury) received justice.

In 1985, the South African judiciary recognised the need to investigate its response to rape victims. The Minister of Justice received numerous questions in the legislature regarding conviction rates of rapists[121] in addition to criticisms concerning judicial processes. The *Criminal Law and Criminal Procedures Act Amendment Bill* and the *Development of Crisis Intervention Programme for Victims of Rape* were two attempts by the state to address criticisms that "these people [rape victims] are treated insensitively, that they are unnecessarily exposed and that the trauma they experience is not appreciated or taken into account."[122] Although no major reforms[123] were made to the system until after 1994, this discursive period allowed officials to see that:

> For a situation of such crisis proportions, we need more than bold statements. Even bold and dramatic steps will not succeed unless they are accompanied by a sensitive understanding of the causes and a well-balanced perspective on the broad range of issues involved...What we need is not only a penetrating approach, but also broad consultation to identify all the causes of the situation in order to formulate a comprehensive plan to tackle this

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Statistics for the number of reported rapes and charges are not available.

[120] n.a. Violence Against Women and the Medico-Legal System, p. 3.

[121] Refer to March 27, 1990 and April 18, 1990 in Parliament: Interpellations, Questions and Replies (Pretoria, 2 February to 22 June 1990) for two examples.

[122] Republic of South Africa, (March 23, 1990), p.4591.

[123] Such reforms included the introduction of mandatory rape kits, standard form affidavits, national training schemes for police officers dealing with sexual crimes, training for prosecutors in law school on the legal issues of rape as well as for magistrates and judges.

> daunting, yet exciting challenge as a new united country.[124]

There was no recognition by the state during this period that race could be considered a factor in the treatment of rape victims, even though women of different races did not receive equal treatment under the South African system.[125] It was not until late in the 1990s that race was recognised as influential in rape victim's experience of South African criminal and legal systems.

The end of apartheid South Africa marked a dramatic change in official discourse. The late eighties and early nineties were unique for their new concern with rape victims. Beginning with a state of emergency in the mid-eighties, the state focused on controlling township violence to deter rising political opposition. It concentrated on its analysis of disenfranchised township youths as one of the possible roots of violence. Through its recognition and investigation of this generation of politically unstable youths, the apartheid state also acknowledged non-political violence within the townships. Within discourse's exploration of social problems, space for the consideration of gender violence emerged.

Prior to 1985, official discourse did not concern itself with the issue of intra-racial rape except in relation to its understanding of african and coloured

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[124] Republic of South Africa, Debates of the National Assembly, (Pretoria, 26 August, 1994), p.2073.

[125] Only in the last four years has race been recognised as an issue in rape cases. It can be postulated that in this latter discursive period, the reluctance to include discussions of rape in a (soon to be post-apartheid era) created hesitancy by the government to do so. The emphasis on de-racialising South Africa resulted in inappropriate responses and actions for rape victims.

communities as a whole. With its focus on africans' and coloureds' subordinate position within South Africa and how to ensure white domination in relation to this position, the apartheid regime disregarded other social issues as unimportant to the achievement of their goals. With the advent of the 1985 crises and the realisation that apartheid could not continue in the face of domestic and international opposition, South Africa began the transition to a democratic nation. By understanding african and coloured youth – the backbone of the apartheid resistance movements -- it might be able to suppress the movement. Failing in this goal, what emerged were factors that instigated both political and non-political violence. The knowledge gained from this examination of township youth proved invaluable when the state started to dismantle the apartheid system.

In the late 1980s, the South African state and black resistance movements recognised that the worst of the apartheid struggle had passed. Although always a problem historically, the crisis of township rape now had room to be considered. Re-evaluation of the criminal system's response to crime and the legal system's treatment of victims was consequently undertaken in an attempt to make the system more sympathetic to those who needed it most--survivors of rape.

CONCLUSION

The paucity of official documents that focused on the rape issue in South Africa made a discourse analysis difficult to complete. During the apartheid era no one document in its entirety focused on sexual violence in african and coloured townships. It was only by sifting through lengthy and often tedious debates of parliament, question and answer periods, official reports from the Commissioner of Police, in addition to infrequent Committee reports that a picture depicting the government's and its related bodies' perceptions of rape within these communities emerged.

Throughout the apartheid era, african and coloured women's rape by men of the same race could not be understood as a problem in and of itself. Officials only conceived the issue in relation to a larger problem: the role that african and coloured people should take in South Africa. It was towards the end of apartheid that intra-racial rape could finally be acknowledged.

This chapter focused on shifts and variations within South African official discourse concerned with intra-racial rape. Three definitive phases of discourse during the apartheid era coincided with larger political frameworks on the role of africans and coloureds in urban areas were identified. The first phase, 1948-1965, was defined by a rapid influx of africans into the cities. Unable to deal with this increase, the apartheid government drew on the academic world to understand processes, which, if not initiating, were at least defining this movement. Academics from a variety of disciplines assisted the state in understanding that rapid urbanisation was the instigator of rapid demoralisation

within african communities, especially for the "innocent" "tribal" african who was unable to cope with city influences and a loss of "traditional" life. Immoral behaviour aggravated by african women's hyper-sexuality and the black male's inability to control himself resulted, along with high illegitimacy rates and criminal activity.

Official discourse created an understanding of township rape based on this information. During this period, the combination of a rural african or coloured man's inability to practise restraint, furthered by the temptation of a hyper-sexual african or coloured woman and aggravated by demoralised urban conditions, established a community of sexual violence. Thus, it was a biological and social inevitability that high rape rates existed within the townships.

The twenty-year period from 1965-1985 defined the next stage of official discourse. Assumptions from the previous period were not disregarded but altered slightly. The state accepted that some african and coloured presence in urban areas was permanent. Restrictive legislation was imposed in order to ensure that only those necessary for labour remained in the cities. Facing domestic and international condemnation for laws such as the *Group Areas Act* and the *Separate Amenities Act*, the state sought to use discourse that would justify these actions. The state found a solution to its problem by adjusting the previous era's discourse to focus on townships themselves. Government publications and debates in parliament argued that poor living conditions in the townships instigated social problems. Rampant violence was the result of a

migrant workforce, which came in and out of the area, contributing to instability, unequal sex ratios, illegitimate children, and a loss of parental control. Women's rape in these communities was no longer the result of africans and coloureds nature and their inability to adapt to urban areas. Fault could instead be found in the polluted living conditions of townships. Again, the South African apartheid government did not admit to its role in ensuring these areas were established but placed blame with township residents.

The final discursive phase was marked by two stages of political upheavals. A state of emergency, imposed after a period of negotiation and the dismantling of the apartheid state followed a period of particularly virulent township violence. Declining state power coincided with increased discussions on issues previously ignored in the equal rights struggle. When the decision to end apartheid was made, other social problems gained some much-needed attention, as the focus was no longer on the racist state.

As township youths revolted against apartheid, the South African government initiated studies of what social problems created such dissent. Through their investigations into township youths, officials were also able to examine the roots of violence, including gender violence. What they found was that township youths were the product of a society in which they were undervalued as individuals and collectively, where the expression of political rights were limited and where violence was often the only legitimate way of

expressing themselves. As a result, violence within the townships was on the rise.

During the second half of this discursive period, South Africa began its transition to democracy. Aside from abolishing racist laws, an evaluation of previously ignored issues was also included. Since it was believed that equality between the races was going to be achieved, equality between the genders garnered new attention. Rape was just one of the highlighted problems facing women. However, discourse on rape in this period was not concerned with any specific racial group. Official bodies focused only on the criminal and judicial system's effectiveness in dealing with the problem of rape, not on which racial group was most affected. What resulted were a number of inquiries into the legal definitions of rape, the ability of South African Police to respond appropriately, and the judiciary system's effectiveness in convicting those charged with the crime. It was due to this process of re-evaluation that reforms were made in both systems following 1994.

Intra-racial rape in South African townships did not receive the attention it deserved in official circles until the end of apartheid. Throughout the apartheid era the South African government remained concerned with larger issues of political control and the subordination of african and coloured peoples. Political and economic concerns determined official discourse on intra-racial rape thus it was only through attempts to understand the social lives of these populations that township rape was discussed. When it was acknowledged no immediate

action was evidenced, thus ensuring the continued existence of the crises.[126] Since the end of apartheid in 1994, democratic rule in South Africa should alter the discourse substantially.

[126] Sources were not available to determine why the state chose inaction over action. Further research needs to be done in this area.

CHAPTER THREE – THE SILENT RAPE OF WOMEN: DISCOURSE OF THE NEWS MEDIA

In her ground-breaking work Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape Susan Brownmiller remarks that rape plays a critical function in keeping "all women in a state of fear."[1] If one subscribes to this conjecture, news media's role is to support women's suppression through publication of articles detailing sexual violence against women. South African liberal white newspapers have fulfilled this job beyond expectations as reports of both inter and intra-racial rape were evident throughout the apartheid era. Articles on intra-racial township rape did not receive significant coverage in terms of article size and placement in comparison to those on white women's rape. Nevertheless, white newspapers did publish small pieces providing details of african and coloured women's rapes.

However negligible, recognition of gender issues did exist in the news media during apartheid. Levitt and Kotter note in Culture, Power and Difference: Discourse Analysis in South Africa that "issues of gender have had only a nominal place in published South Africa...taking a second place to the political and intellectual struggles around apartheid."[2] Subjection of gender issues to economic concerns must be added to Levitt and Kotter's statement. Where coverage existed in South African news media, it was relegated to two types of articles: articles on assaults and articles discussing court cases. Those detailing assaults of african and coloured women typically focused on the generalities of the rape *e.g.* location, weapon(s) used, and injury(s) incurred. It was illegal for

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[1] Susan Brownmiller, Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape (New York, 1975), p.5.
[2] Erica Burman, Ann Levitt, Amanda Kotter and Ian Parker ed. Culture, Power and Difference: Discourse Analysis in South Africa. (London: 1997), p.8.

newspapers to "...publish...detailed evidence of an immoral, obscene, indecent or disgusting character.[3] This included the use of lewd details such as objects utilised and descriptions of forced sexual acts. However, it was important for a publication to include particulars that would shock the reader for "crime stories must be enjoyable, a diversion, fun. They must provide disreputable pleasures" for the reader.[4] Those articles that did not have entertainment value would not receive reader's attention.

The value of these articles in analysing news media discourse lies in the inclusion of statements passing judgement on victims, perpetrators and/or the crime. Jane Foress Bennett argues for an individual to be "in a rape story at all as the victim...[places women in] direct confrontation with stereotypes about gender and sexuality." [5] By locating those involved within gender specific categories such as mother, whore, or innocent girl, clear messages regarding societal values were sent to the public. The believability of african and coloured women and the criminality of their rape were also raised. By playing on well-established gender and racial stereotypes, liberal white newspapers suggested that african and coloured women's rape was not a serious offence worthy of punishment.

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[3] Brian Reginald Bamford and Leslie Blackwell Q.C., Newspaper Law in South Africa, (Cape Town, 1963), p.49.
[4] Richard V. Erickson. Crime and the Media, (Hants, England, 1995), p.4.
[5] Jane Foress Bennett, "Credibility, Plausibility and Autobiographical Oral Narrative: Some Suggestions From the Analysis of a Rape Survivors Testimony," ed. by Erica Burman, Amanda Kottler, Ann Levett and Ian Parker, Culture, Power and Difference: Discourse Analysis in South Africa (London, 1997), p.101.

Court reports[6] comprise the second group of articles in news media coverage. These articles provided recognition to important rape cases, including criminal prosecutions, appeals and lawsuits. As their readership was not overly concerned with township crime during apartheid, newspapers reported only on particularly titillating cases. Consequently, it was only shocking rapes where the victim was very young, or where mutilation or death occurred, that made that day's news.

However, South African law prescribed limitations on what could be described from a court case. In situations where the accused was under the age of 19 and charged with an indecent act, the media were not allowed to describe any prepatory examinations or the trial itself.[7] It was only with written consent from the judicial officer involved and that of the minor's parent/guardian(s), that details could be published. There existed no such safeguards for victims except in the Transvaal where publications were not permitted to include *detailed* evidence of an *obscene* nature from judicial proceedings.[8]

The central aim of court reporting was to be impartial until a verdict was issued. To our benefit, personal prejudices of the reporter as well as of society inevitably emerged within the text. Reports of court proceedings pertaining to intra-racial rape consequently provide access to liberal white South African attitudes concerning criminal justice issues. Through an examination of the text,

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[6] Articles describing events of court cases.
[7] Bamford and Blackwell, p.15.
[8] Ibid, p.49.

what liberal white South Africans thought of sex crimes in african and coloured communities was ascertained, specifically, whether or not the rape of these women was considered a crime. Furthermore, we can see whether african and coloured women's rape was considered a crime worthy of punishment and if so, how serious a punishment was deserved. Finally, court reporting permits us to determine what an appropriate victim was defined as, what characteristics made a woman believable, and what made a woman lie about rape.

Questions must be asked of the text in order to obtain this information. Specifically, what representation of african and coloured women was made? Are they agents within the text or were they portrayed as victims of crime and to the judicial system? Is the victim the *object* or *subject* of the story? From what perspective does the author write the piece? Is it from the victim's, the perpetrator's or an outsider's view? Is the victim's point of view included? By posing such questions while examining South African newspaper discourse, a more comprehensive analysis is possible.

"*The Silent Rape of Women*" – *Discourse of the News Media* conducts an analysis of the discourse employed by liberal white newspapers in South Africa. Three newspapers, the Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg Star and the Cape Times were studied for the purposes of this study. These publications were printed throughout the apartheid era and consumed primarily by a liberal[9] white

[9] For the purposes of the thesis, liberal whites have been defined as those who have been influenced by a small body of white educationalists, philanthropists, missionaries and social workers concerned with alleviating the harsh economic and social consequences of a racially

audience. As they were aimed towards individuals subscribing to the same ideological beliefs it is possible to ascertain distinct discursive themes. Had the research been based on ideologically opposed newspapers such as the Afrikaner paper Die Beeld and Drum, a magazine for africans, this chapter would have been based on a compare and contrast structure. By using white liberal newspapers[10] it was feasible to access how this population conceived township rape in South Africa. Furthermore, these publications were chosen for their representation of discourse from two different regions of the country. The Rand Daily Mail and Johannesburg Star both originate from the Witwatersrand while the Cape Times finds the Cape Province as its home.

Finally, it is important to emphasise that media discourse analysis does not provide a window into a rape victim's experience. Since the media attempts to remain bias free, the victim's voice is silenced. What is presented to the reader is a relatively sterile piece listing a series of facts. The horror of sexual violation and a victim's response is not evident, thus forcing an analysis of different sources. Chapter Four on Women's Voices incorporates women's voices allowing for a completed picture.

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divided society. This definition, taken from Paul B. Rich's White Power and the Liberal Conscience, does not assert that liberal whites opposed white rule, only that they expressed concern regarding the living and economic standards of the african and coloured populations.

[10] In order to gain a valid sample to draw from, I took a random approach to perusing the newspapers. Depending on whether it was a twice daily publication (as with the Star), or a daily newspaper I read every second or third month per year. For more information regarding methodology please see the introduction.

Rape Themes in Media Discourse

Discursive themes found in South African news media were similar to those discussed in Chapter Two. Issues of african and coloured presence in urban areas, their status within South African society and sexuality all emerged in articles which focused on township rape. Comparable to that of the second chapter, news media discourse subsumed rape to the larger issues of politics and economics. This chapter argues that the white liberal community did not perceive township rape as a point of concern. Throughout the apartheid era, intra-racial rape never gained the front-page coverage that inter-racial sexual violence did. Occasionally, small pieces detailing an enticing rape case would appear. However, articles were generally small in size and positioned into the background. These layouts ensured that the crime's seriousness was diminished, as location and size of articles suggests their importance. Unlike the second chapter, in which three distinctive phases could be discerned, media discourse utilised consistent themes throughout the apartheid era, with only subtle variations emerging over the decades. Variations in these themes resulted from the emerging importance of township crime and the feminist movement's impact on the media.

General Themes

Discrepancies existed between the number of rapes reported to the police and those that were recounted in the news throughout apartheid. Statistics reflect that african and coloured women went to the police in thousands (12 319 african women in 1972-1973 alone)[11] to report rape, yet white South African newspapers did not reflect these numbers. Rather, newspapers reported on weekend crime sprees in the townships. Even these discussions did not begin until the 1970s and included only a small portion of what was actually committed.

Also evident throughout the apartheid era were newspaper discourse's representations of intra-racial rape. Commonalties were found in articles reporting assaults and those describing court cases. In terms of the former, inclusion of salacious details suggested to the reader a degree of fantasy--the criminal act reported is to entertain, but certainly not to be considered seriously. As will be shown, the format common to most newspapers of presenting assaults implied the incident's lack of authenticity. As Richard V. Erickson noted in Crime and the Media, media discourses on crime are "folly because they do not reflect the reality of crime and law enforcement."[12] Instead, they were based on stories that police considered important, and "support[ed] law and order themes. Police therefore pick[ed] crimes for news release that [were] serious, dramatic and raise[d] public security concerns."[13]

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[11] Republic of South Africa. House of Assembly: Questions and Replies (24 April, 1975), p.799.
[12] Erickson, p.15.
[13] Ibid.

Utilisation of details also cast a shadow of doubt on victim's testimony in court reports, implying that african and coloured women had a propensity to be raped. Newspaper articles in South African media biased the reader against victims by providing particulars of the assault without an in-depth analysis. This format was distinct for "provid[ing] little systematic information about the sentencing process or its underlying principles."[14] The purpose of court reporting was to provide a short piece with little description of "the offence or the offender."[15]

Emphasis on the facts of a case likely prejudiced readers against african and coloured rapists as well. Reporters focused solely on details of the assault making african and coloured rapists' identities wholly based on race and gender. In contrast, descriptions of white rapists were well rounded and included details regarding age, residency, employment, family etc. However, african and coloured rapists were defined by two characteristics resulting in an expectation by readers that any, and all, black men were rapists. No identification of additional factors that may have contributed towards their criminal nature was provided, thus substantiating this observation.

The character of african and coloured victims was likewise simplified within the text. Rape victims were consistently defined according to predetermined gender roles. Their individuality was not relayed; rather it was

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[14] Julian V. Roberts and Anthony N. Doob, "News Media Influences on Public Views of Sentencing," Crime and the Media, ed. by Richard V. Ericson (Hants, England, 1995), p.1.
[15] Ibid, p.163.

their role as mother, wife, and whore or as innocent (and not so innocent) child that was articulated. The text's inability to recognise these women's identity by excluding information outside of their victim status reduced women to gender and racial categories. As with white rapists, white victims were frequently depicted in a sympathetic light. Without a sense of the person's character, african and coloured women's rape was depicted as the violation not of a person, but of property described in relation to men.

The culmination of media discourses' descriptions of intra-racial township rape was the lack of recognition that african and coloured women's rape was a crime. Even though articles detailed court proceedings, the victim was often a woman whose honesty was under doubt and who was frequently found to be culpable in her own assault. This belief was enhanced by a paucity of articles on court sentencing. Although trials sometimes received media attention, it was rare to find a subsequent article that described conviction. Hence, the message sent to readers was that no crime was committed and therefore punishment was unnecessary. The consistency of these themes throughout apartheid ensured that township rape was banished as a serious concern from white consciousness. It was only with apartheid's end in 1994 that the issue emerged for serious discussion in the news media.

Variations in Media Discourse

Chapter Two revealed that sexual violence in South African townships was subsumed to larger concerns throughout the apartheid era. Recognition of women's rape was not likewise ignored in the news media. An obvious bias existed towards coverage of the black peril ensuring that newspaper articles focusing specifically on intra-racial rape was limited. From 1948 to 1960 newspapers concentrated on publishing stories of inter-racial rape, especially incidents of african and coloured men raping white women. Consequently, what emerged was an emphasis on shocking readers while using a simpiistic format.

The 1960s observed rape reported more often in media discourse. Notions of africans' and coloureds' "otherness" were vital to the entrenchment of apartheid legislation and the need to provide validation to a racist regime. This political and economic environment created the foundation from which township crime as well as township rape could receive recognition within white liberal newspapers.

Consistent coverage of african and coloured women's sexual assault began in the 1970s. Recognising african and coloured urban populations as vital in meeting South Africa's economic needs, media discourse examined the role of crime in township life. Concern that african and coloured crime could spread to designated white areas permeated the press and produced an onslaught of articles. This opened the door to inquiries into intra-racial rape although it was not embraced as a shared problem between racial communities. For the first

time court proceedings were included in all liberal white newspapers although they merely complimented stereotypes provided in articles on assault.

Numerous articles offering intra-racial township rape cases were only evident in the last decade of apartheid rule in South Africa. Violent political protest was rampant throughout the townships in addition to pre-existing incidents of criminal activity. Media discourse accordingly provided coverage of both, moreover, it attempted to objectively represent intra-racial rape while providing sympathetic portrayal of its victims. However, the strength of gender stereotypes in the discourse prevailed throughout the 1980s.

The decline of apartheid in the early 1990s monopolised the news media's attention. Significant changes in intra-racial township rape, including exclusion of racial identification within an article's text, coincided in the discourse. The elimination of a participant's race ushered in the post-apartheid era. As a result of this modification focus shifted to the examination of possible solutions to the crisis of rape in post-apartheid South Africa.

1948-1960s: WOMEN'S "OUTRAGE"

News reports on intra-racial rape in South African townships are extremely difficult to locate in the early apartheid period. Where rape articles were found, the focus was on inter-racial rape -- either black men raping white women or white men raping african/coloured women -- *e.g.* "Non-European Admits Rape

Allegation," "Native Attacks Man with Panga, Assaults Girl."[16] Virtually no references were found regarding intra-racial rape within this time period aside from those published in the Cape Times.

Articles detailing intra-racial rape on the Cape primarily discussed cases that involved coloureds, no doubt due to their numerical dominance in the population of the area. As with discourse utilised by other white liberal newspapers, pieces in the Cape Times adopted a simple style. "Woman Tied, Assaulted," detailed the rape of a 56-year-old "Non-European" woman who was "tied...to a post in the back yard of her house...and assaulted."[17] The article, a mere two paragraphs long, focused on the details of the rape. Although it was noted that police were searching for the assailant, his description was not provided. All coloured men were thus implicated as the possible rapist.

The Cape Times was unique during this early period for its publication of intra-racial rape criminal cases. Court reporting did not emerge in the other liberal newspapers until the 1970s. Again, the styles of these articles were simple, providing only the most enticing information. In "Two Youths Sent For Trial" two coloured men (aged 20 and 18) who had allegedly "outrage[d]" an elderly coloured woman on a "lonely road"[18] were committed to trial. The victim's age adds an element of distaste to the piece. "First Death Sentence Since 1948" reported on the conviction of Wauntu Sobola (28) for the rape and murder of two

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[16] Both of these headlines are taken from the Rand Daily Mail. The first from Thursday, August 27, 1953 and the second from January 7, 1953.
[17] n.a. "Woman Tied, Assaulted," Cape Times (June 5, 1957), p.1.

elderly coloured women.[19] Reader's interest in this article would be in the age difference between Sobola and his victims as well as the imposition of the death penalty – the first for the Criminal Sessions court since 1948. The Cape was well known for its liberal racial mixing society in comparison to other South African provinces providing possible justification for the publication of these articles. Nevertheless, the discourse remained essentially the same supplying only basic information that would intrigue readers. Prolonged coverage of this case was not necessary, as it was probable that another equally entertaining assault would occur.

Absence of intra-racial rape articles during the early apartheid period resulted from the establishment of apartheid itself. News media focused on the institution of apartheid laws in South Africa. What, when and, how apartheid legislation was constructed dominated the news of the time. Articles discussing intra-racial rape as an issue worthy of public concern would have detracted from the political and ideological issues. Certainly intra-racial rape could have been veiled in moral terms, emphasising white moral superiority over africans and coloureds. However, reader's interest in township life simply did not exist.

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[18] n.a. "Two Youths Sent for Trial," Cape Times (February 28, 1951), p.4.
[19] n.a. "First Death Sentence Since 1948," Cape Times (February 15, 1951), p.5.

1960s: THE "OUTRAGE" CONTINUES

The 1960s placed fresh emphasis on the "othering" of africans and coloureds in white media discourse. New patterns emerged in the discourse in addition to a number of continuing themes. Newspapers publicised somewhat more consistently the rape of african and coloured women as part of a larger movement towards reporting South African township crime.

Articles detailing how many township crimes was now included in the news. Headlines from the Johannesburg Star include: "No-Crime Friday Yesterday: The First in Years"[20] and "Crime Down-Thanks to Police."[21] These headlines, however, spoke of low crime rates specifically in the white areas of Johannesburg. Nevertheless, the paper observed that "Soweto was once again hard hit by marauding bands of tsotsis"[22] while the Cape Times declared "crime was spreading in African areas."[23]

In addition to coverage of township crime, reports of african and coloured women's rape was included in numbers not seen in the 1950s. Although emphasis remained on white women's rape by african men (*e.g.* "Woman in Car Attacked,"[24] "Elderly Woman Terrorised,"[25] and "Hunt for Girl's Violaters[26]) articles also appeared that documented african and coloured women's rape.

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[20] Staff Reporter, "No-Crime Friday yesterday: the first in years," Johannesburg Star (January 18, 1966), p.3.
[21] n.a. "Crime down-thanks to police," Johannesburg Star (January 3, 1967), p.7.
[22] Ibid.
[23] n.a. "Must be Helped," Cape Times (November 2, 1962), p.3.
[24] n.a. "Women in Car Attacked," Johannesburg Star (January 9, 1967), p.10.
[25] n.a. "Elderly Woman Terrorized," Johannesburg Star (April 19, 1968), p.12.
[26] n.a. "Hunt For Girl's Violaters," Cape Times (August 10, 1960), p.2.

These articles did not recognise township women as the main victims of sexual assault rather it noted the assault in relation to a white victim. August 9, 1968's Johannesburg Star provides one example. In "Boy Tells Court of Chasing Man"[27] a 21- year- old white woman was raped and robbed by an african man before being chased off by the woman's younger brother. The article described the woman's assault including such details as the amount stolen, time of day, and what was found on the accused upon arrest. Also observed: "He [the accused rapist] is alleged to have raped an African woman the same day and to have stolen R12 from the White woman."[28] No additional details were provided of this african woman's "alleged assault" in this, or any, of the subsequent articles covering the trial.[29] The african woman remained nameless and her sexual assault unrecognised by the white media. As a result, her rape was not conveyed as a crime to the same magnitude as that of the white woman. Rather, her rape was equated to the theft of 12 Rand. Furthermore, the rape was not worthy of punishment as no mention was made of the rapist being charged or tried for the african woman's assault.

The Cape Times retained its distinction during the 1960s for reporting intra-racial rape court cases. The format for court reporting remained unchanged throughout the decade; articles were brief allowing for descriptions of assaults and a short comment from one of the parties involved:

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[27] n.a. "Woman tells court of driveway assault," Johannesburg Star (August 8, 1968), p.3.
[28] Ibid.

> The Judge said that the girl, who had had a harrowing experience when six men had raped her, could not identify Nduna as one of the men.
>
> He described Nduna as a "first class liar" who was lucky to get off.[30]

After this passage the assault was summarised along with the reason for acquittal. This style is typical of the discourse used for reporting township rape, used by the paper:

> Twenty-years hard labour was the sentence passed on a Coloured man Thomas Tieties, 20, who was found guilty of rape here yesterday.
>
> Mr. Justice Hall, who heard the case with two assessors said, in passing sentence, that he took into consideration Tieties age and the fact that the had no previous convictions.[31]

Both of these articles reported on unusual intra-racial rape cases. In the first instance, the coloured man was acquitted for the gang rape despite his confession to being present during the assault and the Judge's conclusion that the accused was a liar. In the latter case, twenty years hard labour was the sentence for inter-racial rape. Although no studies have been completed comparing the difference between sentences for inter- versus intra-racial rape, it is obvious from even a casual perusal of the Cape Times that heavier sentences were given for a black man's rape of a white woman in the Cape. Had either of

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[29] The rapist was later identified by the press as Stoffel Mofokeng, aged 19 at the time of the assault.

[30] n.a. "Cemetery Outrage: Two Men Acquitted," Cape Times (November 22, 1962), p.2.

[31] n.a. "20 Years Outrage," Cape Times (July 1, 1960), p.8.

these cases been more mundane and less seductive it is doubtful that they would have been published.[32]

Prior to the 1960s, little space existed in media discourse for recognition of intra-racial rape in South African townships. However, apartheid rule in the sixties was secure and attention could be directed towards other concerns. Crime in South African townships was one of the areas that garnered publicity; rape was one element in the discourse. The Johannesburg Star reported on intra-racial rape only in its relation to the rape of white women although the Cape Times included court reports of township rape within its publication. The argument was made that the Cape Times was possible unencumbered in its choice of material due to the fact that its readership consisted of a population known for more liberal attitudes regarding racial mixing. Regardless of either paper's motivation or justification for that matter, it is evident that the 1960s were the first period to recognise intra-racial rape's existence.

1970s: THE CRIME OF PERCEPTION

The african and coloured presence in urban areas was acknowledged as a permanent condition during the 1970s. News media conceded that an urban population was required to fulfil labour needs, however, they raised concern that too large an african and coloured presence could pose a threat to white political

[32] It is interesting to note that readership response during this area is lacking. No evidence existed of letters to the editor regarding rape, nor were there any editorials found. Further

dominance. In 1970, the newspapers published estimates on growth in the african population. According to the Johannesburg Star "35 Million Africans in AD 2000," would be living in urban areas[33]:

> By the end of this century – in just thirty years – there will not be a minimum of 28 million Bantu, as the Statistical Yearbook estimated in 1966, but at least 35-million...there will then be 6 000 000 Whites, just more than 8 400 Coloureds and about 1400 000 Indians.[34]

Discrepancies between estimates of growth in white and subordinate populations concerned the media, as they perceived african, and coloured groups as an unknown and uncontrollable segment of society. The Johannesburg Star article argued it was a "political bomb" and "this sombre picture may be made even darker by the general census which is at hand."[35]

Township Crime in the News

Concern with growing african and coloured urban presence led to increased coverage of township crime. News media mentioned african and coloured township crime during the sixties but only provided basic information on the problem. Newspapers presented statistics of township crime in the 1970s as well as enhanced text interpreting the numbers meaning. Individual crimes were

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research into african and coloured newspapers could provide an alternative discourse during this and other eras.

[33] n.a. "35 Million Africans in A.D. 2000," Johannesburg Star (January 19, 1970), p.5.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

also described, as were articles endeavouring to find explanations for why township crime existed.

Statistical reports of crime were popular in white South African newspapers during this period. These reports evolved from the 1960s format and typically provided statistics from weekends or important holidays in the townships. Headlines cited the statistics and the township to which they referred. "10 Raped at Weekends," [36]and "18 Killed, 14 Raped in Soweto,"[37] are two examples of this pattern. Also included within the text were descriptions of notable crimes and a statement from the police. In the first article cited above, police said that they "could give no reason for the dramatic increase in the murder rate."[38]

Media interest in highlighting conditions contributing to the crime explosion in the townships resulted from these statistical reports. Newspapers, with the support of government investigations into the issue, created public concern with african and coloured crime with a series of articles and editorials examining possible causal factors. According to the discourse, africans and coloureds were susceptible to influences that encouraged a life of crime. It was argued that coloureds were particularly prone to illegitimate births, overcrowded living conditions and dagga use:[39]

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[36] n.a. "10 Raped at Weekends," Johannesburg Star (September 15, 1978), p.8.
[37] n.a. "18 Killed, 14 Raped in Soweto," Johannesburg Star (August 16, 1976), p.3.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Dagga is marijuana.

> ...the Coloured community in Johannesburg...the highest birth rate of all population groups...the most overcrowded community...gangs rule this and other townships after dark...they kill for as little as 20c...[40]

A more comprehensive list of factors established the roots of african crime: alcohol, lack of parental control, unemployment, poor economic conditions, and insufficient recreational facilities. Articles assessing township crime inevitably excluded headline reference to africans and coloureds but included it within the body of the article. Without reference to which racial group being considered, headlines such as "Cash Crisis Influence Crime Rate"[41] and "Apartheid at Root of Crime – Claim,"[42] were thus assumed to be about africans or coloureds. Only the identification of whites in the headline made it apparent the article included a discussion of crime in this community. The implication that unless otherwise specified, africans and/or coloureds were the perpetrators of crime was made as a result. African and coloured population's "otherness" was consequently emphasised in addition to their so-called dangerous and criminal nature. These articles on township crime were not interested in finding solutions to the epidemic. Rather, they seemed to have been used as a justification for the moral supremacy of whites. The portrayal of african and coloured communities as rampant with immorality and violence ensured the perception was created of a need to take care of these "reckless creatures."

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[40] Jaap Boekkooi, "Conditions Which Are Creating a Wave of Coloured Crime," Johannesburg Star (December 13, 1972), p.B1.
[41] n.a. "Cash Crisis Influences Crime Rate," Johannesburg Star (February 20, 1978), p.5.
[42] n.a. "Apartheid at Root of Crime – Claim," Johannesburg Star (March 25, 1975), p.11.

News Coverage of Intra-racial Rape in the Townships

Unprecedented news media coverage of african and coloured women's rape occurred during the seventies. A product of the media's discussion of african urbanisation and township crime, articles on intra-racial rape in the townships could be found throughout liberal white news publications. For the first time, media included court reporting within its coverage in addition to debates on appropriate sentences for convicted rapists. All aspects of rape were covered in the media. "Terror on Train – 3 in Court,"[43] "Raped by 3, says Woman,"[44] "2 on Rape Charges,"[45] and "Wife of Postmaster Raped"[46] are articles that discussed african and coloured women's rape. As compared to previous decades these articles were featured prominently on the front page of the newspaper, however, little else changed in the portrayal of intra-racial rape. Rather, white media's propensity for reporting assaults with the highest entertainment value intensified.

Over a one-week period in 1978 the Star published a series of articles focusing on a young black woman's rape at the Estcourt police station. From the first day of reporting the correspondent provided an engaging discourse:

> ...two young black teenagers [were forced to] undress lie down on the floor and have sexual intercourse while four other policeman looked on...asked me to find out from her whether she was interested in entering the cell and having sex with one of the

[43] n.a. "Terror on Train – 3 in Court," Johannesburg Star (February 13, 1973), p.1.
[44] n.a. "Raped by 3, says Woman," Johannesburg Star (February 15, 1973), p.1.
[45] n.a. "2 on Rape Charges," Johannesburg Star (April 12, 1979), p.3.
[46] n.a. "Wife of Postmaster Raped," Johannesburg Star (April 6, 1977), p.3.

> men...the girl, believed to be aged about 14, did not give an answer and Sergeant Mtshali said she appeared scared and did not like what was going on.[47]

The first series piece was guaranteed to gain reader's attention as it was positioned prominently on top of page three with the headline in bold ink. Interest in the conclusion was created through the use of excessive details from the case that served to horrify and yet tantalise at the same time.

The second article expanded on the first day's testimony. As this case seems to have appealed to readers, those involved in the case were provided with a more three-dimensional image. The boy's age (14) was identified, as was the african police constables (19). Additionally, the constable's feelings regarding his involvement in forced sexual intercourse was described: "[he was] disgusted and ashamed at his colleagues who were watching two african teenagers have forced sex".[48] Since the public expressed interest[49] in the case it was possible for those involved to be given an identity, and thus gain humanity. If the case was not morally repulsive to liberal white society the articles would have likely continued using the standard, simple format with those involved remaining nameless african men and women.

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[47] n.a. "Court told of Sex in Cell," Johannesburg Star (September 13, 1978), p.3A.
[48] n.a. "Disgusted by Enforced Sex," Johannesburg Star (September 14, 1978), p.9.
[49] Again the interest in reading the specifics of the case without creating any sense of intimacy with those involved. Readers wanted to know what was going on but did not want to feel responsible for action as a result of the knowledge they had.

The standard practice of including prurient information remained in spite of these slight alterations in rape discourse. From one of the final articles in the series:

> ...she was forced to copulate with an African male in a small office while one of the constables stood over them with a stick and other policemen laughed at them...she told the court that on March 18 of this year after she had been arrested for loitering in an Estcourt park, she was taken to a cell, pushed inside and sexually assaulted by a prisoner.
>
> "I was terrified and did not scream because there was nobody there to help me. The prisoner tried to undress me but I managed to evade him and was eventually allowed to leave the cell."[50]

The entire article is devoted to this testimony. There was no discussion of court proceedings, merely the young girl's words.

As stated, what was unusual in this series was recognition of the african woman's identity. The victim was not named however she had the opportunity to express herself. During this period african and coloured women were portrayed in ways recognising their autonomy as individuals, rather than as a group. It would be presumptuous to say that they were understood as more than just the roles they played such as wife and mother.[51] But their humanity if not their equality was definitely responded to:

> All day the Black mother is searching for a home, for food, for a job, for money...She is living for her monthly packet...the Black mother raises her children

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[50] n.a. "Court Told of Cell Sex Struggle," Johannesburg Star (September 15, 1978), p.11.

[51] South African society's ability to recognise african and coloured women as individuals is still lacking in the post-apartheid era. These women continue to be defined according to their relationship with the men in their lives.

> in an environment often conducive to much suffering and pain – where dust and dirt and hunger infiltrate...take notice of us, we are people.[52]

African and coloured women's suffering as mothers and wives rather than as individuals is what gained media sympathy. The developing feminist movement in South Africa increased discussions of all women's oppression in the press. Thus, african and coloured women's oppression experienced due to these roles was the focus of media attention. Neither the racial discrimination these women faced nor the violence they experienced in their communities received media coverage.

Sexual assault was consequently still linked to perceptions of women's sexuality (as was discussed in Chapter Two). The myth of african and coloured's "wild sensuality"[53] persisted even in this late decade. "Sex and the African," published in the Johannesburg Star on April 18, 1970 described the public's impression of african and coloured sexuality:[54]

> ...there is a widespread belief that Africans have a freer sex life - and, in addition, a general belief that African men are more virile and sexually more potent, that African women are more voluptuous and have more abandon.[55]

According to the view expressed by those surveyed, intra-racial rape was the result of african and coloured male libido and the seductive nature of women in their communities. White South African's belief that african and coloured hyper-

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[52] n.a. "And the Black Woman's Identify?", Johannesburg Star (February 9, 1973), p.B3.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Patrick Laurence, "Sex and the African," Johannesburg Star (April 18, 1970), p.11.

sexuality defined their characters continued to justify high rates of rape in the townships.

Prior to the 1970s, white liberal newspapers (with the exception of the Cape Times) focused solely on printing articles depicting interesting rape cases. Follow-up pieces were not published nor was material on convictions. This conveyed to readers that african and coloured rapists were not penalised and implied that no crime was committed. This trend and simplistic summarisation's of rape cases continued in the 1970s. As with the 1960s discourse, they provided only basic information regarding the case and sentence given.

In "Cuts for Young Rapist"[56] a 16 year old youth who raped an 11 year old girl in Qolombane township (Tsolo district) was sentenced to nine cuts[57] by the Regional Court. The article attempts to provide both sides of the story, although there is an obvious bias against the victim:

> The youth who pleaded not guilty, claimed in court that the girl was his lover. He said that they had arranged to meet on the day of the incident. He claimed he had been intimate with her a number of times during the last two years...The girl told the court...when the youth whom she had never seen before, arrived and dragged her into the cattle kraal. She had cried for help but the youth covered her face with a jacket and threatened to cut her throat with a knife. She was then raped once...[58]

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[55] Ibid.
[56] n.a."Cuts for Young Rapist," Johannesburg Star (February 21, 1978), p.3A.
[57] The term "cuts" is meant to describe lashings by a whip.
[58] Ibid.

Despite the youth's conviction and punishment for the rape, the credibility of the girl's testimony is questioned in the text. The final sentence of the article states: "Medical evidence revealed that the girl had had previous experience of sexual relations."[59] Doubt is thus cast on the girl's testimony due to sexual history even though the man had already been convicted of the crime. The fact that she may have been sexually molested or raped prior to this instance is not considered.

News media effectively manipulated their audience through manoeuvring accepted gender and racial stereotypes. In the previous example, the myth that a woman with a sexual past could not be raped (as consent had been given in prior situations) was used. The rape victim's morality was questioned even though the male's inherent depravity as a rapist is not discussed. This allowed liberal white South Africans to dissolve any need to involve themselves in finding solutions to the rape crisis while reinforcing their moral superiority.

African and coloured women's honesty during testimony was a dominant issue in court case articles whereas it was not of concern in white women's testimony. For example, on April 14, 1977 the Johannesburg Star reported that Sdoda Makhobe was sentenced to 16 years for raping a pregnant white woman.[60] Makhobe was described as a "brutal man" who "snatched [the woman's child] from her arms, threw it to the floor and raped her in the garden."[61]

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[59] Ibid.
[60] n.a. "'Brutal' Rapist Gets 16 Years," Johannesburg Star (April 14, 1977), p.5.
[61] Ibid.

"Soldier in SWA on Sex Charge"[62] and "Officer Jailed for Rape,"[63] conversely describes the african or coloured victim and/or rapist as liars. Olivia Kanaielo, the victim in "Soldier in SWA on Sex Charge," was accused of perjury regarding her claim of prior knowledge of the accused. In the latter article, Olivia's character was questioned due to her prior knowledge of the assailant as a result of arrest. Though both cases were allegedly reporting on the rapist's guilt they also implied victim's culpability. African and coloured women did not find a sympathetic judicial system in South Africa. They were forced to confront the widespread perception that their rape was "not serious and that it [was] invited by the victim."[64] This attitude saturated the courts making rape one of the few crimes where the victim was forced to prove their innocence.

Newspapers additionally supplied coverage to debates on conviction rates as well as to suitable punishments. It was recognised that conviction rates were not as exemplary for intra-racial rapes as for white women's rape. Colonel Tony Visser, Soweto's Criminal Investigation Department Chief, said in 1978 that 95% of rape cases in Soweto remained unsolved.[65] He noted that this was not the fault of police, rather that "...women and girls who were raped often had themselves to blame" and that "Some women use[d] rape as a cover when they

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[62] n.a. "Soldier in SWA on Sex Charge," Johannesburg Star (August 18, 1976), p.1.
[63] n.a. "Officer Jailed for Rape," Johannesburg Star (October 14, 1972), p.4.
[64] Brian McKendrick and Wilma Hoffman. People and Violence in South Africa (Oxford, 1990), p.41.
[65] n.a. "95pc Rapes 'Unsolved,'" Johannesburg Star (September 15, 1978), p.1.

[were] in difficulties with their husbands or parents..."[66] Consequently, it was the responsibility of township parents and women to prevent possible violation. Where reports of township rape were taken seriously (*e.g.* in cases where "women coming from work are attacked" and victims were found to be "decent people who need protection")[67] they might expect judiciary action though certainly not of the same quality white women received.

The 1970s were an interesting era for intra-racial rape discourse. The golden era of apartheid had, in many ways, ended. Sharpeville, the 1976 riots and student protests against education all served to focus attention on events occurring in the townships. Discussions of african and coloured urbanisation formed a foundation from which debates of township crime were based in the media. Within this forum white liberal newspapers discussed intra-racial rape.

In spite of the advances made in the amount of coverage provided to township rape, media discourse's style remained essentially the same. The inclusion of excessive details of more tragic elements ensured a story would retain its entertainment value. Victims as well as their assailants were also placed in roles defined by gender and race. African and coloured women were restricted according to their relationship to men while their believability as victims was questioned as a result of white perceptions of their sexuality.

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[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.

Proliferation of court reporting into the white liberal South African newspapers also defined the decade. Analysis of these articles showed the inclusion of common rape myths into their scope. Examples were provided such as the belief that sexually promiscuous women could not be raped. Consequently, the 1970s can be credited as the decade in which space for the issue of intra-racial rape was made.

1980s: GOOD GIRLS DON'T GET RAPED

The last full decade of apartheid in South Africa was a period of great unrest. As was argued in Chapter Two, South Africans questioned the validity of a racially based and oppressive government system. Violence was one of the main avenues in which this opposition found expression. Incidents such as the massacre at Uitenhange, strikes, protests and the practice of necklacing culminated in the 1985 state of emergency and subsequent crumbling of the apartheid state. An array of

> ...wild cat strikes, consumer boycotts as well as a boycott of the elections to the special Indian and Coloured houses [occurred]...Moreover, there [was] a wave of industrial sabotage and last but not least, UDF[68] [was] founded as a Cinderella organisation for nearly 600 grass-root organisations.[69]

[68] United Democratic Front.
[69] Flemming Rogilds, In the Land of the Elephant Bird (Hants, England, 1994), p.64.

Led primarily by african and coloured township youth, resistance against apartheid and violence were intrinsically intertwined. South African news media recognised the relationship between these two phenomena and published many articles on both issues. The 1980s were distinct for the level of coverage provided on township violence; including intra-racial rape. Moreover, sympathy for african and coloured rape victims within the discourse was newly exhibited although gender stereotypes regarding both sexes still existed.

African and Coloured Violence in the News

Increases in township crime existed alongside a rise in political resistance against apartheid. Economic conditions deteriorated as the government's use of violence to repress political protest rose. This created an environment where violence was used as a means to an end. Crime was consequently seen as an answer to both of these problems. Townships were infested with highly organised criminal gangs who targeted all races. In response, media discourse placed emphasis from the early eighties onwards on covering township crime. The former style of reporting weekend crime statistics in newspapers continued and was coupled with comprehensive pieces searching for the root of township crime. Doubtless, these longer works were influenced by official discourse's concern with the same issue.

Little observable change was evident within those articles summarising criminal activity. Headlines for these pieces remained simple and included location as well as the number of crimes: "9 Killed in Soweto at Weekend,"[70] "10 Die in Soweto at Weekend,"[71] "14 Murders in Soweto."[72] What was different was the size of the headline and the placement of the article. These pieces were near the front of the newspaper with noticeably larger headlines. Descriptions of more outrageous rapes were longer, more elaborate than in previous decades, and often included the victim's statement along with that of the police:

> Fourteen women were raped – 13 in Soweto.
>
> In Johannesburg, a young woman was throttled and raped in Crown Gardens after she had gone to fetch her mother who had left the house after an argument with her father...On the corner of Tilroy and Shannon Streets, a man grabbed her, pulled her into the thick bushes and raped her. The woman sustained slight injuries to her legs, arms and throat.[73]

Johannesburg Star of January 23, 1984 provides another example:

> In one of 13 rape cases a five-year-old girl claimed that her 10-year old friend tried to rape her in the veld.
>
> Brigadier Viktor said the young suspect had been detained for questioning in connection with the incident.[74]

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[70] n.a. "9 Killed at Weekend in Soweto," Johannesburg Star (September 13, 1982), p.3.
[71] n.a. "10 Die in Soweto at Weekend," Johannesburg Star (January 23, 1984), p.3.
[72] n.a. "14 Murders in Soweto," Johannesburg Star (July 15, 1985), p.13.
[73] Mike Cohen. "20 Die in Weekend of Violence," Johannesburg Star (April 13, 1981), p.3.
[74] n.a. "10 Die in Soweto," p.3.

Both passages are typical of media discourse. The report is detailed providing information on those involved, the events that occurred and, location. Additionally, these are more disturbing crimes with, in the latter case, minors involved. As a result the representation of township crime is of consistency and brutality.

Justifications for coloured crime were similar, if not the same, as those for africans. The fact that there was "no such thing as a coloured culture or language, or coloured customs and traditions"[75] resulted in an estranged group that "clamour[ed] for a more meaningful share in the governing of the country and inclusion in the mainstream of South African society."[76] Frustration inevitably occurred when coloureds were unable to achieve equality with whites in social, economic and political systems. It was believed that these individuals would then turn to criminal activity in order to gain the power and wealth they desired.

Throughout the decade, articles professing to have found the ultimate explanation were published. "Millions More Blacks will Stream to Cities" argued it was unemployment experienced by young males migrating to the city that would create unrest[77] while "Crime is Highest at Weekends" presented the view that it was due to alcohol abuse.[78] Circumstances considered general to both african and coloured communities included everything from high urbanisation rates to

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[75] H. J. Peterson. "Coloured People: Their Contribution to South Africa," Johannesburg Star (April 9,1981), p.15.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Caroyln Dempster. "Millions More Blacks Will Stream to Cities," Johannesburg Star (March 4, 1982), p.6.

alcohol abuse. More intensive examinations looked at psychological aspects of township living. The Johannesburg Star's medical report, published in October 1986, presented the argument of two University of Natal psychologists. They hypothesised that due to a breakdown in the family unit and poor education, black youth "rejected parental values and bec[a]me a significant political force in the country."[79] In 1988, reporter Sally Sealey questioned this assertion. She submitted that "there [was] little evidence to suggest that South Africa's township youth have developed into a generation of irreparably damaged and brutalised people."[80] She pointed out that conditions existed that led to violence in african and coloured communities that would incur the same result in white communities: "any body, given the right environment, was capable of violence."[81] Thus, the claim that apartheid created "children of resentment" and "psychopathic teenagers" was inaccurate and blame should instead be found in black family life. News media discourse enhanced the legitimacy of its articles as well as of its arguments through this use of expert testimony.[82]

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[78] Jon Qwelane. "Crime is Highest At Weekends," Johannesburg Star (January 20, 1984), p.4.
[79] Medical Reporter. "Black Youth Rejects Parental Values," Johannesburg Star (October 10, 1986), p.8.
[80] Sally Sealey. "Township Youth Not Brutalised – Prof." Johannesburg Star (May 12, 1988), p.9.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Once again the influence of academics is apparent. However, in this discourse it was the use of academics whose arguments would not have been acceptable to the official discourse and would not have found support by the state. However, the arguments of these intellectuals still managed to support apartheid policies while claiming to be "enlightened" at the same time.

Rape in the News Media

Realisation that rape was a widespread phenomenon deserving of media attention finally occurred in the 1980s. White liberal South African newspapers were not ready to recognise that rape had reached epidemic proportions in african and coloured townships although they were prepared to initiate discussions into the matter. Discourse focusing specifically on intra-racial rape was more enlightened during this period and increasingly sympathetic to the victims. The international women's movement had had an impact on media discourse and articles reflected this new attitude. In addition to local coverage newspapers published pieces on the international problem of rape (for example "Mexico Has a Rape Epidemic").[83]

Coverage was also given to popular rape myths. Beliefs such as "nice girls don't get raped" and physical examinations were not required where little physical damage occurred, were attacked in the media. Front-page coverage was given to this issue in 1983. Entitled "Rape Myths Dispelled"[84] and "Doctors Myths on Rape Said to Hamper Progress,"[85] these articles served to educate the public on harmful rape stereotypes. Dr. D.A. Cameron, quoted in the latter article, states: "if the prejudice is to be removed these myths must be proved to be false."[86] The prejudice to which he refers was not a racial prejudice but a

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[83] n.a. "Mexico Has a Rape Epidemic," Johannesburg Star (August 16, 1983), p.13.
[84] n.a. "Rape Myths Dispelled," Johannesburg Star (August 15, 1983), p.1.
[85] n.a. "Doctors' Myths on Rape Said to Hamper Progress," Johannesburg Star (August 15, 1983), p, 2M.
[86] Ibid.

sexist one. The fact that there was no recognition of racial issues in these articles can be interpreted in a number of ways. It could be seen as a means to make the article universally applicable, or, it may be due to the automatic assumption that african and coloured woman were excluded from their scope. Given the political situation of South Africa at the time, it is apparent that the latter conclusion is the most valid.

Although sympathy for victims was more apparent in the 1980s, the format for articles reporting on township assaults remained stagnant. Emphasis, be it for shock or entertainment value, was on publishing cases of considerable public interest. Articles such as "Man Confesses to Raping Old Woman"[87] persisted in gaining notice in addition to light-hearted cases such as "Rape Suspect Arrested."[88] Crime reports in the news were a necessity as "people often fear crime and criticise the news as too negative and disturbing, they apparently find it even more unsettling not to read..."[89] The general public must have been cognisant of the predominance of rape in South Africa to not react against the prevalence of rape articles in their newspapers.

Gender stereotypes continued to exist within these articles in spite of the increase in coverage. Portrayals of african and coloured women did not embrace the notion that women were individuals outside of their relationship to men.

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[87] n.a. "Man Confesses to Raping Old Woman," Johannesburg Star (August 18, 1983), p.2M.
[88] Minutes after a 47-year-old woman arrived at the Vereeniging police station this morning claiming to have been raped, her alleged assailant strolled into the charge office to lay a charge of robbery...While she was being questioned a man wearing only underpants walked into the

Victim's roles remained defined as grandmothers, wives, mothers, children and whores. Cases in which women were perceived as inviting the rape were particularly popular. In "Victim Saw Rapist on TV,"[90] the article implicates the woman in her own rape due to the fact she met her rapists[91] at a night-club and returned to their flat where "each man raped her."[92] "Woman Raped After Strip Show – Claim" describes the victim as an escort agency stripper who was "allegedly" raped by two men after a "private strip show for about 40 men."[93] In this instance more detail is supplied regarding her occupation than of the assault itself. The fact that the victim was a worker in the sex industry supported the myth that sexually promiscuous women couldn't be raped. Depictions of rape involving morally questionable women remained frequent in the 1980s even though the same newspapers included discussions of women's rights and the feminist movement. Apparently, these deliberations did not extend to african and coloured women.

Guilt of rape victims was not the only stereotype utilised in the articles. Rape of what were perceived as "virtuous" women and children were also published. "Girl (4) Enticed Me, Says Rapist" is an excellent example of the news media's preferential treatment of those who fit the role. The article tells the

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charge office and said he wanted to lay a charge of robbery. (n.a. "Rape Suspect Arrested," Johannesburg Star, (September 10, 1982), p.8).

[89] Erickson, p.5.

[90] n.a. "Victim Saw Rapists on TV," Johannesburg Star (July 19, 1985), p.1.

[91] The 24 year old victim was gang-raped by three men.

[92] "Victim Saw Rapists on TV," p.1.

[93] n.a. "Woman Raped After StripShow – Claim," Johannesburg Star (May 18, 1987), p.1.

case of Mbulelo Taries Kayi, jailed for 10 years after his conviction for the rape of a four year old girl. Kayi testified that:

> ...the girl approached him. She was carrying a stick which she inserted between his thighs.
>
> "Her panties were torn and she voluntarily took them off. She enticed me to have sex with her," he said.[94]

Rather than using this passage as a means to portray the victim's own guilt it was a way to garner more sympathy for her. The passage was directly followed by the judge's condemnation of Kayi:

> The magistrate, Mr. T.J. la Grange, said in passing sentence that Kayi had behaved "like an animal in raping an innocent child of four."
>
> He added that the girl had suffered psychologically from the "gruesome ordeal."[95]

The function of words such as "animal," "innocent," and "gruesome ordeal," was to pass judgement on the accused as well as of the attack. This is not an article which could claim to be neutral, rather, the incorporation of the magistrate's comments into the article assisted the public in forming an opinion on the matter; one which the author has predetermined. In this example the conclusion was not objectionable to the basic beliefs of South African society. However, it is useful in understanding how the process occurs especially when the media utilised the same format to depict african and coloured victims as responsible for their assault.

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[94] Themba Maseko. "Girl (4) Enticed Me, Says Rapist," Johannesburg Star (August 18, 1983), p.1.

[95] Ibid.

The culmination of apartheid media discourse on township rape occurred in the 1980s. White liberal newspapers provided frequent coverage and analysis to the issue of intra-racial rape: its commission, the conviction of rapists and appropriate judicial response. During this period, discourse was concerned with the reasons for african and coloured criminal activity. By examining social problems in these communities, white liberal newspapers increased their readers' understanding of what initiated criminal responses. Additionally, by shining light on violent crime in the townships they inevitably brought the problem of sexual assault to the forefront.

Although this discourse did not make intra-racial rape a priority in the public's minds, nor did it attempt to do so, it attempted to debunk many of the rape myths existent in South Africa. Ironically, despite its attempts to eradicate views that argued "good girls don't get raped" etc. use of the standard discourse format continued. The long-established style of publishing scandalous rapes including gender stereotypes remained unchallenged. With only four years left during the apartheid era, South African media discourse had established a precedent of questionable worth.

THE EARLY 1990s: THE END OF AN ERA

Little development occurred in media discourse on intra-racial rape in the final four years of apartheid. Rather than concentrating on issues of gender violence media focused on relaying the extensive changes in political, economic

and social systems. Where coverage did exist, it was relegated to reports of township rape cases instead of debates connected with criminal prosecution or punishment. Although there was an obvious increase of intra-racial rape cases in the news, the format remained unchanged.

Reports of intra-racial rape cases were found throughout the newspapers in the early 1990s. "Soweto Rapist Terrorising Young Pupils"[96] and "Girl (18) Raped and Stabbed,"[97] are two examples of the news coverage offered. What is interesting in these pieces is the exclusion of the victims' or assailants' racial identities. It is only from where the rape took place or, occasionally, a brief description of the rapist that it is possible to identify their race. From "Police Warning After Rapist Terrorises Soweto Girls:"

> "We appeal to parents to arrange for escorts for their young children and to warn them against talking to strangers," said Captain John Ngobeni, Soweto police liaison officer.
>
> The girls described the man as being thick-lipped and wearing takkies and a tracksuit.[98]

The reader was likely to determine from this passage that the victims and their attacker were african. The assault took place in Soweto, an african township and the male was described as "thick-lipped," a facial characteristic frequently identified as african. These are obvious generalisations that the reader could make in spite of the reporter's exclusion of race. However, the fact that it was

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[96] n.a. "Soweto Rapist Terrorising Young Pupils," Johannesburg Star (September 4, 1991), p.2.
[97] n.a. "Girl (18) Raped and Stabbed), Johannesburg Star (October 9, 1990), p.1.
[98] n.a. "Police Warning After Rapist Terrorises Soweto Girls," Johannesburg Star (September 4, 1991), p.2.

not found in the text is indicative of the attempt to de-racialise media discourse. It was the first step towards breaking the link between such articles and the perception that rapists could be any, and all, african or coloured men. 1949 to 1994 is too short a time period to allow for any remarkable shifts to occur in the discourse. However, considering its brevity, attempts within the discourse to eradicate racial identification from its scope is monumental.

Media discourse on rape reflected the state's transition to a non-racial, democratic discourse. Rape discourse in the media underwent an enormous transition since the end of apartheid. Though much further research needs to occur on this transition, it is apparent that newspapers now identify rape as a political issue for all races within South Africa. In the post-apartheid era, rape is provided an admirable amount of coverage.

CONCLUSION

Chapter Two attempted to explicate official discourse surrounding intra-racial rape in South African townships. This chapter has taken a more narrow focus and endeavoured to penetrate the sometimes-overwhelming information from media discourse. By identifying liberal white newspapers as the source for analysis it was possible to discover clear discursive themes within the discourse on township rape.

What emerged from the examination of rape discourse of the Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg Star, and the Cape Times was not unlike that which was discussed in the second chapter. Themes concerning african and coloured urbanisation, township crime, sexuality and gender stereotypes all surfaced from the newspaper articles. This was not unexpected however, as one of the primary purposes of the media is to publish events and dialogue that occurred as a result of government action.

Liberal white South African newspapers established a uniform style of rape reporting. This format was simple but it managed to reflect to the readership the status of those it discussed. News articles, which spoke of individual assaults or of court cases in the newspapers, were brief and lacked detail outside of the descriptions of assaults themselves. Emphasis in these pieces was on evidence that would shock and titillate the reader. Essentially to entertain the readership and create an element of fantasy thus excusing them from any responsibility to act. As the number of articles included in these publications was not a reflection of the number that actually occurred in South African townships this disbelief was further substantiated.

Media discourse used additional generalities regarding intra-racial rape including the categorisation of individuals portrayed in the articles. Reporters marginalised african and coloured men and women by defining them according to race and gender. For rape victims, this resulted in a direct link between their role of victim and their relationships with men. This is to say they were

characterised in news articles as wives mothers, daughters or whores. For men, this translated into a loss of identity and reduction to a racial classification. The implication of this profile was that all, and in fact any, african and coloured male could be a rapist.

The second type of discourse originated as a result of decade by decade shifts that occurred throughout the apartheid era. From 1948 to 1960, a foundation was set for the rest of the apartheid period. In this twelve-year time span, media attention remained centred on the implementation of the apartheid framework. What little coverage newspapers provided to rape was monopolised by cases of black men raping white women.

The transition from the fifties to the sixties observed an evolution in the discourse. The decade saw a renewed importance of depicting africans and coloureds seem different ("other") to white populations. The goal was achieved through the introduction of discussions on township crime into the discourse. Nevertheless, intra-racial rape was only included if it was in relation to the sexual assault of a white woman. Audiences of liberal white newspapers were unwilling to receive information on this issue with the exception of the Cape where the Cape Times continued to be unique in its publication of court cases.

Numerous changes occurred in the media discourse of the seventies. Discourse on intra-racial rape mirrored larger political and social changes that transpired in South Africa. Included within these changes was the recognition of a permanent african and coloured urban population. This was a relatively new

concept for the media to accept, however, it did so with the understanding that they were necessary as a cheap labour force.

Linked to the growing acceptance of black urban areas was a rising interest in township crime. In the sixties, criminal activity in these communities was discussed in relation to its encroachment into white areas. The seventies added to this discourse and included the publication of crime statistics that reflected the level of crime in townships in addition to brief descriptions of more notable cases. Debates describing incentives for a criminal life were also published.

The result of this late interest in african and coloured crime was increased reports of intra-racial rape. Changes were initiated into the standard format of rape reporting in liberal white newspapers. Victims were given more complete identities within the text although they were still forced into gender stereotypes. In addition, the perceived primal sexuality of black men and women was discussed directly and implied indirectly by the choice of cases that received attention. For example, a case of an african or coloured prostitute or stripper was published, while that of a mother of four was not.

The 1980s and 1990s comprised the decline of apartheid. Although it was one of the most exciting eras in terms of South African history, it was also the most stagnant period in media discourse. Articles were published documenting township crime in increasing numbers; newspapers maintained their interest in finding the causes for this crime, questioning of popular rape myths persisted, as

did the use of gender stereotypes. What varied from the discourse of previous decades was the exclusion of racial identification from newspaper articles in the early 1990s. This was clearly the result of the attempt to de-racialise discourse in South Africa.

Media discourse analysis is a valuable tool in accessing liberal white attitudes regarding intra-racial rape in the townships. Through an analysis of articles from the Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg Star and, Cape Times it was possible to attain what and how white populations of the Witwatersrand and the Cape generally felt towards the rape of african and coloured women by men of their own race. It was evident throughout the apartheid era that this was not a concern to whites. The perception was that african and coloured rape was a concern to only those communities and should, as a result, be addressed by its residents. Chapter Three on women's voices speaks on what media discourse was suggesting throughout the apartheid era – the discourse of township communities on intra-racial rape.

CHAPTER FOUR – "I AM AFRAID OF THE JACKROLLERS": WOMEN'S VOICES

INTRODUCTION

Little has been produced on intra-racial sexual assault[1] although a number of studies have been completed on Black Peril scares[2] and the rape experiences of african women by white men.[3] Academics have ignored the importance of african and coloured women's position as the main victims of this crime at the hands of men whom they presumed to be the safest -- men in their own community.[4] It is an irony of South African historiography that the very segment of the population most affected by rape has also been that most ignored in the literature on sexual violence.

Accessing women's voices is paramount to any discursive study of rape in South African townships. It is the discourse that these women have used to convey their perception of rape that assists in our understanding of their victimisation, particularly in the townships where issues of economic and political

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[1] Historiography on criminal gangs in South African townships has discussed the issue of intra-racial rape. The focus in this body of literature has, however, remained on the perpetrators of the assault using it as a tool of intimidation and control of township women. Women's voices have by and large been excluded from its analysis.

[2] Gareth Cornwell, "George Webb Hardy's The Black Peril and the Social Meaning of 'Black Peril' in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 22, No. 3 (September, 1996); Norman Etherington, "Natal's Black Rape Scare of the 1870s," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol.15 No. 1 (October 1998); Jonathan Hyslop, "Incident at Ziman Brothers: The Politics of Gender and Race in a Pretoria Factory 1934," The International Journal of African Historical Studies Vol. 28, No. 3 (1995).

[3] Jenny Sharpe, "The Unspeakable Limits of Rape: Colonial Violence and Counter Insurgency," Genders, No. 10 (Spring, 1991).

[4] Although statistics on the racial makeup of convicted rapists in South Africa were kept by the South African government the race of their victims were not. In Maids and Madams:A Study in the Politics of Exploitation (New York, 1987), Jaclyn Cock notes that in 1977 out of a total of 14 953 reported rapes, 14 242 were rapes of "non-whites" by "non-whites" making up 95% of the total. It has also been estimated by Lloyd Vogelman in The Sexual Face of Violence: Rapists on Rape (1990) that 95-98% of rapes are intra-racial perhaps due to the fact that the apartheid system of racial separation, black men's access to white women was limited socially as well as geographically, and vice versa. Other academics such as Gareth Cromwell support Vogelman's assertion as valid in both historical and contemporary South Africa.

survival took the forefront. To understand the victim's position, relationship with their rapists and the larger community, a discussion of how women made sense of their physical violation is necessary. Examining how township men perceived rape in their communities is also vital, in conjunction with women's understanding, in order to comprehend how the crises of township rape could continuously be set aside in favour of political and economic concerns.

Discursive Themes

A number of themes emerged through the analysis of autobiographies and biographies of african and coloured South African men and women. Addressed in the literature was the discourse on the pervasiveness of township violence, fear of assault while using public transportation, rape at the hands of township gangsters[5] and african policemen. Both sexes expressed sentiments surrounding these issues with little variation throughout the apartheid era. Fear of criminal gangs underwent a transformation in the late 1970s due to the political uprisings of township students. This, however, is the only variation. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, dramatic shifts in official and media discourse dictated that a defined periodisation was needed for the Chapter's outline. As women's discourse was typified by a lack of change, periodisation is not appropriate. Rather, a general discussion of the identified themes and their stamina throughout the apartheid era is required. The second portion of this chapter on

women's voices will examine the nature of these themes to clearly understand why rape was feared by women in the townships in spite of the larger political and ideological shifts in South Africa.

TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE

Rape theorist Susan Brownmiller identified a violent culture as a factor in determining community rape rates. According to Brownmiller, it is those men who have been marginalised and alienated from the dominant political and cultural system who frequently become rapists:

> ...within the dominant system of our culture there exists a subculture of those from the lower classes, the poor, the disenfranchised, the black, whose values run counter to those of the dominant culture, the people in charge. The dominant culture can operate within the laws of civility because it has little need to resort to violence to get what it wants. The sub-culture thwarted, inarticulate and angry, is quick to resort to violence and physical aggression become a common way of life. Particularly for young males.[6]

Brownmiller discusses the tendency of politically and economically marginal communities to be those where a number of rape promoting factors exist such as: "unemployment, poor wages, alcohol and drug abuse, racial and class conflict and social acceptance of violence as an appropriate means to attain personal and social goals."[7] Men living in South African townships were subjected to these causal factors as well as growing impoverishment,

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[5] Gang members in South African townships were at various times known as tsotsis, skollies and jackrollers. These terms will be used according to their usage in the correct time period.
[6] Susan Brownmiller, Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape (New York, 1975), p.196.

marginalisation of black youth, and the breakdown of the family unit under the stress of apartheid policies.[8] This is not an assertion that only men who are black, poor, and estranged from dominant culture resort to rape as an expression of power. Rather, rape culture as a foundation creates an environment that encourages high rape rates.

Violence was a part of daily existence for those living in the townships during apartheid. It is this violence-saturated environment that is discussed in the autobiographies and biographies of township men and women. Bloke Modisane[9], a former writer for Drum magazine and a resident of Sophiatown, observes:

> Violence exists in our day to day group relationships, the expression of the public conscience, it is contained in the law, the instrument of maintaining the law and order... The African directs his aggression perhaps most vigorously against his own group...[10]

In addition to sexual assault, incidents of robbery, muggings and general assault were frequent throughout South African townships during the apartheid era. Louis Franklin Freed states in Crime in South Africa that, in 1948, "natives" were responsible for 71.9% of all prosecuted crime in South Africa, and 73.2% in 1952.[11] When these statistics are compared with those kept by the Institute of

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[7] Vogelman, p.121.
[8] Steve Mokwena, The Era of the Jackrollers: Contextualising the Rise of Youth Gangs in Soweto (Johannesburg, 1991), p. 4.
[9] Bloke Modisane was born, and grew up in, Sophiatown during the 1940s and 1950s. His autobiography provides insight into the Sophiatown community including inter-racial community relations. As he was a writer for Drum magazine his autobiography is particularly detailed in its observations.
[10] Bloke Modisane, Blame Me On History (New York, 1963), p.59.
[11] Louis Franklin Freed, Crime in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1963), p.45.

Race Relations for the 1980s, it is evident that crime increased within these communities during apartheid.[12] The Institute reports that during this decade black on black violence was responsible for 92.5% of all crimes, an increase of almost 25%.[13]

The weekend was the most feared time in the townships. Men and women returned from city centres with pay packets, while migrant workers came from sex-segregated hostels to the townships for weekend breaks of drinking and socialising. Due to an influx of these temporary residents, the townships became increasingly dangerous as men got intoxicated and became violent. Ellen Kuzwayo[14], a resident of Pimville township, describes her recollection of the weekends:

> About sunset on Saturdays we knew that the gangs of Basothos would be arriving at Pimville. They were generally seen alighting from the train and emerging from the station or sometimes arriving in a taxi...It was a common occurrence to hear a women's shriek in the middle of the night pleading for help...[15]

Many residents chose to stay within their homes on the weekend fearing assault. For those township citizens who were uninvolved in the pervasive violence that

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[12] Although these statistics are problematic as they do not reflect what percentage of crimes were committed against persons of the same race in the earlier period and they do not illustrate what percentage of intra-racial crimes by natives weren't reported or prosecuted, they do remain useful in reflecting high levels of crime within african and coloured communities.

[13] Bronwen Manby and Binaifer Nowrojee, Violence Against Women in South Africa: The State Response to Domestic Violence and Rape (n.c., 1995), pp.50-51.

[14] Ellen Kuzwayo's autobiography chronicles both her personal and political life, thus providing a rich view of the struggle to exist as a black woman in the townships, as well as the struggle for rights. This author relays her experiences as an abused woman as well as the difficulties she faced in gaining respect from her male peers be it as wife, mother or political activist (in her role as leader of the YMCA).

[15] Ellen Kuzwayo, Call Me Woman (San Francisco, 1985), p.29-30.

plagued their communities, the tactic of avoidance appears to have been common. It was an appropriate method for avoiding victimisation for women as well as for township men. Mtutuzeli Matshoba[16], the son of Ellen Kuzwayo, tells in his own autobiography of this household rule:

> We were not allowed to leave the house and at night we slept on the cold floor. It was then that I first heard the sound of real gunfire. It was then that I first saw the black man standing his ground with a clenched fist in front of a barrel of a gun...[17]

African and coloured men put themselves at risk through involvement with conflict on the street. Bloke Modisane's autobiography, Blame Me on History, illustrates this threat in its description of an attempted rape that occurred on a Saturday night:

> I was listening to noisy jazz on the record player when one of those interminable screams arose over the noise. It seemed to come from a few feet away, seeming to come from inside the yard. I rushed out of the room with a fighting stick in my hand, but it was out in the street and the woman was screaming the usual summons. I was not feeling particularly brave, I did not want to be savaged with knives, I did not want to die, I was afraid of being afraid.[18]

In spite of his fear, the author chose in this instance to become embroiled in the conflict. Fortunately, the "rescue attempt was easier than I could have hoped for"

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[16] Matshoba grew up in Orlando East in Soweto with his mother. He later translated many of experiences into short stories which he published. His recollection of township life is particularly graphic and detailed.
[17] Mtutuzeli Matshoba, Call Me Not A Man (Essex, 1979), p.viii.
[18] Modisane, p.64.

as the rapist was a friend whom he managed to convince to use "gentler means of persuasion."[19]

Bloke Modisane's rescue of the unnamed rape victim was a rare occurrence in the townships. In most instances, women were assaulted because individuals chose to remain in their houses rather than risk becoming one of the corpses found on Sunday mornings "covered by wind-blown papers."[20] Despite any sympathy for victims of sexual assault, the reality remained that personal safety came before community needs. Consequently, the sounds of assault on women became the soundtrack of township life. Ezekiel Mphahlele writes: "An ominous scream pierced into the darkness of the night...Saturday night and screams...Yet one never seemed to get so used to it that the experience became common place and dull from beginning to end."[21]

Only since the fall of apartheid have community groups organised efforts to eradicate sexual violence.[22] During the apartheid era itself, residents of the townships did not prioritise rape as a political issue. The ability to feed one's family, survive health crises, gain employment, retain the family home in the face of forced removals, and the fight for political and social rights in an oppressive system gained precedence over concerns of sexual violence. As Cherryl Walker argues in Women and Resistance in South Africa (1991) "women's struggles

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[19] Ibid, p.64.
[20] Matshoba, p. viii.
[21] Ezekiel Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue (Gloucester, Mass, 1978), pp.30-31.
[22] Recent efforts have included the selling of rape insurance, t.v. and radio campaigns as well as support networks by such groups as the Cape Town Rape Crisis, People Opposing Women Abuse in Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg Rape Crisis.

against male domination" were of a more general political nature.[23] Women tended to mobilise around issues directly linked to their traditional roles as mothers and wives, thus providing them with community respect.[24] Julia Wells defined this phenomenon as "motherism" saying that "motherism is clearly not feminism. Women swept up in motherist movements were not fighting for their own personal rights as women, but for their rights as mothers."[25]

Exceptions could be found in cases where the rape victim was not considered responsible in some way for her assault, or, in which the act was an affront to community norms.[26] In such instances community retribution[27] was evident:

> It seems God did catch up with the Blade. One Saturday night he raped a teen-aged girl in a dark field near the Dougall Hall...The next week, on a Sunday, Second Avenue residents swarmed at the gate of the Blade home where he lived with his father

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[23] Cherryl Walker, Women and Resistance in South Africa (Claremont, 1991), p. xiv.
[24] Elaine Unterhalter has also noted in Class, Race and Gender (Cambridge, 1988) that a number of activists and commentators have stressed the lack of mobilisation around gender issues in favour of more political issues such as rent and troops in the townships.
[25] Wells, p.xix.
[26] The phenomenon of societies strong reactions to the attack of either beautiful women or young girls as opposed to those women with a sexually promiscuous past as with prostitutes or an unattractive female has been noted by Susan Brownmiller. She comments, "The murder of a beautiful young woman is no more regrettable, no greater a tragedy than the murder of a plain one except in a culture that values beauty in women above other attributes." (Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape, p. 380.) This phenomenon has also been noted in South Africa by the Women's Health Project in an article "Media: Friend or Foe?" (February 1998): "Would the media have paid as much attention if she were employed as a cleaner on Robben Island? The underlying message that is being sent out is that only when you fall within certain categories or stereotypes, are you regarded as important and deserving of sympathetic media attention."
[27] Community organisation in reaction to a rape was rare. Only a few incidences could be found in the available evidence *e.g.* the Port Alfred stay-away in 1984 where all the women of the community refused to go to work until a rapists was punished. Smaller incidences such as the one described by Mpaphahlele may have occurred more frequently than has been found.

> and stepmother. The people were angry. He had been bailed out and they didn't like it...[28]

Blade (a.k.a. Boeta Lem) was a tsotsi in 1950's Marabastad, Pretoria. According to the author, Blade was one of the numerous african men arrested by police for rape of an african woman in this time period. These individuals were easier to arrest and convict due to the discrimination african men faced in addition to their lack of power.[29] What resulted was a disproportionate amount of men of colour being jailed and executed for the crime (in 1969 alone three convicted rapists were executed, none of them white).

Still dissatisfied with the treatment the rapist received, the Marabastad community descended on his family home. Blade's father was able to save his son with the following plea:

> ...God's people hear me. You men and women here have children. You're lucky some of them are not like this lad here. You're lucky some of them haven't raped and stolen. It hurts me when a boy of my own blood makes life miserable for other people...I've brought him outside with me so that he should know what his people think of his wickedness.[30]

According to Mphahlele,[31] the crowd dispersed after the father's plea leaving responsibility for punishment in his hands,[32] illustrating once again the tendency to choose personal needs over community action.

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[28] Mphaphahlele, p. 80.
[29] Vogelman, p.118.
[30] Mpaphahlele, p.81.
[31] Ezekiel was a coloured (his grandfather was an Italian immigrant who married an african woman) man who grew up in the Marabastad township near Pretoria. His mother and father were

Lack of community response to sexual violence resulted in the designation of responsibility for personal safety with township women. As noted previously, staying within the home on weekends was one approach to protecting oneself. Other tactics included male escorts for women; female friends holding sleep overs in the case of an empty house, and limiting one's movement within the township.

Precautionary measures used by women occurred as township dwellers perceived sexual assault to be the inevitable result of life in these communities. This attitude also reflected women's status. One theory argues that the perception of women as non-entities increased the likelihood of rape. Susan Brownmiller comments on the tendency for men to perceive women as property not to be violated based on male ownership, saying "a crime against her body became a crime against the male estate."[33] African women under South African law (from 1927 until 1995) were considered to be perpetual minors with no independent power (thus placing them under male guardianship from birth through till death):[34] their bodies were often regarded as commodities. Although indian and coloured women were also subjected to minority status, they were included under civil law while african women were considered under both civil

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absent for most of his childhood resulting in Ezekiel's involvement in the township gangs. His autobiography describes this influence on his life.

[32] According to Mpaphahlele, Blade was later sentenced to ten years hard labour for his crime.

[33] Brownmiller, p.7.

[34] Jaclyn Cock, Maids and Madams: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation (Johannesburg, 1987), p.243.

and customary law (depending on the circumstance).[35] Sandra Burman notes that "women's own internalisation of the values that see them as 'goods of exchange' whose value can be reduced by 'spoiling'...provides very little security for African women..."[36] It is curious that a raped woman's devaluation did not encourage males in the townships to actively protect their relations. Instead they chose to do the opposite and concerned themselves solely with personal safety. Meanwhile, coloured women generally "experience[d] male domination without its compensating and complementary services"[37]

Township violence remained an integral factor in determining not only why the incidence of sexual violence remained high throughout the apartheid era but also how the community remained relatively indifferent to its solution. The existence of a culture of violence exacerbated by a migrant workforce, community indifference, the inability of women to mobilise, in addition to their lowered status, ensured that residents focused on larger issues of violence and survival rather than on the consequences of women's rape.

TREACHEROUS TRANSPORTATION

The apartheid government's belief in racial segregation resulted in township women's increased vulnerability to sexual assault. With the advent of apartheid in 1948 and the *Group Areas Act* in 1950, geographical and residential

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[35] Manby and Nowrojee, p.27.
[36] Sandra Burman, "Divorce and the Disadvantaged: African Women in Urban South Africa," in Renee Hirschon's Women and Property – Women as Property (New York, 1984), p.184.
[37] Fatima Meer, Women in the Apartheid Society

separation of the races was entrenched into law. For those living in relocation areas at the boundaries of designated white areas (usually economically vital zones such as Cape Town) migration into industries and towns became a way of life. African and coloured women's commute to and from white areas for employment particularly relied on the use of the South African public transportation system. Township women were faced with the time-consuming and expensive task of using public transportation to and from work every day, with an average commute being sixty or more kilometres each way, travelling on overcrowded, slow buses.[38] In addition to the inconvenience of these commutes, women were also exposed to the perils of sexual violence. Buses, trains, train platforms, and subsequent long walks to the townships had the reputation as areas during which women were at high risk of being raped. Thus, as early as 1956[39] women could be found boycotting the bus system in protest against its cost and peril.

Township women, especially domestic workers, were more likely then men to rely on the public transport system to get to work.[40] They faced an

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www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/misc/fatima.html), April 1985.

[38] Laurine Platzky and Cherryl Walker, The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1985), p.355.

[39] The Alexandra Bus Boycott of 1956 was the result of a penny increase in bus fare. Organized primarily by the women of the ANC, it required workers to walk nine miles to Johannesburg for three months before the increase was dropped. This boycott is detailed in Nancy Van Vuuren's Women Against Apartheid: The Fight for Freedom in South Africa, 1920-1975 (Palo Alto, 1979), p.43.

[40] Sally Baden, Shireen Hassim and Sheila Meintjes, Country Gender Profile: South Africa, (Pretoria, 1999), p.20.

increased threat as "few employers realise[d] the danger to which they expose[d] their servants by keeping them after dark"[41][42]:

> The house is far from town and the fares are very expensive, and because I must now take two jobs to pay everything off I get home very late and I am often frightened...I am so frightened...There are no inspectors, no police, decent people sitting in the trains and we must take that.[43]

Women's source of fear were african and coloured men who either patronised the service, or alternatively, were employed by it. Male coloured porters were one group in particular which acquired a reputation for sexual impropriety. Noni Jabavu described her encounter with a coloured porter on a train trip to Johannesburg in the 1950s:

> The attendant was Cape Coloured. This is one of their traditional jobs. And like many of them (they are famous among the Blacks for this I am sorry to say) he was unbelievably silly, filled with sex conveyed in objectionable remarks, a miserable specimen, a discredit to his people, no African girl on the train was safe from his advances and unfortunately our European guard was never at hand for us to appeal to.[44]

It is impossible given the lack of information, to determine with any accuracy the prevalence of assaults by coloured train personnel during the apartheid era.[45]

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[41] Ibid, p.261.
[42] William Street: District Six describes itself as an autobiography of an African woman's life. However, as Hettie Adams was illiterate and Hermione Suttner did translate and transcribe the words of Ms. Adams it seems more appropriate to describe this piece as a biography given the role that Ms. Suttner provided.
[43] Hettie Adams, William Street: District Six ed. by Hermione Suttner (Diep River, 1988), pp.66-67.
[44] Noni Jabavu, Drawn in Colour (London, 1960), p.66.
[45] No statistics were kept by the South African railway regarding assaults that occurred on trains.

Concise statistics were never kept, nor were any mass movements organised against train employees. However, the stereotype existed of coloured men having a "rape-utation."[46]

Lily Changfoot also encountered the possibility of assault by a coloured man while taking public transport. A resident of Prospect Township,[47] she took both train and bus to school everyday during the 1950s. While on the train she was subjected to two attempted assaults, the first of which took place on the 3:30 p.m. train returning to Prospect:

> My school hat was snatched from my head. Turning around I saw a coloured youth about twenty years old, threatening to molest me.
>
> "Ha, here's a pretty China girl," he said.
>
> Overcome with fear and weakness I could not cry out but burst into tears.
>
> The train arrived, it was a 'Godsend.' I rushed into the carriage hoping the youth would not pursue me. My relief was brief, for when I looked up; he was seated beside me, gloating with victory. He attempted to put his arms around me and tried to kiss me. Petrified, I prayed and hoped the conductor would appear, but in the meantime wrestled and struggled... I had never experienced the terrible situation of a helpless girl being attacked in a lonely train compartment.[48] [49]

The assailant is later referred to in the text as a "half-breed" who was detested "not because of his birth, but that he should choose an innocent girl not

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[46] Modisane, p.214.

[47] Lily Changfoot was designated an Asiatic by the South African government. She later immigrated to Canada.

[48] Lily Changfoot, A Many Coloured South Africa: The Diary of a Non-Person (St. Catherines, Ontario, 1982), p.86.

[49] Ms. Changfoot's molestation was eventually interrupted by a white conductor who removed the perpetrator from the train.

responsible for his circumstances, to let off steam."[50] Changfoot does not appear to be using this as an opportunity to express her personal bias, but rather to relay her experience as a potential rape victim. She does not focus on the "degenerative" aspects of the coloured "race" and instead expounds on her feelings as a potential rape victim. It is apparent that his race is not of any great surprise to the author, rather, it is almost to be expected. This incident provides further evidence of the reputation of coloured men as rapists.

African men were not exempted from this stereotype. Those african men who took public transport were also feared as potential rapists:

> When I go to work in the morning its still dark when I leave. Then the black guys get on the train and I must sit as they stand over me and beat the back of my seat: Gooma, gooma, just like Gadidja's gooma above my head and my head goes doef, doef from the sound. And my nerves are not so good. I don't move I am so frightened.[51]

According to Adams, Friday evenings were the most dangerous nights to be on the train. As Friday was pay-day, the trains would be filled with drunken, high men who "walk [ed] up and down and swear and steal and when the train stops and there are electric failures – they often have black-outs...you are scared of knives because everyone is standing with a knife out to protect themselves."[52]

Although many of the women studied for the purposes of this analysis mentioned the dangers of the trains and buses, it is interesting to note that not

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[50] Changfoot, p.86.
[51] Adams, p. 86
Gadidja was Hettie Adam's uncle.
[52] Ibid.

one township man remarked on it. Perhaps this is a lack of awareness on their part, or, simple naiveté due to the fact they were not subject to this kind of assault. Alternatively, since women were the predominant clients of the service, it is possible that the male authors studied simply did not use public transportation. Regardless, it is an area that needs further exploration.

In spite of its reputation, the South African public transportation system remained a necessary danger for township women throughout the apartheid era as it was their only link to employment and educational opportunities. Township women had no choice but to utilise the service in order to survive.

CRIMINAL GANGS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS

The discourse women utilised in discussing rape throughout the apartheid era has remained consistent in all areas except for that referring to the criminal gangs in South African townships. Throughout apartheid women lived in fear of township gangs. In the late 1970s, this shifted to a different but equally powerful group: students. The 1976 Soweto riots saw african youth protesting against the use of Afrikaans as the teaching medium in their schools. The youth-based movement grew to become a revolt against the apartheid system, parental control, and living conditions in the townships. A secondary effect of these youth uprisings was a growing fear of assault by former students who no longer respected authority:

> A lady teacher concurred. "We have no control over the students, but it is worse when you find some

> teachers currying favour with the children. The children get to expect that they can push teachers around. I have been approached on several occasions and threatened.[53]

Students remained the primary source of fear until the late 1980s when the discourse shifted back to the fear of criminal gang's as rapists, *e.g.* Jackrollers.[54] It is these discursive shifts which are of interest in this section of the chapter.

The result of "massive youth unemployment, grossly inadequate schooling and recreation facilities, unstable family units and severe overcrowding in the townships," criminal gangs have a long history in South African and exist even in the present day.[55] Successive waves in gang membership followed the early tsotsi organisations. In the 1950s gangs grew in strength with the establishment of the urban townships, again in the mid to late 1970s due to increased dissatisfaction with the political situation, and most recently in the late 1980s after a period of continued political resistance.[56]

During each of these periods factors existed within the gangs that promoted the practice of rape. Youth, unemployment or underemployment, criminal activity, territoriality, domination of women and a strong masculine[57] identity predisposed these men to sexually violent behaviour. Within these

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[53] Noma Venda Mathiane, South Africa: Diary of Troubled Times (New York, 1993), p.139.
[54] Jackrolling is the term used to describe gang rape in contemporary Soweto. It is based on the name of the gang, the Jackrollers, the rise which is documented in Steve Mokwena's The Era of the Jackrollers: Contextualising the Rise of Youth Gangs in Soweto (Johannesburg, 1991).
[55] Clive Glaser, "The Mark Of Zorro: Sexuality and Gender Relations in the Tsotsi Subculture on the Witwatersrand," African Studies Vol. 51 No. 1 (1992), p.47.
[56] Mokwena, p. 3.
[57] Factors identified in a "masculine identity" include drinking, smoking, drug use, sexual promiscuity and violence. In some cases, a certain type of dress accompanied this identity.

groups, "masculinity and aggression were intimately linked,"[58] thus allowing gang members to define their personal power "in terms of their capacity to effect their will, often without the consent of those involved, especially women."[59]

Particularly vital to the identity of these criminal gangs was hyper-masculinity expressed most notably through assertions of sexual violence. "Gangs regarded women as property and expended a great deal of energy attempting to control 'their women.'"[60] Women in the townships fell into two categories: they were either part of the territory that a gang controlled or they were directly linked to the gang itself as girlfriends, prostitutes, or shebeen waitresses. Whatever their status, they were only allowed to interact with the governing gang in the area as "an outsider raping, or courting, a local women represented the most serious breach of gang territorial codes. It would immediately trigger intense gang identification and conflict."[61]

Gangster presence in South African townships had a powerful effect on african and coloured women. Women repeatedly expressed in their autobiographies and biographies a fear of becoming victims of these men. A seventeen year old student from Soweto in the 1980s said: "I am afraid of the Jackrollers.[62] They are affecting all of us girls; we are not safe anymore. We

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[58] Vogelman, p.121.
[59] Mokwena, p. 18.
[60] Gary Kynoch, "From the Ninevites to the Hard Livings Gang: Township Gangsters and Urban Violence in 20th Century South Africa," African Studies, Vol. 58, No. 1 (1999), p.66.
[61] Clive Glaser, "Swines, Hazels and the Dirty Dozen: Masculinity and the Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1960-1976," Journal of Southern African Studies Vol.24 No. 4 (1998), p.725.
[62] Jackrollers is the term used within the townships to describe men who participate in gang rape. They are mostly criminal gang members.

can't even walk in the streets without being harassed..."[63] This fear was not specific to the 1980s. Mpho 'M'Atsepo Nthunya discovered the same expression of concern by family and friends as a young woman when her husband-to-be's family "kidnapped"[64] her before the marriage:

> So the relatives of the gentlemen say they don't want you to be taken away by the tsostsis here. The tsotsi's like to take pretty women your age and put them to work...Early in the morning about six, the Chief came back and said he has been to my parents. 'The mother of the girl says she is glad to learn the girl is here because she was worried. She was afraid the tsotsis had taken her...[65]

Kidnapping women was also a popular activity among gangs – though undertaken for different motives. Gary Kynoch observes in his work on the Marashea gangs that women were trophies of war and "that taking a woman by force and terrorising her into submission has long been a characteristic of Marashea activity."[66] A former Marashea gang member informed Kynoch that "When you were attracted to a woman you just tell your members and they will assist you to go and kidnap her...when we kidnapped a woman, we just told her, "This is your new husband."[67] Township women had little choice but to comply in these situations or face the punishment of beatings or even death.

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[63] Manby and Nowrojee, p.55.
[64] Mpho was 'kidnapped' before the wedding as her husband's family were concerned that the township tsotsi's would accost and rape her, thus destroying her virginity, before the wedding date.
[65] Mpho 'M'Atsepo Nthunya, Singing Away the Hunger: The Autobiography of an African Women, ed. by K. Limakatso Kendall (Bloomington, 1996), p.33.
[66] Gary Kynoch, 'A Man Among Men: Gender, Identity and Power in the Marashea Gangs (1999) (unpublished paper, cited with permission of author), p. 5.
[67] Ibid, p. 5.

Gang members did not confine themselves to assaulting young girls.[68] Although gang members preferred younger women, they did not favour any type of woman in choosing their victims. One gang member explained this attitude in a study conducted by Soul City (the Institute for Health and Development).[69] He remarks: "After seeing her (a girl wearing tight clothing) we are aroused. When you turn the corner and you see a granny, then you just 'shove it in.'"[70]

As an older, single mother in a township with young children, Poppie Nongena was aware of the threat that was posed to her by the gangsters. In her biography by Elsa Joubert, she reveals her fear:

> My children and I are lying here quite helpless. We can be murdered. Skollies may be roaming around; who will hear if we call out...She had hidden her money between her breasts, would that stop the thieves? How often had she not heard the skollies shouting about a woman they had mugged: Milk the cow, milk the fat teats of the cow.[71]

Poppie's fear of losing her money was compounded by her concern that a violation of her personal being would accompany the theft. Poppie's statement that she had heard "skollies" broadcast their habit of molesting women, whom they mugged, further substantiated this fear.

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[68] "A Rape Crisis report from Cape Town reported 41 341 men prosecuted for rape in a four year period... The youngest rape victim was three, the eldest was 70." Hilda Bernstein, For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa (New York, 1985), p.53.

[69] Though Soul City's study was conducted some thirty years later (1999), the discourse for rapists has remained relatively consistent regarding their victims throughout the apartheid era.

[70] Lebo Ramafoko and Shereen Usdin, "Callous Normality of Rape in South Africa," Mail and Guardian (May 10, 1999), n.p.

[71] Elsa Joubert, The Long Journey of Poppie Nongena (Johannesburg, 1980), p.202.

Residents of township communities were cognisant of the power the gangs. As with general township violence, individual safety came above and beyond community solidarity. For women in the townships this meant something completely different than to the men. Exposed daily to fears of attack by the gangsters, the response of township women was to accept defeat and, in the case of actual assault, submit in the hopes of survival. Don Mattera, a self-identified tsotsi and rapist from Sophiatown describes his encounter with one women:[72]

> I had met her on my release from prison in February of 1956 after I was acquitted on a murder charge. Martha was sitting on a wooden bench at the bus terminus...Pearly white teeth shone in her mouth and her eyes were as big as two full moons. A few minutes later she was mine, like so many other girls in Sophiatown and Western Native Township. During those days it was risky business to refuse me, the leader of the Vultures gang. It didn't matter whether a girl loved me or not. It was one of the fringe benefits of being a gangster."[73]

Part of the criminal gangs' agenda in South African townships was the sexual abuse and domination of resident women in their community. As a major component of their hyper-masculine culture, women were seen as property to be used at will. Township women during the apartheid era realised that survival surpassed resistance when assaulted by a gang member and would frequently choose to comply with the attacker rather than risk death or mutilation. Part of

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[72] Don Mattera's autobiography describes Sophiatown in the early 1950s and 1960s. Although he does not provide a broad historical view of the apartheid era, his concentration on his youth and gangster life allows for a more detailed examination of the circumstances of this period. His autobiography provides many references to rape and violence.

this decision was based on the fact that a woman in the township could not rely on community support when attacked by a "tsotsi," "skollie" or "jackroller." Fearing retribution at the hands of these gang members, community members chose to avoid involvement rather than risk personal safety. Hettie Adams writes that, "...they [gangsters] never harmed you if you minded your own business."[74] Gangs such as the Americans, Spoilers, Vultures, Russians, Vardo's, and Jackrollers were known for pursuit of individuals who did choose to interfere with gang activities. Thus, as with township violence in general, individual safety took precedence over community needs.

Those women attempted to resist the overtures of gangsters could expect retribution of the most severe kind. In September 1955, a teenage girl from Orlando was assaulted for refusing the advances of a gang. The men "pinned her down and said: 'This girl is cheeky.' Then with a knife, one assailant scarred her severely on her face and breast."[75] In the case of the Marashea, women who disobeyed were beaten, whipped, and occasionally killed.[76]

As with women who could expect retaliation for refusing a gang member's sexual overtures, a man who came to a woman's rescue could also anticipate physical punishment. Those individuals who became involved, such as Modisane, did so at great personal risk:

> I was working as an emergency usher in the Odin Cinema, and it was during the Christmas day

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[73] Don Mattera, Gone With the Twighlight: A Story of Sophiatown (New Jersey, 1987), pp.2-3.
[74] Adams, p.66.
[75] Glaser, p.39.
[76] Kynoch (1999), p.7.

> matinee; suddenly a woman screamed in the one and ten penny stalls.
>
> "You better see what that's all about," said Mr. Berman, the manager.
>
> "That's where the American's[77] are sitting," I replied. "You're a white man, they won't start anything with you."
>
> "You're not afraid are you?" he joked. "Don't worry, they'll touch you over your dead body."
>
> I walked up the aisle to Row R and their was this girl crying, I flicked on the torch...We exchanged words, insults and vulgarities down the aisle out into the foyer and it was only out into the light that I became aware of the revolver.[78]

Bloke Modisane was shot as a result of this intervention.

1976 was a decisive year in the organisation of student based resistance. The South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the South African Students Movement (SASM) called for a series of boycotts and protests against the Bantu education system culminating in the June 16th protest of 10 000 school children resulting in the Soweto riots.[79] What followed was a period of "looting and robbery" in which "political and criminal activity often became difficult to distinguish."[80] The only shift in discourse observed within the autobiographies and biographies analysed were found in the discourse on criminal gangs. In the late 1970s (beginning with the 1976 student uprisings in Soweto) a transfer from fear of assault by gang members to students is observed. It is during this crucial

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[77] The Americans were a powerful gang in the 1950s in Sophiatown.

[78] Modisane, pp. 7-8.

[79] During the June 16th protest, two children were killed. The events leading up to this tragedy are discussed in the South Africa Institute of Race Relation's Race Relations News Vol.38, No.7 (July 1976), p.3.

[80] Clive Glaser, "We Must Infiltrate the Tsotsis: School Politics and Youth Gangs in Soweto, 1968-1976," Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.24 No.24 (June 1998), pp.315-316.

period that youth involved in violent activities included ex-students protesting against the apartheid system. As a result, township women had a new and equally dangerous source of fear. Similarly, african and coloured youth discovered a new sense of power that was previously inaccessible:

> Black township youth have historically been excluded from the key sources of power and authority in society: they have been excluded from the empowering educative process as a result of the Bantu Education System; they have been left politically voiceless through exclusion from any political rights and they have been marginalised from any source of wealth creation and economic power through increased joblessness in a contracting economy.[81]

In addition to the repressive apartheid state, students' new found power was used against township women. While the education crises deepened and school boycotts were lengthened, ex-students looked towards filling long, boring days with exertions of power such as rape. Renegade students targeted two kinds of victims: young, school age females and older women in positions of power (*e.g.* teachers).

For young women the potential for rape was particularly high. They devised ways of protection in order to go about their daily activities. One township girl notes the disruption to her daily life:

> ...this causes problems for us girls who went to study. It is for this reason that we have formed study groups and conduct house visits. It is not safe for girls to

[81] Graeme Simpson, Jack-asses and Jackrollers: Rediscovering Gender in Understanding Violence (Johannesburg, 1992), p.7.

> study on their own at school. Some have been raped in the classrooms.[82]

During this period, a female teacher reported being approached by a thirteen-year-old former student who had been out of school for a number of weeks. "His mother appealed to me to take him back to keep him out of harms way" as he had raped a six year old girl.[83] Assault as a means of alleviating boredom and experiencing the thrill of power over another person was prevalent throughout this turbulent period. Noma Venda Mathiane notes another case in which a gang of drunken school going kids attempted to rape a girl on their way back from a picnic. Fortunately, the girl was saved by one of the rapist's parents who came out of their home upon hearing the victim's screams.[84]

Older women in positions of power were the second group targeted for assault. Although not as prevalent as the rape of younger women, it remained a concern for those residing within the townships. Mamphela Ramphela, who lived in Guguletu Township (Eastern Cape), writes of the pervasive violence:

> Guguletu became caught in the vicious cycle of political violence – a common experience of most townships in the mid 1980s...It also had the dubious distinction of having the highest per capita murder rate in the world...Political violence simply fuelled the existing fires of criminal violence...living in Guguletu in the mid-eighties was not easy.[8586]

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[82] Mathiane, p.145.
[83] Ibid, p.139.
[84] Ibid, p.135.
[85] Ramphela, pp.159-160.
[86] Mamphela Ramphele does not address the issue of rape directly in her autobiography. However, her autobiography is extremely useful in understanding the challenges facing a professional african woman in South Africa. Most known for her affair with Steven Biko, she is also a highly educated woman and political leader. Ramphele's autobiography provides details of

Ex-students use of rape against women in their community was not seen as a political tactic but a tool used by individuals who "made many mistakes. Some of [them] even went to the extent of raping and robbing."[87] Thus, rape was perceived not as an expression of political action but as the corrupt behaviour of a few individuals prone to making mistakes. In spite of the organised resistance of students there existed little punishment for these so-called "mistakes." Manby and Nowrojee note that "...not only do comrades rarely discipline one of their own but they also intimidate[d] the survivor and her family from reporting the case to the police."[88]

Women's assault by disenfranchised youth was a common theme within the discourse until the late-1980s when a shift again occurred. At this juncture a renewed popularity of criminal gangs revived women's fear. Due to their reputation of using particularly brutal tactics, township gangs of the late eighties were dramatically different from those of earlier periods. The most notorious of these gangs were the Jackrollers. Led by Jeffrey Brown, and operating in Diepkloof, Jackrollers saw rape as "a game or sport and were proud of their status. They would drop the girls off at their homes and give their parents a stern warning that the girls had "better be at home when they called again or else face the consequences."[89] The jackrolling phenomenon was unique in comparison to

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her struggles facing discrimination as a result of her gender, race, confronting bias in employment and educational institutions and in the resistance struggle.

[87] Philip Bonner and Lauren Segal, Soweto: A History (Cape Town, 1998) p.124.

[88] Manby and Nowrojee, p.112.

[89] Bonner and Segal, p.139.

rape tactics used by past gangs. Defining characteristics of jackrolling included not only the number of rapists involved in the act but also the commission of the crime in a public place such as "shebeens, picnic spots, nightclubs and in the streets."[90] It was not perceived of as a crime by perpetrators but rather a game, "a popular form of male behaviour indulged in by even young school boys."[91] Women responded to this threat by being ultra-cautious about their behaviour, often utilising the same tactics as their mothers did in the fifties such as ensuring escorts restricting where they went and what they wore. Lerata Moloi said of this time "Every day I fear of getting raped...I'm sick and tired of living this way."[92]

Jackrollers targeted both schools and sex segregated hostels as centres for potential victims. One woman living in a hostel noted:

> Men try and get into the halls at the hostels and rape the women. I live in a hostel next to a bar. The men drink and then they come looking for women in the hostel. The security is bad and the lighting in the halls is bad. I came into the hostel one night and as I was walking down the hallway, I was grabbed from behind. The man put his hand over my mouth and tried to rape me. I struggled and finally got away.[93]

Avoiding victimisation for women living in the hostels was difficult as it occurred in their homes. However, for school going women, eluding the jackrollers was much easier, as they would simply choose not to go to school:

> Girls are afraid somebody in a car will stop them and say "get in". When they walk in the street they are

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[90] Mokwena, p.21.
[91] Ibid, p.21.
[92] n.a. "Combatting Sexual Violence in South Africa," IDRC Best of Online Publications 1999) (www.ciet.org)
[93] Manby and Nowrajee, p.56.

> raped by men with guns. Sexual abuse happens so much that some students stop going to school.[94]

Although these tactics certainly reduced the chances of victimisation, these restrictions only limited women's quality of life in the townships.

In spite of this upheaval the discourse surrounding the fear of assault at the hands of gangsters remained consistent throughout the apartheid era. Women lived in fear of assault by a group of men who faced no potential punishment for their actions by the larger community. They were forced to monitor their own activities as they could not resist on an individual level without suffering severe retribution sometimes leading to death. Nor could the men in their lives protect their loved ones without enduring the same fate. It is consequently of little surprise that "sexual violence remains[ed] a popular gang activity throughout South Africa."[95]

AFRICAN POLICE VIOLENCE

African men working for the South African police in the townships also received the reputation of assaulting women. In the 1950s and 1960s, the idea of africans working within the South African police as more than just labourers was "anathema."[96] As of 1968 this policy changed when all coloured men between the ages of 18 and 24 were obliged to register for cadet training. At the same time, african men were also eligible to become policemen in the South

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[94] Simpson, p.8.
[95] Kynoch, p.67.
[96] Gavin Cawthia, Brutal Force: The Apartheid War Machine (London, 1986), p.66.

African Defence Force (SADF) though not on an equal basis with their white co-workers. Those men who chose to join the police force were issued different uniforms, equipment, received different training at different police colleges and were remunerated at lower rates. Furthermore, advancement within the police force was severely limited. In 1971 there existed only sixteen black Chief Sergeants in the force.[97]

It is in spite of these limitations that african men joined the SADF in relatively large numbers. The police force offered stable employment for a populace faced "with three million out of work, poverty rife and prospects of jobs for those without the necessary papers minimal."[98] Between 1981 and 1983 the actual strength of the SAP increased by more than 8000 members, more than half of which were black.[99]

Both men and women from the townships relayed experiences of sexual misconduct by african policemen. For men, this was conveyed as a feeling of powerlessness to stop assaults on loved ones due to the power hierarchy in existence. Mark Mathabane[100] writes in his autobiography about one particular pass raid he observed in Alexandria in the 1960s:

> I glanced out the window; it was getting light outside. I saw two black policemen breaking down a door at the far end of the yard. A half-naked, near hysterical jet-

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[97] Barend van NieKerk, "The Police in Apartheid Society," in Peter Randall edt.'s Law Justice and Society (Johannesburg, 1972) p.58.
[98] Cawthia, p.72.
[99] Ibid, p.133.
[100] Mark Mathabane grew up in Alexandria during the 1960s. His family encouraged and ensured his education. Due to the sympathies of the white family who his grandmother was a servant for, he learned tennis and later one a scholarship to an American university.

> black woman was being led out of an outhouse by a fat, laughing black policeman who from time to time, prodded her private parts with a truncheon.[101]

Pass raids were just one of the instances in which african policemen had the opportunity to exert their power. It also gave women the chance to use their sexuality to escape penalisation for not having a pass in order, or, to assist a male family member. Don Mattera writes that some "black women arrested for not having the night pass special" chose to be "...taken for rides by black and white policemen for sex in exchange for release."[102] Whether or not women in these situations could be described as raped within the strictest definition of the term is arguable. What is evident is that policemen abused their power in order to procure sex from these women. Women subjected to this manipulation were not clear victims of legal rape however, they were assuredly victims of sexual violence.

The same holds true for those women who underwent assault to assist a family member that encountered trouble with the police force. Mtutuzeli Matshoba writes of one such incident:

> A boy of seventeen was caught with a knife in his pocket, a dangerous weapon...Ten minutes later his well rounded sister alighted from the train to find her younger brother among the prisoners...one of the younger reservists came to stand next to her and started pawing her. She let him carry on and three minutes later her brother was free. The reservist was beaming all over his face glad to have won himself a beautiful woman in the course of his duties...Some of

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[101] Mark Mathabane, Kaffir Boy: The True Story of a Black Youth's Coming of Age in Apartheid South Africa (New York, 1987), p.12.

[102] Mattera, p.53.

> our black sisters are at times compelled to go all the way to save their menfolk, and do as always, nothing can be done about it.[103]

By allowing the reservist to molest her, this young lady managed to avoid her brother's potential imprisonment. Had she not complied, the ramifications of his arrest could have been devastating, especially if the family relied on the income he brought in or the protection he provided. Given the reputation of these men reporting the crime to police offered additional stresses to survivors of rape. Repeated stories of sexual misconduct and abuse by policemen to whom women reported their rapes have frequently been described. Darling,[104] a South African women's magazine, in its Opinion Finder (1981) asked whether "police were sufficiently sympathetic towards rape victims." 11% of their readers said yes, 79% said no and 10% were not sure.[105] These statistics reflected the reality that policemen working in the sexual crime section were notorious in South Africa for their lecherous behaviour. Lulu Diba was raped in 1980 by an acquaintance[106] and went to the police to report her assault:

> I was taken to the charge office on Monday to report the rape. The police took a statement from me, then referred me to the district surgeon.... The police sergeant was even worse. He told me he would also like to have "a taste." I will come to your room," he said. "I will be gentle with you." I cried because I was so surprised and upset by his saying these things. He was a black man of about my age...[107]

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[103] Matshoba, p.22.
[104] Darling is a magazine directed towards white women.
[105] Vogelman, p.181.
[106] In this story the author, Diana Russell, provides minimal details regarding the location of this rape.
[107] Diana Russell, "Campus Rape: Catch 22 for Women," Gender Vol.23 (April/May 1993), p.24.

A myriad of possible explanations exists for african policemen's reputation for sexual mistreatment of township women. These men were involved in a field in which one's masculinity took great importance. Despite the power invested in their position in comparison to other africans and coloureds, these men remained subjected to the authority of their white counterparts.[108] Black policemen were not placed in command of white policemen, nor were they allowed to arrest white citizens or carry a weapon. Frustration and questioning one's masculinity resulted in a reassertion of power on those individuals most susceptible, women. Lloyd Vogelman observes in his work on South African rapists that those men who have a propensity to rape experience the following.

> Work dissatisfaction in isolation does not cause rape, but it can act as a contributing factor when it is in combined with numerous other factors such as sexual inadequacy, dehumanising attitudes towards women, sexist beliefs and expectations and unmet power needs...[109]

Although it cannot be claimed that all african policemen raped, it can be said that those factors identified by Vogelman existed for high numbers of african and coloured South African policeman. These men worked for the very political system that repressed people of their community. Despite the fact that they worked in order to ensure survival, employment within the apartheid regime had to initiate both isolation and depreciation of human life. Consequently, the use of

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[108] Albie Sachs, Justice in South Africa, (London, 1973) p.240.
[109] Vogelman, p.113.

force on women would not be objectionable. It is as a result of these attitudes that women have had "no faith in the police."[110]

CONCLUSION

Through a discourse analysis of african and coloured men and women's autobiographies/biographies a number of themes have emerged. The prevalence of township violence, assault on public transportation, and the fear of african policemen are all themes that have remained consistent throughout the apartheid era. It is apparent that the power of these fears was influential enough to force both men and women to alter their lifestyles. Understandably, this had a much larger impact on the day to day existence of women than men. Township women were frequently forced to limit themselves to the home, procure escorts when travelling, and restrict their movement in addition to their dress. Most tragic was the need for women to submit themselves to sexual assault by gangsters and African policemen as a survival tactic.

Similarly, men of the townships preferred to alter their lifestyle rather than risk vulnerability. This choice was not based on the fear of sexual assault but rather the prospect of retribution of rapists should they become involved in a victim's rescue. Some men, such as Bloke Modisane, did become involved and were consequently punished.

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[110] Alan Morris, "South Africa Tops the Rapist Charts," Electronic Mail and Guardian (February 26, 1997).

The discursive break observed in relation to the fear of gangs was a minor one. Though the women's fear of assault at the hands of gang members did shift to students from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, this was merely a reflection of political circumstances within the township. The 1985/1986 State of Emergency declared in South Africa initiated a shift in the discourse back to a fear of gangs, albeit in a new and particularly violent form. It can thus be said that the source of women's fear was often based on whichever group of men was the most disenfranchised, dis-empowered and disillusioned.

Finally, it is the lack of community involvement in the issue of women's rape that emerges within this discourse analysis. Though township residents were exceedingly aware of the crises of sexual assault throughout the apartheid era, it remained a problem that did not gain qualitative political attention until the last days of apartheid. Indicating the resilience of these discourses within the community, the themes reflect not only residents' familiarity with the phenomenon of sexual violence but their subsequent indifference in favour of economic and political concerns. The need for personal survival dictated to a great degree whether or not an individual chose to become involved in a very threatening situation. Within the context of the townships, individual survival simply had to come before the needs of fellow citizens. Collective action required too much effort to be used for issues that remained secondary to larger needs of political and economic rights. Thus, as a result of the South African political crisis, issues of race and class were always in the forefront. In a society as racist

and violent as South Africa, it is of little surprise that rape did not become a political issue for african and coloured communities until apartheid was destroyed.

The paucity of literature on township women's experiences of intra-racial rape is lamentable. It is this segment of the african and coloured population that has been subjected throughout the apartheid era to the most horrific and offensive physical violations. This chapter on Women's voices is hopefully the first in many attempts at accessing these women's encounters with and understandings of rape.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

With rape rates constantly on the rise it is astonishing that Africanists specialising in the region have not examined the roots of sexual violence in South Africa. The high frequency of rape between members of the same race in the townships has long demanded an investigation into the roots of this crisis. This thesis is a first attempt to remedy this omission. By focusing on intra-racial rape in african and coloured townships from 1948 to1994, I hope to inspire further research into this pervasive problem.

Discourse Analysis of Rape in South African Townships (1948-1994): A Case for "Policing the Penis" has shown how South Africans were ignorant of the high incidence of rape in african and coloured communities. Through an analysis of official discourse, liberal white news media discourse, and women's voices it is apparent that intra-racial rape was consistently disregarded in favour of larger issues of societal concern. Until apartheid ended in South Africa, no space existed within any of these discourses for serious consideration of the issue or of its resolution.

"Moral Disintegration and Sexual Misadventure," discussed the discourse utilised by the apartheid state and it's sanctioned bodies on township rape. This analysis was somewhat limited in its discussions of alternative discourses and reasons for state inaction due to inaccessible documents. However, important results were found. During the apartheid era official discourse did not identify intra-racial rape as a problem. Instead, production of official discourse on the

issue resulted from discussions regarding other concerns considered important to the South African government.

Three phases were identified in the official discourse. The first phase (1948-1965) was devoted to consideration of african and coloured roles in urban areas. Concern with their urban presence grew in proportion to their increased migration to the cities. Official discourse drew heavily from the world of academia in order to understand this process, although not all academics' work was used by the state. The insights provided by anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and economist's legitimised official discourse claiming that migration and urbanisation disturbed the "natural" order of "traditional" Africa. Women's presence in the townships aggravated this condition and encouraged further unrest among african and coloured males. As african and coloured women established some economic independence from men -- resulting in other coinciding forms of sovereignty--their hyper-sexual nature was thought to run rampant. As a result, african and coloured men were seen as being unable to control themselves in the face of such temptation. The combination of women's sexual laviciousness and men's inability to control their sexual urges were regarded as the cause for township rape. The added component of the coloured male's inferior genetics supposedly aggravated this condition. Thus, this first discursive period in official discourse interpreted rape as the result of african and coloured men and women confronting a foreign, urban lifestyle.

Official discourse shifted in the period 1965 to 1985, and began to emphasise rampant violence occurring in South African townships. Concerned with the level of violent activity and the possible repercussions to the apartheid state, the government sought to frame its understanding of violence in a way that would relieve it of any responsibility while placing blame with a defenceless group. African and coloured communities were found culpable for the increase in township violence, which was blamed on their moral corruption. Unrestrained migration and the creation of a culture of poverty laid the foundation for this immorality. Unequal sex ratios, and the production of illegitimate children, who later became prone to violence as a result of their inadequate upbringing, were identified as key factors in the discourse. Intra-racial rape in the townships was noted only as a consequence of african and coloured moral corruption.

The final discursive period in South African official discourse occurred when apartheid was challenged and destroyed. Political unrest in african and coloured townships increased and found expression in violence. A corresponding rise in criminal activity occurred. As a result, the apartheid state questioned its previous assumptions and policies regarding africans and coloureds as well as the issue of rape. Investigations into the roots of violence concluded that youths during the late eighties and early nineties were typically the purveyors of this activity. Again, the state looked to academia to educate itself on the issue and to provide legitimisation for state policies. Committees

and studies concluded that township youth were an uncontrollable element due to their low moral standards, lack of parental supervision and economic status.

Rape came to the forefront in official discourse due to the consideration of township life and role of africans and coloureds. Although this concern was not racially specific, the state re-evaluated the South African criminal and judicial systems' ability to address rape victim's needs. Legal definitions were re-examined, as were the use of a victim's sexual past against her in court and the ability of the SAP to address women's needs. This process has enabled the post-apartheid era to undertake radical changes to the system's approach to rape and its victims. Chapter Two concluded that as a result of the utilisation of three specified discourses, the apartheid state would not, and could not, properly address intra-racial rape in african and coloured townships.

Changes within discourse utilised by white liberal newspapers in South Africa were not defined as clearly as those within official discourse in the apartheid era. Three newspapers, the Rand Daily Mail, Cape Times, and the Johannesburg Star formed the basis of my observation of this source. All three newspapers reflected the attitudes of white liberal South Africans--their primary consumers--during the apartheid era. These newspapers used a standard format that recognised important rape cases as well as african's and coloured's hyper-sexuality. This discursive style was used throughout the apartheid era and embodied the liberal white belief that intra-racial rape was not their concern. Instead, township communities should be responsible to address it.

Consequently, liberal white newspapers did not publish numerous articles on intra-racial rape. When articles were published the liberal white attitude also determined the style of rape's representation. Specifically, only the most shocking rape cases in which the details provided would entertain and titillate the reader were published. Also, african and coloured rapists lost their identity in favour of classification by race and gender, as relating to the rapist would make readers uncomfortable. Similarly, the victims were subsumed in the text by their gender roles of mother, wife, or whore. Such tactics diminished the criminality of the rape and reader's identification with their lives.

The "othering" of africans and coloureds found new emphasis during the 1960s. Articles frequently published details on the number of crimes in the townships over weekends and important holidays. African and coloured women's rape was reported only when it coincided with a white woman's assault. The Cape Times retained its status as a newspaper that covered court proceedings of intra-racial rape cases. It reported particularly unusual cases, provided excessive details of the assault, as well as a short comment from one of the parties involved. Despite these limitations, the Cape Times' recognition of sexual assaults in the townships is notable.

It was not until the 1970s that evidence of definitive change was found in published intra-racial rape cases. White liberal newspapers began to express concern over the related issues of african and coloured population growth and the increase in township crime. Investigations into the causes of criminal activity

were provided. Elements of township life such as alcohol abuse, inadequate parental supervision, unemployment, and poor economic conditions were all identified in the discourse. Articles focusing on crime were assumed to be about african and coloured communities for white crime was identified within the title.

Intra-racial township rape finally received consistent coverage in the 1970s. However, still the most scandalous cases garnered most attention. Cases in which there was a particularly young or old victim, mutilation, excessive violence and/or, death of the victim would be published. Within these articles both rapist and victim were depicted as nameless and faceless african and coloured men and women. Their humanity was only responded to in terms of their gender roles, *e.g.* as a mother, and often these stereotypes were manipulated.

Increases in township crime and political resistance received popular coverage within the last decade of apartheid. Media discourse renewed its emphasis on township crime searching for explanations for its prevalence. The search also continued for the roots of crime. In this decade, psychological aspects of township life were seen as contributing to criminal activity. Depictions of intra-racial rape in this final decade subscribed to essentially the same format. Although expressions of sympathy were evident, manipulation of gender stereotypes continued for example the virtuous woman and the promiscuous

woman. Intra-racial rape was not a priority in the eighties in spite of this evolution in discourse.

The final four years of news media discourse was characterised mainly by the continuation of previous themes. Only one modification was made to the standard format, although it was a major change. Racial classifications of those involved in a rape case were no longer included within an article's text. The exclusion of race from media discourse reflected South Africa's transition from an apartheid state to democracy. Articles proliferated reporting on intra-racial rape in the townships. *"The Silent Rape of Women"* concludes that intra-racial rape's portrayal in liberal white media discourse entrenched in the audience's mind the perception that rape was a problem with which only township communities should be concerned.

Chapter Four – "I Am Afraid of the Jackrollers": Women's Voices is the most significant portion of the thesis. Zoe Wicomb correctly asserts in "To Hear the Variety of Discourses," that "record[ing] the experiences of black people in South Africa under apartheid" is vital to understanding their lives as subordinated peoples.[1] As with documenting black people's experiences, it is likewise important to access the discourse used by african and coloured women in describing their impressions of township rape. Since these women have been (and continue to be) the predominant victims of this crime their dialogue must be incorporated into any discussion of rape in South Africa. The discourse of african

[1] Wicomb, p.23.

and coloured women changed little during the apartheid era. Aside from one slight shift regarding fear of gangs, the discursive themes identified were firmly established. The consistency of these rape themes was due to the subordination of township community' concerns in favour of more popular political issues -such as the eradication of a racist state.

The community's experience of township violence, especially during weekends, was one of the identified themes of the chapter. Weekends were the most feared time in the townships due to an influx of migrant workers who sought the township for a few days of merriment. This gathering of temporary residents inevitably resulted in the consumption of copious amounts of alcchol, drug use and eventually violence. Township residents dealt with the increase in violent activity through avoidance. Men and women remained inside their dwellings and did not become involved when witnessing a criminal act, because those who decided to try and stop someone's victimisation were certain to face punishment. No evidence of mass mobilisation against weekend violence was found except in the rarest of occasions. Rather, designation of personal safety remained with women themselves.

Public transportation also worried african and coloured women living in the townships. The costly and time-consuming commute to and from white areas for employment was fraught with threats of sexual assault. Commuters, as well as train employees, were the sources of this fear, with coloured train employees identified as a particular danger due to their "rape-u-tation." As african and

coloured women were more likely than men to utilise public transportation were they were particularly vulnerable in this environment.

The final potential threat identified was posed by gangs and, in the mid-1970s, students. Township gangs constructed their identity around masculinity, territoriality and power. In their communities women were property to be abused at will. Women of all races had to be careful that they were not used as pawns in a conflict between two rival gangs, or that they became a desired possession for a gang member. If they did refuse a gang member they could expect a beating, mutilation, or death as retribution for the gangsters' humiliation. Men who intervened could expect the same.

The situation differed somewhat in the case of the students. In the mid-1970s, as township youth became increasingly frustrated with the apartheid system. Initiated by the 1976 Soweto riots, ex-students made political protest and criminal activity seem as one for a period of time. Fellow students as well as teachers were victimised.

Rather than being the township community's saviours, african policemen were also identified during the apartheid era as perpetrators of rape. African and coloured women were often forced to submit to a policeman's demands or chose to do so in order to avoid arrest. Likewise, a woman would sometimes choose to provide sexual favours to a policeman when a male family member was threatened with imprisonment. Chapter Four argues that a woman who made this choice was still raped in spite of consent being given as the decision was

made under duress. The Chapter concludes that until apartheid was destroyed, space did not exist within african and coloured communities to consider gender violence. Up until 1994, political rights for all races had to be the primary issue of concern for these communities. Only afterwards could men and women in the townships consider the crisis of sexual violence.

This final chapter on women's voices completed the picture of discourse on intra-racial rape in apartheid South Africa. The three discourses revealed that the government, the liberal whites and township communities were all aware of the presence of sexual violence within the townships – if not the extent of the problem. Furthermore, their understanding of intra-racial rape was constructed in very similar ways. In spite of these commonalties no concerted effort was made to address the problem. As a result, hundreds of thousands of women were physically and emotional violated during the apartheid era.

My hope is that this thesis will be the first of many future investigations into rape in South Africa and that it will influence further discussions of rape theory. As was discussed, the current rape theory does not address the particularities of the South African situation including such variables as male, as well as female subordination to a powerful state, cultural differences, and South African women's responses to the rape crisis. This thesis has shown that the western-orientated rape theories can not explain the existence of rape cultures throughout the world.

Obviously extensive research needs to be done. However, this discourse analysis can serve as a foundation. Areas that require investigation include a comparison of the rape experienced by urban as opposed to rural african and coloured women. Did the urban setting aggravate factors which contributed to high rape rates? Attention must also be paid to rape in white and indian communities, which, although perhaps less common, is no less severe.

Historians interested in the history of sexual violence in South Africa should also consider a more specific analysis of the academic world's understanding of, and contribution to, the depiction of intra-racial rape and the african and coloured man's perceived propensity. Furthermore, what was the role of churches in discussing the morality of the community and/or treatment of the victims? Related to the role of churches is the role of education in determining one's experience of sexual assault. Specifically, how did social class affect the possibility of one's assault, the likely class of one's assailant, and treatment within the criminal and judicial system? Was it profoundly different or essentially the same? Similarly, was there a shift in the causal factors in this rape culture? Specifically, what socio-economic conditions existed as rape rates rose and fell?

In terms of media coverage a number of areas also need further research. As the thesis focused solely on depictions in liberal white newspapers, analysis of other publications directed towards africans, coloureds, afrikaners and the indian population is imperative. An investigation into the different representations

of intra-racial rape would be fascinating. More detailed research is also needed regarding the newspaper statistics. How reliable were they? Where were they coming from and what kind of impact did they have on the readership?

Finally, and most importantly, extensive research is essential to understanding african and coloured women's experience of rape in the townships. Although the autobiographies and biographies provided a small glimpse into these women's lives this was entirely insufficient for understanding all aspects of the influence rape had in their lives. Explorations into illiterate women's perception of rape must be done. Again, the influence of social class is vital in future investigations. As none of the authors spoke extensively on their experience of sexual violence a study into the voice and silences of victims must be undertaken. How did their rape influence their lives economically, politically, emotionally and socially? How did it affect their relationships in the family and community and with men? How did it affect their political involvement? How did they perceive the failure of the state and the police to ensure their safety? Last, but certainly not least, how did african and coloured men construct their understanding of intra-racial rape? How did they perceive their role in the crises? How was this a reflection of their sense of masculinity? Status in society? Power within society?

Clearly considerable research needs to be completed before we can come close to understanding the role that rape played in South Africa. Historical analysis should play a vital part in future investigations for it is only by

understanding the roots of the problem, and its evolution, that appropriate solutions may be found. I have tried to emphasise that intra-racial rape is a complex issue fraught with various levels of meaning. Hopefully South Africans will stop believing that rape is inevitable. As rape in South Africa continues to garner attention in the post-apartheid era its complexity will emerge and beliefs such as that expressed by Cawe Mahliti's "I don't believe you can police a penis. If it wants to it will"[2] will cease to exist.

[2] Mark Gevisser. Portraits of Power: Profiles in a Changing South Africa (Claremont, 1996), p.70.

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