

Living in Fear: The Affective Economies of Post-Apartheid Rape Narratives

By

Helen Frost

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

English

Department of English and Film Studies

University of Alberta

© Helen Frost, 2018

Abstract

Since the election of a democratic government in 1994, South African print culture has been marked by a proliferation of rape narratives as sexual violence increasingly came to be understood as a social crisis. Although the majority of rapes in South Africa are intraracial and intra-communal, with few exceptions, critics have tended to focus on the representation of interracial rape narratives as they relate to the pernicious racism of apartheid and its aftermath. I argue instead that rape, particularly intraracial rape, is a powerful site for the sedimentation of affect in post-apartheid South African literature, print media, and other forms of public culture. In my research, I found that emergent concerns over criminality, poverty, and HIV are amplified through narratives of intraracial rape, often with the effect of displacing a robust public debate over the conditions that support rape, particularly of black women. In its analysis of the public feelings that coalesce around rape narratives, my project focuses on the affective valences of language. Drawing on the work of theorists such as Ben Anderson, Sarah Ahmed, and Denise Riley, I insist that language—through its historical weight and its public circulation—mediates and transfers affect, and in so doing, I reject the implication that we can do away with critical theories of subject formation in our understanding of how emotion, feeling, and affect circulate. In keeping with this approach, each chapter functions as a case study in which I consider fictional and non-fictional rape narratives and diagnose their associated public feelings—including anxiety, shame, despair, and, perhaps surprisingly, intimacy and provisional hope—as they intersect with public debates over the conditions of the new democracy.

Preface

This thesis is the original work of Helen Dorothy Frost. Sections of Chapter Three will be published as “There’s plenty of rapists here”: “Rape Culture” and the Representation of Anene Booysen’s Rape in the International and South African Press" *Cultural Critique*, issue 100, 2018.

Dedication

For Merrick, our best three-legged boy.

Acknowledgements

I would like to begin by thanking the staff, faculty, and administration in the Department of English and Film studies for their support throughout my degree. I would like to acknowledge my very active and engaged committee, without whom this project would have been impossible. Particularly, I would like to thank Karyn Ball, my supervisor, who inspired me to be a better, more inquisitive, and rigorous thinker: her incisive comments helped to continuously shape and improve this project. I am also grateful to my committee members: Onookome Okome, who always asked me the most challenging and important questions, and for doing so in such a manner that they felt illuminating and generous at once, and Teresa Zackodnick who has provided ongoing support in both my teaching and research and who continues to be one of the most thoughtful readers I have had the pleasure to work with. I would also like to thank my external examiner, Rebecca Saunders, for her generous engagement with my work and for her thoughtful suggestions on how to develop the project further. I would also be remis if I did not thank Zeina Tarraf who has, on more than one occasion, provided excellent feedback on my work, and through conversation has helped me to refine much of my thinking around the questions of affect explored in this project. Finally, I am grateful to Terri Tomsy who not only graciously chaired my defense, but who has always been an enthusiastic supporter of my work.

I would like to acknowledge the support of the Oppenheimer Foundation, whose funding supported me in the difficult relocation from South Africa.

This project would not have been possible without the endless support from my friends and chosen family. I would particularly like to thank Shama Rangwala, whose capacity for kindness, patience, and intellectual generosity, supported me through some of the hardest years of my life. I am also appreciative of the members of Edmonton's cycling and climbing community, who got me away from my desk and into the world; particular thanks to Aristolte

Kollias and to Stacey Yuen (who always had a cookie in hand after a particularly difficult day) who have become like family. Finally, to my partner, Thomas Dessen, who lived through this with me: who bore witness to my successes and failures, to insomnia, depression, and depletion, and who reminded me continuously of my capacity for joy.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Contextualizing South African Rape Narratives	9
<i>The Affective Economy</i> of South African Rape Narratives.....	28
Chapter One: Exploring the Conditions of Democracy through Post-apartheid Rape	
Narratives	42
Rape Narratives in Transition	50
The Event of Rape.....	59
Writing Rape as Betrayal in <i>This Book Betrays My Brother</i>	83
Rape, The Family Romance, and Social Change	93
Chapter Two: The Crisis of the Ordinary: Representing Baby Tshepang’s Rape	98
The Crisis of Social Reproduction: Representing Infant Rape in the <i>Sowetan</i>	108
“Shame on Us? Shame on You, Shame on All of Us!”	127
Securing the Body, Securing the Future.....	138
Chapter Three: Are We Inured to Violence? Political Despair in the Media’s Coverage	
of Anene Booysen’s Rape	145
The Eventfulness of the Wound.....	157
The “Scourge” of Rape	166
The “Country that Goes to Sleep When Rape Happens”	175
Political Despair and South African Feminism.....	181
Chapter 4: From Despair to Hope? Queer Optimism in the Work of Zanele Muholi and	
Lady Skollie.	185
Scene One: A Die-in.....	185

Scene Two: “Immoral, Offensive [and] Against Nation-building”	188
Scene 3: “I Invoke Their Names”	191
Locating Queer South Africa	194
<i>Difficult Love</i> : Intimacy and Vulnerability in the Work of Zanele Muholi	203
Taboo Subjects: Love, Pink Dicks, and Pussy Prints	217
Conclusion	231
Bibliography	243
Primary Sources	243
Secondary Sources	257

Table of Figures

Fig. 1 Zapiro. "Gang Rape and Murder of 17-Year-Old Anene Booysen." <i>Mail & Guardian</i> , 13 Feb. 2013.....	178
Fig. 2 Zanele Muholi, <i>Caitlin and I</i> . 2009. C-Print. 33 x 49.5 cm each. Michael Stevenson Gallery. http://archive.stevenson.info/exhibitions/muholi/caitlin.htm	203
Fig. 3 Zanele Muholi. "Katlego Mashiloane and Nosipho Lavuta, Ext. 2, Lakeside, Johannesburg 2007." 2009. Lambda Print. 76.5 x 76.5cm. Michael Stevenson Gallery. http://archive.stevenson.info/exhibitions/muholi/being6.htm	213
Fig. 4 Zanele Muholi. <i>Aftermath</i> 2004, Michael Stevenson Gallery. <i>Only Half the Picture</i> . Edited by Sophie Perryer. Michael Stevenson, 2006, p. 20.....	216
Fig. 5 Lady Skollie. "Cut-cut, kill-kill, stab-stab: a South African Love Story," <i>The Tyburn Gallery</i> , 2016.	223
Fig. 6 Zapiro. "She's All Yours, Boss!" <i>The Daily Maverick</i> , 11 Apr. 2017, www.dailymaverick.co.za/zapirocartoon/shes-all-yours-boss/	231

Introduction

Lucy Valerie Graham began her article on the 2013 rape of teenager Anene Booysens by referring to the verdict made by Judge Willem van der Merve exonerating Jacob Zuma, then former South African deputy president, of rape. Graham opens with Van der Merve's now-infamous judgement, which reads as follows: "[h]ad Rudyard Kipling known of this case at the time he wrote his poem, 'If,' he might have added the following: 'And, if you can control your body and your sexual urges, then you are a man, my son'" (qtd. in Graham, "Confronting a Colonial, Patriarchal and Racist Past" 28). As Graham rightfully notes, the reference to Kipling evokes a history of masculinist, paternal colonialism. In this statement, the white judge chides the black man for being unable to "control [his] body and [his] sexual urges," and then places himself, alongside Kipling, as the arbiter not only of masculinity but of adulthood: "then you are a man, my son." Simultaneously, in the paternalist vein of the 'white man's burden,' Van der Merve colludes in rewriting rape as a problem of "sexual urges" and sexual impropriety rather than as one of power and consent. Graham evokes this moment to remind her readers that public discussions of rape in contemporary South Africa are never free from their colonial and apartheid heritage, nor, I would argue, are they free from intersecting colonial and postcolonial patriarchies.

Zuma's rape trial, which took place from March to May 8, 2006, "provided the stage for an enactment of an extraordinary national drama about sex, gender, and HIV/AIDS, and a lens into the authoritarian culture of patriarchy, misogyny, and sexual violence in the new South Africa" (Koelble and Robins 316). The trial occurred against the backdrop of Zuma's corruption charges and ongoing conflicts over the leadership of the African National Congress [ANC], which culminated in the ANC's National Executive Council's 2008 vote to 'recall' Thabo Mbeki

from public office (Lodge 131). Zuma's accuser, given the pseudonym Khwesi, claimed that during a visit to his Johannesburg home, Zuma entered the room where she was sleeping and had sex with her without her consent. During the trial—which centred on his accuser's sexual history, behaviour, and dress—Zuma repeatedly made claims to an authentic Zulu identity and framed his sexual encounter with Khwesi as consensual within the parameters of Zulu sexual etiquette (Koelble and Robins 316-317). Outside the courthouse and in the public sphere, a battle raged between those who defended Zuma and saw the accusation as part of a political conspiracy targeting him, and those feminists who sought to protest the high levels of sexual violence across the country and the vilification of Khwesi by Zuma's supporters. The shape of this debate inevitably pitted "political sympathies against a women's rights agenda" (Vetten 438). These public conflicts emphasized broader tensions in South African society over the conditions of the new democracy under the leadership of Thabo Mbeki, the disparity between privately held beliefs around gender and the rights granted to women in the constitution, and the populism that was now gathering in support of Zuma's ascendancy to power in the ANC. As Shireen Hassim has argued, "[t]he trial held up a mirror to South African society, bringing debates about the intersections between private relationships and gender power into view in the public sphere" ("Democracy's Shadows" 68).

On the 7th of September 2008, two years after Zuma's acquittal from rape charges based on the court's acceptance of his narrative over that of his accuser, the *Sunday Times* published a cartoon that depicted Zuma (then leader of the ANC) preparing himself to rape Lady Justice, depicted as a black woman. The cartoon drawn by Jonathan Shapiro, or Zapiro—one of South Africa's best known political cartoonists—shows four men holding Lady Justice down: Julius Malema (the former president of the ANC youth league and current leader of the Economic

Freedom Fighters), Gwede Mantashe (Secretary General of the ANC), Blade Nzimande (Minister of Higher Education and Training, and General Secretary of the South African Communist Party [SACP]), and Zwelinzima Vavi (Former General Secretary of Congress Of South African Trade Unions [COSATU}). The four men look to Zuma, who is unbuckling his belt, and goad him on with the phrase, “Go for it boss.” On the surface, the cartoon’s message is clear: the ANC (with Zuma at its helm) and their allies in the Tri-Partite alliance are “undermining and attacking the judicial system” (Labuschagne 375). The cartoon criticized the ANC and its partners’ attempts to thwart the prosecution of Zuma on corruption charges.¹ Connotatively, however, the implications of the cartoon reach further as a reminder of the high incidence of rape in South Africa and of Zuma’s 2006 rape trial, while at the same time drawing on a lexicon of racist imagery that associated the trope of the black man as rapist with political instability. Unsurprisingly, the cartoon elicited a widespread public response, bringing questions about freedom of speech, the role of the media, and the ethics of representation into the public sphere.

The public reaction to the cartoon was split between those who argued for the necessity to defend Zapiro’s freedom of speech and the freedom of the press more broadly, and those who

¹ These corruption charges relate to a 1998 “arms deal” between the South African government and European suppliers. The ANC under Mbeki’s leadership was repeatedly accused of attempting to block the National Director of Public Prosecutions from fully investigating the charges of corruption associated with this deal. In 2003, former ANC Chief Parliamentary whip, Tony Yengeni, was prosecuted for accepting a discounted Mercedes-Benz from Daimler Chrysler Aerospace, and, in 2005, Zuma’s financial advisor, Shabir Shaik, was found guilty on two counts of corruption, including soliciting a ZAR \$1,000 000 bribe for Zuma (Hammett 90). These findings emboldened the National Prosecuting Authority to finally pursue a case against Zuma. Zuma’s supporters, however, regularly claimed that the charges against him were politically motivated. In April 2009, the NPA withdrew charges against Zuma in light of evidence which they believed showed that the legal process had been manipulated. For more detailed accounts of the arms deal and the controversy surrounding Zuma’s corruption charges, see Lodge 128-131.

understood the issue in terms of Jacob Zuma's rights to dignity (Labuschagne 370). The conflict between the ANC and the press over what constitutes freedom of speech and the role of the press in the new democracy is not new. Indeed, Zapiro, a white cartoonist, had often drawn ire from the ANC for his depictions of Zuma. Upon receiving the "not-guilty" verdict in his 2006 rape trial, Zuma's lawyers began legal proceedings against several major news outlets, and Zapiro personally (Koelble and Robins 317). In particular, Zuma was affronted by Zapiro's continued insistence on representing him with a shower head attached to his forehead, as a reminder of his controversial claim to have showered as a means to protect himself from contracting HIV after his alleged rape of Khwesi, who was HIV-positive. Zapiro's cartoon reignited debate over the proper role of the press in a democratic South Africa, foregrounding conflicting public tensions around representations of race and sexuality.

In public discourse, the connotations of the cartoon's rape metaphor came to play a central role in this conflict. The cartoon problematically equates political venality with rape, using imagery that is arguably amplified both by the stereotypes of African leaders as corrupt and African men as hypersexualized. For this reason, the cartoon, and the public reaction to it, cannot be separated from the racial connotations of rape in the South African context, where black men were represented as "lascivious" and "dangerous" and black women were seen as "unrapeable." While some critics believe that the controversy "illustrates the effectiveness and powerful nature of a cartoon" (Labuschagne 376), others questioned the decorum of using rape as a metaphor in a country where the rape of women and children had reached epidemic proportions.

The contentious reception of Zapiro's cartoon mirrors a series of public concerns that emerge alongside rape's representation in South Africa more broadly. Just as Mbeki regularly referred to the legacy of racist perceptions of black persons as hypersexualized in his conflicts

with the media, those defending Zuma observed that Zapiro's cartoon mobilized a similar economy of representation, figuring black men as sexual predators (Hammett 91). Others worried that the use of rape as a metaphor might trivialize the material reality of sexual violence in South Africa. Few, however, observed that through the personification of Lady Justice as a black woman, the image partook in a colonial repertoire of representation, where the land was figured as feminized, to be "discovered/conquered," penetrated, and subdued (Gqola, *Rape* 49). At the same time, the trope of black-man-as-rapist was used in colonial discourses to channel anxiety over potential threats to colonial governance. Here, Zapiro refigures this anxiety, embodied by the trope of black-man-as-rapist, by casting his victim as a black woman in order to convey anxiety over black political governance and the state of the new polity. Irrespective of Zapiro's intentions with the image, its effect was to highlight the tensions around "race, gender, freedom of speech" and the "consolidation of democracy" (Hammett 88). The quarrels sparked by this cartoon illuminate the powerfully affecting valences of rape as a metaphor in South African public discourse, and it provokes us to question how rape narratives become enmeshed with public debates over the state of the nascent democracy.

Correspondingly, the controversial nature of rape in South Africa is affirmed by the explosive public encounter between white feminist Charlene Smith and former president Thabo Mbeki in 2001. In 1999, Smith, a journalist, wrote of her rape by a black man in her home to highlight South Africa's ill-equipped criminal justice and medical system. Smith's tone-deaf account in the *Washington Post* of the role of tradition, religion, and "culture" in the high incidence of rape in South Africa elicited an angry response from the former president, who wrote of Smith that she was "sufficiently brave, or blinded by racist rage [...] to make the deeply offensive statement that rape is an endemic feature of African society" (qtd. in Graham, *State of*

Peril 3). This frequently referenced encounter reflects the difficulty of addressing sexual violence in the South African public sphere, where openly discussing rape may, indeed, be interpreted as racist.

Mbeki's public denouncement of Smith reflected his awareness of the history of how African sexuality was represented and often policed by colonial and apartheid authorities. In South Africa, representations of rape are inextricably tied to questions of race (Vetten 435; Thornberry; Gqola, "The Cult of Femininity" 4).² Through the interconnected history of colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade, "Western social thought" came to "associat[e] Blackness" with uncontrolled sexuality and "use[d] this association as one lynchpin of racial difference" (Collins 27). In South Africa, the discourse of "black peril," also known as *swart gewaar*, imagined white women as perpetually threatened with rape by black men. Although the "black peril" typically refers to a period of "social hysteria" that took hold in South Africa from 1890 to 1914, similar racial panics followed this period (Graham, *State of Peril* 4).³ Significantly, historiography on the subject of rape in colonial South Africa shows "black peril" narratives to be an index of colonial anxieties; specifically, it has been argued that this myth surfaced in times

² To understand the relationship between race and sexuality, it is necessary to understand how the apartheid state sought to police sexuality, prevent interracial unions, and secure the reproductive futurity of the white supremacist state. The apartheid project was sustained by the belief that "[b]odies [...] harbour deep meanings about difference and identity" and, as a result, racialized bodies needed to be managed and their sexual practices policed (Ratele 301). The prime example of sexuality's central place in apartheid ideology is the *The Immorality Act* (dating back to 1927, pre-dating apartheid), which criminalized interracial sex and marriage and would become a significant part of the architecture of apartheid legislation.

³ "White peril" narratives regularly emerged in South Africa as a response to the instrumentalisation of "black peril" narratives in support of segregationist legislation. "White peril" narratives sought to unmask the unspoken rapes of black women by white men, which were rendered invisible both in public and legal discourse. Black authors such as Sol Plaatje used "white peril" narratives in order to counter "black peril" rhetoric (Graham, *State of Peril* 71). In other contexts, these narratives were used to emphasize the undesirability of miscegenation.

of crisis where the efficacy of colonial rule and the social relations that sustained it seemed to be threatened, often facilitating the instalment of more rigid segregationist legislation (Scully, “Race, Rape and Colonial Culture” 338).⁴ The counterpoint to the highly public myth of the “black peril” is the hidden “ways in which colonialism created conditions that authorized the pervasive rape of black women by white men” (Scully, “Race, Rape and Colonial Culture” 337).⁵ Importantly, sexual matters, more broadly, were “foundational to the material terms in which colonial projects were carried out” (Stoler 14). In apartheid South Africa, the management of sexuality was intimately tied to the project of white supremacy and the reproductive futurity of the white nation. Given this history, it is unsurprising that public representations of sexual violence, and black sexuality more broadly, remain highly contentious in the post-apartheid public sphere. Nevertheless, Hassim observes that in South African public discourse, “masculinity elides into race and race elides into coloniality rather too neatly” (“Violent Modernity” 173).

Hassim’s argument focuses on yet another scandal of representation that preoccupied the

⁴ Stoler has made this argument more broadly when she suggests that “[a]llusions to political and sexual subversion of the colonial system went hand in hand” (58). She goes on to argue that “black peril” narratives “referred to sexual threats, but... also connoted the fear of insurgence, and of perceived nonacquiescence to colonial control more generally” (58). Similarly, Sabine Sielke observed that the rise of the image of the black man as “moral monster” after the emancipation of slavery in the Southern United States dramatized “cultural anxieties” over newly free black men and established the “dominant line within an American rhetoric of rape” which often continues to be “confirmed by feminism itself” (*Reading Rape* 34). In multiple contexts, then, “black peril” narratives often registered a “real or perceived crisis of control” in the dominant racial class (Stoler 58).

⁵ Through an overview of the rape trials in the Cape in the latter half of the 19th century, Pamela Scully notes the conjunction of sexuality, gender, and race as key factors in the cases’ outcomes. Scully found that the woman’s race was often intertwined with assumptions about her sexual propriety; it was often assumed that women who fell into one of the non-white racial categories of the slave-holding Cape society were believed to be more prone to sexual purience and less likely to be damaged by rape in terms of their honour or station in the community. Scully, thereby, successfully points out how the practice of rape law in the Cape served to re-inscribe the rape of black or ‘coloured’ women as consensual sex.

South African public sphere: the controversy over Brent Murray's *The Spear*, which represents Zuma in a Lenin-like pose, naked from the waist down. Hassim contends that centring conversations about rape on black masculinity deflects attention from uncomfortable conversations about the relationship between black men and black women, potentially silencing black women's experiences of violence. Hassim questions this "flattened-out" approach to racism, which interprets all critiques of black masculinity as complicit in colonial logics, arguing that this ignores the "entanglements of race and gender" (Hassim, "Violent Modernity" 173). Both Mbeki's use of "the progressive language of anti-racism" and Zuma's deployment of "African culturalist arguments" during his rape trial had the same effect of "invoking race and culture as rhetorical devices against the rights of women to personhood and autonomy" (Hassim, "Violent Modernity" 178). As Hassim asserts, while feminist arguments must avoid "re-inscrib[ing] a white gaze on the body of black men," they cannot circumscribe their anti-rape activism for fear of public censure.

As the controversies outlined above illustrate, post-apartheid public discourse has been plagued by conflicts over the representation of sexuality and sexual violence in particular. From Mbeki's HIV/AIDS denialism to public outcries over Brett Murray's depiction of Zuma's genitals in *The Spear*, sexuality and race have been at the centre of many important public debates over the state of the new democracy and the role of literature, art, and the media in the post-apartheid nation. During apartheid, sex and sexuality were subject to repressive censorship and policing, particularly in relation to sexual contact between the races (Posel, "Getting the Nation Talking about Sex" 130). Deborah Posel suggests that in the post-apartheid era, issues of sexuality "have a newfound prominence," and "unprecedented declarations of sexuality" emerge alongside persistent "anxieties, denials, and stigmas," which in turn contribute to the

“politicization of sexuality” (“Getting the Nation Talking about Sex” 131). The proliferation of “sex talk” and controversies over sexuality in post-apartheid public discourse reflect and amplify anxieties over the conditions of the new democracy. As I have already suggested, this “sex talk” is always haunted by a history of racialized discourse that figured Africans as hypersexualized, pathogenic, and threatening. Public debates that centre on questions of sexuality simultaneously foreground conflicts over what can and should be spoken about in public, as questions over women’s rights to personal safety are often problematically positioned against African men’s rights to dignity (Hassim, “After Apartheid” 462). As was the case with Zapiro’s cartoon, there are regular public controversies over the representation of black men’s sexuality when they are portrayed as rapists. There is less overt concern, however, over the portrayal of black women as “unrapeable,” as victimised, or over the elision of black women’s bodies into images of the nation.

Contextualizing South African Rape Narratives

South African literature and media are marked by a proliferation of rape narratives, as well as acts that silence these narratives. When a particularly brutal crime is publicly revealed, rape seems to spread and circulate in public texts as a metonym for the anxieties that beset the post-apartheid state; however, in the public discussions of rape’s pervasive character, the topic of the ubiquity of intra-communal and intraracial rape and its causes and consequences is often subsumed by broader fears over the state of the polity, thereby eliding the corporeal specificity and the everydayness of this violence. The emphasis on spectacular examples of sexual assault, from infant rape to brutal gang rapes, tends to erase the quotidian nature of intra-communal and intraracial rape, obscuring the reality that, unlike extreme social and political traumas, such as

genocide, sexual violence is accompanied by an aura of taboo and largely occurs in private, intimate spaces (Cvetcovich, *An Archive of Feelings* 7). Similarly, this emphasis on the most brutal instances of violence ignores the “banal[ity] [of] crime” in South Africa’s poorest communities, where under conditions of social abandonment, “criminal activities” may be the only means of social advancement for black men (Hunter, “Beneath the ‘Zunami’” 1112).

The changing connotations of rape in public imaginaries during the transition between apartheid and its aftermath have affected how rape circulates in the media, which in turn has changed the social impact of rape and its representations. Under apartheid, rape was seldom reported in the media unless the victim was a white woman; the white supremacist government “held a monopoly on political violence,” while “intimate violence” in black townships and rural communities was largely ignored (Morris, “The Mute and the Unspeakable” 59). In the post-apartheid era, public representation of rape tends to focus on high rape statistics or shocking examples of gang rapes, violent mutilations, murders, and “curative rape.”⁶ In this context, the media represents the perpetrators, almost without exception, as black and impoverished (Naylor 57), while the victims are often not only black but also the most vulnerable members of society: children and the elderly. In this representational logic, black women are often seen as victimized and passive, reduced to their injured (often dead) bodies. Although rape is no longer figured in public representations within the paranoid discourses of the “black peril,” rape still circulates through narratives of social crisis, and continues to convey complex collective anxieties.

As Rosalind Morris observes, “an analysis of violence and its significations is not the same as an analysis of motives or intentions” (“The Mute and the Unspeakable” 58).

⁶ “Curative” or “corrective” rape is the phrase used to refer to the rape of openly lesbian women.

Nevertheless, Rosemary Jolly asserts that we cannot fully separate “actual violence” from the “stories we use to represent and understand that violence” (6). Indeed, the very definition of rape highlights the fraught relationship between violence and representation. Estelle Freedman reminds us that rape is a “legal term that encompasses malleable and culturally determined perceptions of an act” (3). In a given society, the definition of rape hinges upon which “nonconsensual sex acts to criminalize” and “which to condone,” as well as which women may accuse which men “with the crime of forceful and unwanted sex” (Freedman 3).⁷ As Nicola Gavey explains, “[d]efinitions of rape have historically been carefully policed and deployed in ways that allowed strict societal condemnation for certain kinds of rape (violent attacks by strangers) committed on certain kinds of women (white, ‘respectable,’ and sexually chaste) by certain kinds of men (Black, working-class, deviant)” (Gavey 18).

In the introduction to their collection *Rape and Representation*, Lynn Higgins and Brenda Silver argue that “the politics and aesthetics of rape are one” (1). Higgins and Silver’s statement confirms the feminist belief that the social norms and narratives that support the acceptance of sexual violence also “contribute to shaping behaviour and identity, in women and men alike” (2). For second-wave feminists, rape is facilitated by myths that construct men as agents and women as the “objects of violence” (Marcus 291, 393). These myths “deny or reduce perceived injury”

⁷While rape was historically understood as a private crime, often shrouded in silence and taboo, rape came onto the public agenda in the 1970s because of the hard work of feminists who argued that it was a rampant form of violence, inherent to patriarchy, rather than an infrequent crime committed by strangers. Although different interpretations of the causes of sexual violence circulated at this time—framing it as either an exertion of power distinct from sex or as inherent to the structure of heterosexual sex itself—second-wave feminism’s emphasis on rape as paradigmatic of male dominance placed this crime at the centre of the feminist movement (MacKinnon 646; Hengehold 194). For excellent summaries of these differing understandings of rape, often associated with Susan Brownmiller and Catherine MacKinnon, see Gavey 31-41 and Cahill 2-3.

while blaming “victims for their own victimization” (Burt 21), and they contribute to the “social control of women” by encouraging a disproportionate fear of violent crime (Madriz 2). The anti-pornography debates of the 1980s and 1990s, which is often associated with arguments made by feminists Catherine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin, introduced the question of the relationship between literal and figural rape to the public conversation (Horeck 1-5). While MacKinnon and Dworkin rightly came under fire for their rigid belief in a direct causal link between consuming pornography and committing acts of sexual violence, Tanya Horeck argues that their “questioning of how rape troubles the boundaries between news, entertainment, and the ‘rest of life’, is central to a consideration of the unsettling relation between rape, spectatorship and spectacle” (83). Representations of rape can and do create social conditions that support and foster rape; at the same time, representation continuously factors into what is interpreted as rape within a given society. Importantly for my argument here, rape narratives, as they circulate in public, also communicate in complicated ways how a particular society thinks about gender as well as race, often in a manner that foregrounds the question of representation itself.

My understanding of rape’s circulation in South African discourse draws on two overlapping theories: Sabine Sielke’s discussion of “the rhetoric of rape” and Tanya Horeck’s understanding of “public rape.” Horeck describes “public rape” as those “representations of rape that serve as cultural fantasies of power and domination, gender and sexuality, class and ethnicity” (3). Horeck suggests that media representations of rape can “serve as a means of forging social bonds, and of mapping out public space” (4). For both Horeck and Sielke, rape as it circulates in discourse is a crime that dominates “public fantasies” regarding “sexual and social difference” (4). Accordingly, Sielke asserts that rape narratives give us insight into “the power dynamics of a particular culture” (Sielke, *Reading Rape* 2). Sielke builds on Michel Foucault’s

argument that sexuality does not function as an irresistible drive; rather, it is “an especially dense transfer point for relations of power” (103).⁸ For Sielke, the “rhetoric of rape” establishes and stabilizes “parameters of difference such as gender, race, ethnicity, class, and nation” (“The Politics of the Strong Trope” 371). When “transposed into discourse,” rape also becomes a “rhetorical device, and insistent figure for other social, political, and economic concerns and conflicts” (Sielke, *Reading Rape* 3).

In South Africa, rape becomes a figure for gender and racial difference and a persistent site for the expression of “social, political, and economic concerns and conflicts” (Sielke, *Reading Rape* 3). Sexual violence, according to Morris, is “often read as the symptom of a failure both in the formulation of the public sphere and in the restoration of previously damaged institutions like family” (“The Mute and the Unspeakable” 57). For this reason, public representations of rape are often focused on questions of modernity, and sexual violence is interpreted as a social crisis—a sign of the ANC’s failure to successfully institute democracy and restore a “moral” society. Rape is simultaneously interpreted as a crisis of the private sphere, particularly of the family, and of masculinity in relation to the family.⁹ Despite the ubiquity of intraracial rape across South African society, rape is represented as a black problem. In elite

⁸ Although Foucault is regularly criticized for his 1977 argument that rape should simply be treated as a form of assault (purely as a form of violence), his understanding of discourse is integral to many feminist approaches to rape, rape culture, and the public circulation of rape in narrative. Nicola Gavey, for example, takes up a Foucauldian understanding of the knowledge-power nexus to argue that “the ways in which we are able to make sense of something (i.e., discourses) enable and constrain what we are able to do” (86). For Gavey, this understanding of discourse allows her to theorize what she calls the “cultural scaffolding of rape” which she argues is built on discourses of male sexuality that potentially constrain women’s choice (105-123).

⁹ These anxieties around the relation between crime, urbanization, and the state of black families are familiar in South Africa, where from the 1930s *tsotsi* culture was often read as a sign of the collapse of formal family structures and traditional social hierarchies. Similarly, in the 1940s, white anxiety over black urbanization centred on the figure of the black woman as purient and/or as problematically fertile.

publications aimed at middle-class, typically white readers, rape becomes a site for pathologized spectacles of social crisis, whereas in publications aimed at a black readership, rape often circulates as a site of shame, disappointment, and despair. Inasmuch as rape narratives become intertwined with public debates over, on the one hand, the state of the new South Africa and the conditions of democracy and, on the other, the state of the family, these narratives become powerful sites for the expression of public feeling and are often narrated in an explicitly emotional register.

In South Africa, public conversation about rape indexes broader anxieties over the state of the post-apartheid nation, which is perhaps unsurprising in a country where a woman is more likely to be raped than to be literate, and where one in three women will be raped in her lifetime (Moffett 129).¹⁰ Jo Beall et al. describe post-apartheid democracy as characterized by a “fragile stability” where, on the one hand, the non-racial democratic regime of post-apartheid South Africa is stable, facing no “imminent threat,” and, on the other hand, it “faces immense social problems” (682). The “negotiated settlement” between the then-ruling National Party (NP) and the unbanned ANC resulted in lasting inequalities. The settlement was made, largely, in service

¹⁰ Rape statistics are notoriously inaccurate as rape is often under-reported. The veracity of rape statistics, as well as the broadly held contention that rape has increased in the post-apartheid era, are controversial questions in the post-apartheid public sphere. In this light, L. Graham suggests that rape has not increased in the post-apartheid era; instead, current rape statistics reflect a problem that was already prevalent, but ignored under apartheid (4). There may be truth to the claim that rape has not necessarily increased, but is being reported more since 1994; however, it is virtually impossible to differentiate a rise in reports of rape from increased incidence (Vetten 430). Therefore, although there was a considerable rise in the number of rapes reported between 1994 and 2005 (Vetten 429), this increase may also index women’s improved confidence in the police force. This difficulty in interpreting the rise in rape statistics is significant in the context of South Africa, when under apartheid the police had an antagonistic relationship with the majority of the population, who were essentially criminalized by virtue of their race. Irrespective of how we interpret the accuracy of these figures, crime statistics and the prevalence of crime have become central to the South African national imagination in the post-apartheid context, where crime statistics’ pervasive presence in the media provides a coalescing point for anxieties around the perceived danger of everyday life, and act as a vector for affect (Comaroff and Comaroff, “Figuring Crime,” 224).

of the two groups that make up South Africa's ruling class: "the white oligarchy, [who] owns and controls the minerals-energy complex" and "the [now] politically dominant black middle class" (Mbembe, "Passages to Freedom" 11). This uncomfortable alliance between the mineral-energy complex and an emerging black elite resulted in the redistribution of wealth to a small, black, exploitative political class, and also resulted in the post-apartheid government's commitment, particularly under the leadership of Thabo Mbeki, to neoliberal economic policies. These economic policies were exemplified by the abandonment of the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) in favour of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)—a "homegrown structural adjustment program"—in 1996 (Hart 681). In this landscape of economic disparity, post-apartheid South Africa is riddled with tensions stemming from the discrepancy between the promise of the new South Africa and its material reality.

In the wake of apartheid, South Africa remains a deeply unequal society affected by "poverty [...], unemployment [and] HIV/AIDS," with 24% of black households, compared to 1.8% of white households, living on approximately \$450.00 or less a month in 2011 (Statistics South Africa 12; Beall, Gelb, and Hassim 682). Even more telling, South Africa's Gini coefficient—which measures inequality or the deviation of distribution of wealth and resources between individuals or households—was 64.4 on a scale of 1–100 in 2016, giving South Africa the unhappy honour of being one of the most unequal countries of the 170 listed. Although the new constitution (ratified in 1996) guarantees gender equality, black women have been slow to benefit from the new dispensation (Manicom 23). They are more likely to be uneducated or unemployed than men, who have privileged social and economic positions and greater access to profitable sectors of both the formal and informal economy (Beall, Gelb and Hassim 683; Mills

82; Walker 227; Goldblatt and Meintjes 13; Hunter, “The Materiality of Everyday Sex” 101).¹¹ Furthermore, high incidence of HIV infection, inequality, and lack of access to basic “good services” such as clean water “bear most heavily on women, who remain responsible for reproductive labour” and care work in the majority of South African households (Hassim, “Godzille and the Witches” 197). Moreover, the considerable violence against women in contemporary South Africa maintains and exacerbates this state of economic and physical precarity (Hunter, “The Materiality of Everyday Sex” 109; Manicom 23).

As I will detail in my third chapter, the prevailing medium through which activism and later legislation responded to gender inequality has been the universalizing language of liberal feminism, which elides the specificities of race and class. As Gqola argues, discourses of gender in the South African public sphere rely on notions of gender empowerment in a manner that is often “*not* transformative,” amounting to little more than access to positions of power for a privileged few without amending the structural and social mechanisms that disadvantage the majority of women (“The Cult of Femininity” 115). Moreover, the promise of empowerment is generally limited to women in official “public-space,” while in private, many South African women continue to be expected to adhere to very limiting notions of femininity (Gqola, “The Cult of Femininity” 116). Gqola, therefore, highlights the paradox of the “new” South Africa, that “women are legislatively empowered, and yet [...] do not feel safe in [their] streets or homes” (“The Cult of Femininity” 116).¹²

¹¹ However, Claire Decoteau argues that, as a result of deindustrialization, the rising NGO sector and minimal welfare associated with child care, “very poor women sometimes have more access to some money than very poor men” (51).

¹² A number of critics have commented on the paradox between the ANC government’s political and legislative empowerment of women and its failure to amend the structural, social, and cultural mechanisms that continue to oppress women. See Hassim “Godzille and the Witches” 196-198, Hassim

The consolidation of women's rights in the constitution and women's improved access to resources in the public sphere is often connected to narratives of modernization, while, at the same time, acting as a site of considerable tension, where liberal developmental understandings of "progress" come into conflict with the deployment of tropes of "tradition" and "authenticity," and what Franco Barchiesi calls "working-class melancholia"—where "disenchantment with precarious employment is discursively transposed into revanchist images of order and purity" (Barchiesi 232). In her 1994 essay, "Women, Tradition, and Reconstruction," Cheryl Walker points out the paradoxes inherent in the ANC government's attempts to balance gender equality as supported by the constitution with a respect for traditional authorities and law, arguing that "fundamentally patriarchal" "tradition" and gender equality are incompatible (347). Walker pits gender equality against the government's accommodation of traditional law and traditional leaders—whose roles and positions had been reified under both colonial indirect-rule and the apartheid bantustan system—in such a way as to align modernity and progress with gender equality and represent tradition as static and inherently patriarchal.¹³ While Walker is correct in that discourses of traditionalism and authenticity are constantly deployed in response to appeals for gender equality, sexual equality, and reproductive rights, she fails to acknowledge the diverse manner in which tradition and modernity are co-opted as constantly shifting tropes in the South African public sphere. In this light, Claire Decoteau has argued that those scholars and public commentators who tend to interpret South Africa's rape crisis as a "crisis of masculinity" and as a reactionary response to the changing gender dynamics under the new rights regime of the

"Texts and Tests" 16-17, Manicom "Constituting Women" 21-24, Walsh and Scully 6 and Meintjes 110-112.

¹³ For a discussion of the problems with upholding the binaries between tradition and modernity, see John and Jean Comaroff's "On Personhood: An Anthropological Perspective on Africa."

constitution, tend to tacitly reaffirm these colonial binaries. She argues, in contrast, that "tropes of 'traditionalism' and 'modernity' are fluid and deployed to divergent political ends," particularly in the context of public debates over sexuality (154-155). Like Barchiesi, she contends that the deployment of tropes of traditionalism is as much about gender as it is an "attempt to control the uncertainty that has accompanied millennial capitalism" (Decoteau 154). While I will often consider questions of modernity and tradition in this dissertation, as they are associated with discourses of criminality and sexuality, I will, following Decoteau, consider how they are circulated as tropes "where they signal the postcolonial difficulty of defining a national imaginary in the face of both economic globalization and cultural imperialism" (142).

Violence against women, particularly rape, emerges as an important factor in public debates over the condition of the new democracy. This is perhaps unsurprising, considering that according to a report by Rachel Jewkes et al, 29.6% of the men surveyed admitted to having non-consensual sex with a girl or woman (3).¹⁴ With similarly high instances of domestic violence and murder of women by their intimate partners (Vetten 430), women's lives in South Africa are circumscribed by the threat of violence. Anti-rape advocacy and activism in South Africa (since 1994) focused on ameliorating rape law in order to broaden the definition of rape to include male victims, various acts of penetration, and spousal rape. Despite legislative changes culminating in the *Sexual Offences Act* of 2007, which made progressive changes to the legal definition of rape, many actors in the criminal justice system accept rape scripts (Mills 81)—those "social structures" and narratives that enable rape to occur (Marcus 391, 393). Hence, the ideal rape

¹⁴ Here, I use "non-consensual sex" rather than "sexual assault" or "rape" in order to include those instances of heterosexual sex that neither victim nor perpetrator would define as assault, which yet remain coercive and non-consensual.

victim is imagined as a woman who puts up the most resistance, is chaste or in a heteronormative relationship, and is modest in dress and behaviour (Mills 83; Moffett 239).¹⁵ Lisa Vetten argues that the incongruity between substantive legal reform, constitutional protections, and the stubborn persistence of violence against women illustrates “the contingent, conditional and contested nature of gender equality in South Africa” (425).

A considerable body of work has been produced in the disciplines of social science, psychology, and anthropology that tries to make sense of the high incidence of rape in contemporary South Africa. These much-needed qualitative and quantitative studies have focused on men’s self-reportage of coercive non-consensual sex (Wood, Lambert, and Jewkes 291, 297), on the discourses that surround transactional sex in township communities (Wood, Lambert and Jewkes 293; Hunter 100-109), on the rape myths and scripts that scaffold South African rape culture, and on the language that young people use to describe their experiences on a continuum of sexual violence (Wood 211; Wood, Lambert and Jewkes 275). Unsurprisingly, the state of masculinity – particularly black masculinity – is often at the centre of these studies, which consider how the legacies of political conflict, disenfranchisement, and militarization provide the conditions for “high levels” of criminality and interpersonal violence (Walker

¹⁵ Veena Das notes the significance of rape, particularly in legal discourse, as a site where heteronormativity is policed, the norms of gendered sexual behavior are reaffirmed, and the divisions between “good” and “bad” women are reinforced (“Sexual Violence, Discursive Formulations and the State,” 2411, 2417). As is the case in the South African context, Das shows that in India, despite the considerable legislative changes in the 1970s and 1980s, the interpretation and implementation of these laws is often contingent on “the classificatory practices through which good women are separated from bad women and sexuality is ‘regulated’” (Das 2418). Laura Hengehold observes similar patterns in North American courtrooms, where she notes that the rape trial is less concerned with determining the nature of the crime committed and more invested in demonstrating “how ‘sexual events’ are defined both socially and legally” (193).

227-228, Wood 308; Wood, Lambert and Jewkes 278; Glaser 58).¹⁶ Others have focused on overtly feminist discussions of the disciplinary function of rape and its representation in public media (Wood 309, 311; Vincent 12). While these studies provide valuable information for understanding the epidemiology of rape in South African communities and the widespread acceptance of rape myths and coercive sexual practices, they do not delve into the cultural and social connotations of rape narratives as they circulate in public.

While recent scholarship on violence in South African literature typically centres on the violence of the apartheid state or on the efficacy of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC),¹⁷ notable exceptions include Meg Samuelson's *Remembering the Nation, Dismembering the Women? Stories of the South African Transition* (2007) and Lucy Graham's *State of Peril: Race and Rape in South African Literature* (2012). Samuelson and Graham largely focus on the representation of interracial rape in South African literature. Although Samuelson's study considers the role of women in South African transition literature more broadly, her work presents a significant criticism of the preoccupation with interracial rape in

¹⁶ Moffett criticizes the tendency to focus on black masculinity in conversations about rape in South Africa. She argues that rape in South Africa is disproportionately high across racial and ethnic groups. Moffett's analysis highlights the importance of gender; she argues that post-apartheid South Africa has inherited scripts of violence from apartheid, where violence served to shame or humiliate its target, becoming an "important and strategic weapon" (139). In her analysis, rape is an "ordeal visited upon women in order to keep them and their peers compliant with social 'norms'" (Moffett 139). Analyses such as Moffett's assume that women and their newly granted rights are a site of considerable social anxiety in post-apartheid South Africa, and deploy a gendered analysis of rape that emphasizes its disciplinary function. For further interpretations of rape's disciplinary function in South African society, see Wood 308-311 and Vincent 13.

¹⁷ For a few notable scholarly assessments of the TRC, see edited collections such as S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee's *Negotiating the Past: the Making of Memory in South Africa* (1998), D. Posel and G. Simpson *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (2002), and C. Hamilton et al's *Refiguring the Archive* (2002). For extensive studies of the TRC, see Richard Wilson *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-apartheid State* (2001) and Mark Sanders's *Ambiguities of Witnessing: Law and Literature in the Time of a Truth Commission* (2007).

this literature, whereby the woman and her reproductive capacities become the staging ground for contestations over land and the state of the new nation. Samuelson rightly observes that this dynamic elides the material experiences of women in South Africa, where rape is largely intraracial. In Samuelson's analysis, the woman, or more accurately her womb, becomes a tractable symbol through which to express ideals such as "national unity" or "ethnic claims" (*Remembering the Nation* 2). Similarly, Graham tracks the symbolic economy of "black" or "white peril" narratives in order to explore the relationship between rape narratives and discourses of race. Graham goes on to explore the "hold" interracial rape has on the "national imaginary," arguing that the obsessive return to these narratives is symptomatic of "melancholy and disavowal" of interracial desire (*State of Peril* 8-11). Both Samuelson and Graham's accounts confirm the importance of rape narratives to the South African national imaginary yet tend to focus almost exclusively on the representation of interracial rape.

Since beginning my research in 2012, two other important studies have emerged that make a considerable contribution to our understanding of South African rape narratives: Gqola's *Rape: A South African Nightmare* (2015) and Sorcha Gunne's *Space, Place, and Gendered Violence in South Africa* (2014). Gunne uses the lens of "liminality" to explore the continuities and discontinuities in narratives of gender violence across the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. In attempting to go beyond the predominant focus on interracial rape in literary analysis, Gunne theorizes rape in order to understand how different writers "register the liminality of various spaces as conducive to gender violence but also *communitas*" (39). Her focus on *communitas*, which she defines as an "intense bond of solidarity" (36), forms part of her commitment to moving beyond an overemphasis on the passive suffering of the rape victim to consider the "possibility of resistance to domination" (Gunne 182). While my project resonates with Gunne's

desire to move beyond a configuration of the passive rape victim, I believe it is necessary to consider how *rape*, as an affectively and ideologically laden concept, circulates in public discourse in often corrosive ways.

Gqola's *Rape: A South African Nightmare* is perhaps the most compelling recent study of rape in South African literature and culture. Part activism, part academic analysis, Gqola seeks to uncover both the dynamics that perpetuate rape in contemporary South Africa and the rape myths that are sustained in the post-apartheid public sphere. Exploring the intersecting histories of race and gender in South Africa, Gqola seeks to unmask rape myths while at the same time trying to explain the high incidence of rape in the contemporary era. Gqola blames two intersecting dynamics for the rape epidemic: first, the colonial construction of black women as "impossible to rape," and, second, the militarization of South African masculinity. Each of these studies makes a significant contribution to the understanding of rape in South African print culture, and implicitly registers the importance of its affective economies; however, other than Samuelson's study, few focus explicitly on the representation of intraracial rape and its affective valences in the post-apartheid era.

Nevertheless, the affective and emotional valences of sexual violence and its representations have been the implicit content of much South African feminist scholarship on rape. Scholars such as Wood, Moffett, and Gqola have interpreted the representation of rape in the post-apartheid era as indicative of the complex anxieties that haunt the post-apartheid nation. For these scholars, women are figures at the centre of considerable social anxiety. This anxiety is understood in relation to the tension between the constitutional guarantee of gender equality, with the promise of new access to resources from the state, and traditional forms of patriarchy inherited from colonial and African societies. For others, such as Graham, the representations of

rape index white anxiety over black freedom and governance. Graham argues that rape narratives (particularly of black-on-white violence) provide an acceptable forum to express socially unacceptable fears over new leadership in post-apartheid South Africa. In a similar fashion, my argument is concerned with the manifestation of social anxiety in discourse. I am, therefore, concerned with the way rape becomes a locus where anxieties and conflicts over class, race, and access to resources congeal. Like Graham, Wood, Moffett, and Gqola, I understand rape narratives to register anxiety over social change; however, in my analysis, it becomes clear that rape narratives become a conduit for a broad range of affects around the transition to democracy and its aftermath. In the analysis of each instance of rape discussed in my project, I am concerned with examining both the affects these representations of rape emerge from, reflect, and reproduce, and the everyday experiences they elide, ignore, or silence.

In my research, I found that rather than solely acting as a conduit for anxiety, rape narratives often conveyed a more varied set of emotional valences that emerged around public perceptions of the conditions of the new democracy. My argument follows the contours of the first decades of democracy in South Africa, moving from the heady optimism and anxiety of the transition to an increasing sense of despair over failures in service delivery, political corruption, and high crime rates, both in the affluent suburbs and in the townships. Although this trajectory is not purely chronological, it seeks to identify the changing emotional landscape of contemporary South Africa as it is expressed through and around rape narratives.

It would be impossible to speak about the affective valences of rape narratives without considering how these narratives intersect with the public discourses that surround criminality in South Africa. Fear of crime has increasingly become a central concern in the post-apartheid public sphere; in 2004, an estimated 81% of the population understood lawlessness as a threat to

the new democracy (Comaroff and Comaroff, “Figuring Crime” 214). Lindsay Bremner suggests that “[f]eelings of anxiety, loss, social decay, frustration and anger have been reordered through the rubric of crime” (Bremner 198). “[F]ar from this being an obstacle to social coherence,” Bremner asserts, crime “permits the drawing of a stable, albeit uneasy, map of the world that has been irrevocably shaken” (Bremner 198). As I will elaborate in Chapters Two and Three, discussions of violent crime, or what Vilashini Cooppan calls the “security anecdote,” allow publics to convene around narratives of criminality that reaffirm the “widespread conviction that violence defines the postapartheid present” (60). As Thomas Hansen suggests, “[c]rime—both real and spectral—security and death are experienced and understood in different ways within racially defined social worlds in South Africa” (103). Comaroff and Comaroff assert that it is the largely white middle-class who are disproportionately concerned with the problem of crime, yet my research found similar expressions of concern in the *Sowetan*, which is aimed at a largely black readership. The difference, however, is that while “security anecdotes” might provide an avenue for white publics to express “legitimate” concern over black governance, these same narratives circulated in the *Sowetan* to express disappointment with the new dispensation.

Despite the “differences in how crime and criminality was experienced,” discourses on criminality register a “loss of certainty,” reflecting themes of “anxiety” and “bewilderment in the face of transformations” (Hansen 104). In this connection, Mark Seltzer’s understanding of “wound culture” is a useful starting point for interpreting South African’s fascination with crime. Seltzer uses the term *wound culture* to describe how American publics “convene [...] around scenes of violence” (3). Seltzer’s work, which interprets the fascination with the serial killer in American popular culture, maps the preoccupation with violence and wounded bodies in the “pathological public sphere” (3). Seltzer suggests that the obsession with spectacles of “torn and

opened persons” involves a “breakdown in the distinction between the individual and the mass, and between the private and public registers” (3). According to Seltzer, the current fascination with trauma is symptomatic of a pathological public sphere, which is marked by shifting lines between the private individual and “collective forms of representation, exhibition, and witnessing” (Seltzer 4).

Rape narratives further complicate the way scenes of violent crime come to register public anxieties in South Africa. As Hassim has suggested, “[t]he marking of postcolonial modernity is deeply implicated in processes of re-inscribing how colonialism, race and gender are understood” and the appearance of the sexualized body in public debates makes these processes visible (Hassim, “Violent Modernities” 169). The sexualized body “stands at the interface of the public and private and invites us to consider the ways in which gendered power is legitimized and invoked, sometimes by foregrounding racial identities and at other times by subordinating these” (“Violent Modernity” 169). During the apartheid era, intraracial rape was seldom represented in the media; in the post-apartheid era, there has been a pronounced increase in the representation of this kind of rape, with particular focus on extremely brutal and violent rapes occurring in poor and socially marginalized communities. Although Hassim is referring to the sexualized body more broadly, the rape victim’s body, whose injuries are often discussed in lurid detail in the newspaper reportage I survey, stands at the interface between the public and private, and becomes a figure for a wounded polity.

The belief that violence is incredibly pervasive in post-apartheid South Africa, alongside the structural inequalities that remain in the wake of apartheid, results in a sense of crisis that suffuses the ordinary. In a recent collection of interviews entitled *Trauma, Memory and Narrative in South Africa*, the interviewees argued that the study of trauma in South Africa must

remain sympathetic to the continuous effects of material deprivation and inequality “that are doomed to produce and perpetuate trauma” (Mengel et al. x). Such a context insists that we depart from a Freudian model of trauma in which the traumatic event takes the form of an accident or surprise, an unanticipated impact of an overwhelming experience that wounds the psyche (Caruth 15).¹⁸ Rather than understand the traumatic event as unanticipated—associated with fright, shock and surprise—and as a break with the ordinary, I follow theorists like Lauren Berlant and Ann Cvetcovich who ask us to consider the “diffusion of trauma through the ordinary” (Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* 82). Similarly, Laura Brown proposes the term *insidious trauma* (which she borrows from Maria Root) to describe how “the constant presence and threat of trauma in the lives of girls and women of all colours [...] [is] a continuing background noise rather than an unusual event” (Brown 103). Here trauma is not necessarily caused by an event outside the range of usual human experience, but rather includes those “subtle manifestations of trauma” and “the secret, private, hidden experiences of everyday pain” (Brown 107-108). Drawing on the work of Brown, Berlant, and Cvetcovich, I seek to move away from an understanding of trauma that focuses on individual psychology and is subtly dependent on Western models of the liberal individual. Such an understanding of trauma does not effectively account for communal experiences such as colonialism or “the chronic psychic suffering

¹⁸ As Cathy Caruth tells us, the original meaning of trauma referred to an injury to the body, but came to reference a wound inflicted on the mind (12). Sigmund Freud describes what he calls “traumatic neurosis” as a state resulting from “the factor of surprise, of fright” (*Beyond* 12). Those events that would be described as traumatic, for Freud, are those that produce excitations “powerful enough to break through the protective shield” (Freud *Beyond* 45). In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, Freud uses the analogy of a basic single-celled organism to describe the psyche’s relation to stimulus. Beset by external stimulation, this tiny creature creates a protective epidermis or cortical shield. This protective shield allows Freud to model how the psyche protects itself from excessive excitation, from within and without. In the case of trauma, the excitation overwhelms or ruptures this figurative shield.

produced by the structural violence of racial, gender, sexual, class and other inequalities,” particularly as they manifest in South African rape narratives (Craps and Buelens 3- 4).¹⁹

Despite the quotidian nature of the lived experience of sexual violence in South Africa, the rape narratives I focus on throughout this dissertation, particularly those coming from the media, represent spectacular moments of extremely brutality. While the events themselves often partake in an economy of representation that highlights exceptional violence, they simultaneously shed light on locals beset by more quotidian forms of suffering—poverty, alcoholism, drug abuse, and gender inequality. Often using the rape narrative to represent quotidian suffering as social crisis, each case study in this dissertation demands an examination of the relationship between spectacular violence and ordinary suffering, between contexts of social suffering and inequality and the disordered, brutalized bodies of rape victims. By foregrounding spectacle and crisis, media representations of rape tend to elide the more quotidian experiences of sexual violence and the ongoing effects of colonialism, apartheid, and neoliberal economic policies in order to represent the rape epidemic as a crisis of political efficacy rather than a problem of systemic inequality. By moving away from a focus on trauma that centres on the event, I take up theories of affect that allow me to diagnose this dynamic whereby the systemic nature of gender violence is subsumed by political conflict and anxiety over the conditions of South African politics.

¹⁹ For a similar consideration of the application of trauma studies to postcolonial contexts, see Saunders and Aghaie 17.

The *Affective Economy* of South African Rape Narratives

This project seeks to further the study of rape in a South African context by characterizing the *affective economy* that circulates alongside rape narratives in South Africa's fractured public sphere. I do this by considering how rape circulates in the national imaginary as a cipher for broader tensions.²⁰ The argument in this dissertation has been influenced by the body of work, emerging in the early 1990s, that attempted to explore the relationships between intimacy, sentiment, and colonization. Drawing on this early concern with emotion in postcolonial studies, Ann Stoler's and Catherine McClintock's influential works made me aware of what Stoler called the "affective grid of colonial politics" and their aftermath (7). This body of work attuned me to affect theory's capacity to account for the complex linkages between the psyche, society and the material world (Ahmed, *Cultural Politics* 46) and its ability to provide a useful framework to describe the matrix of relationships between social imaginaries of race, gender, and the nation-state, and their residues as they accrue around representations of rape. Here I am drawing on Charles Taylor's understanding of social imaginaries as "the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations" (23). More broadly, then, my project can be understood as part of the turn to a concern with the political implications of affect, feeling, and emotion for these social imaginaries. By focusing on the social landscape of post-apartheid South Africa, which is riddled with poverty, criminality, violence, and morbidity, my research responds to the

²⁰ Benedict Anderson understands the nation as "an imagined political community"—"imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson 15). Anderson explains that the nation is imaginary in the sense that its members will never, even within the smallest nation, come into contact with all their fellow members, yet each member imagines themselves as connected (15).

anxieties that haunt the “new” South Africa and positions itself to interpret the motifs that convey these anxieties.

As Nigel Thrift asks: “who can truly say that they fully understand the forces we tag as ‘affect’?” (Thrift 19). This definitional quandary stems, in part, from the school of thought that emphasizes affect’s pre-cognitive and non-representational qualities. As Eugenie Birkema incisively claims, the “emphasis on affect as a pure state of potentiality” runs the risk of “vagueness of purely negative definitional endeavours and largely cedes specificity” (xiii). While the term *affect* is usually “associated with words like emotion and feeling” (Thrift 175), it is increasingly used to reference an array of materially felt intensities that arise from the body’s “capacity to act or be acted upon” (Gregg and Seigworth 1-2). The so-called “Affective Turn” (Clough 1) has produced various theoretical approaches influenced by the work of Silvan Tomkins, Gilles Deleuze, Benjamin Spinoza, Alfred Whitehead, and Henri Bergson, to name a few, as well as selective borrowings from neuroscience and quantum physics. Those theorists drawing their impetus from Deleuze and Spinoza tend to emphasize the necessity of clearly differentiating affect from emotion.²¹ Unlike emotion, which is subjective and qualified by consciousness, Clough, following Massumi, defines affect in terms of bodily responses “which are in excess of conscious states of perception and point instead to a visceral perception preceding perception” (3). In contrast, those who follow Tomkins understand the system of affects to be attached to a distinct set of basic emotions with their own internal logics. Unlike

²¹ Unlike those who are concerned with clearly distinguishing between affect and emotion, some understand the distinction to be less clear. For theorists like Sianne Ngai, Sarah Ahmed, and Ann Cvetcovich, the turn to affect facilitates an analysis of specific feelings, allowing for a more porous boundary between emotion and affect in their work. For instance, in Ngai’s analysis this difference is understood to be one of “intensity or degree” (Ngai 27).

Freud, who treated affect as “quantitative energy stemming from the drives, a kind of undifferentiated intensity,” Tomkins treats affect as an “irreducible ‘motivational system’ or ‘assembly’, one that inevitably interacts with but is nonetheless distinct from the drives, from physiological factors, from perception, and from elements of ‘cognition’ such as belief, thought and choice” (Flatley 12). Those like Flatley and Sedgwick, who draw on Tomkins’ theory, seek to emphasise the linkages between affect and physiology, often understanding affect to be embedded in precognitive bodily responses. Similar to those who follow the Deleuzian and Spinozian strand of affect theory, these theorists seek to separate affect from traditional formulations of cognition and judgment.

Ruth Leys observes a shared commitment to “anti-intentionalism” in both schools of thought in so far as they seek to separate affect from “signification and meaning” (443). Leys argues that in disconnecting ideology from affect, a preoccupation with “people’s corporeal-affective reactions” replaces a necessary attentiveness to the “the role of ideas and beliefs in politics, culture, and art” (Leys 451).²² With her concern that ideology and affect are disconnected in theories that favour “subpersonal material-affective responses” (451), Leys gestures to another significant concern for those who question contemporary trends in the study of affect, namely that, affect theory does away with the subject as an important analytic category. Although they seek to defend contemporary trends in affect studies, Ali Laura et al acknowledge that “[w]hether decentred or entirely stripped of analytical meaning, in much of affect theory there was [...] unease about what a vacated subject meant for questions of power and agency”

²² For a detailed analysis of the limitations of Massumi and his followers’ selective borrowing from science and neuroscience, see Wetherell 61- 67. For a broader discussion of affect theory’s engagement with empiricism and science, see Blackman 19-20.

(32). Karyn Ball exemplifies this concern when she argues, “[t]o the extent that they renounce the subject as a social-formational place-holder for experience, belief, consciousness, and the unconscious, I do not see how de-subjectifying formulations of affect enhance a critical diagnosis of socioeconomic inequities that translates into health and morale problems, or offer imagery that might heighten public awareness about the class-, race-, and sex-gender-differential pressures on survival” (“Losing Steam” 64). As Ball’s argument suggests, the criticisms of the de-centred or vacated subject in affect theory speak more broadly to “a tendency within hegemonic theory to avoid taking seriously subaltern theories that address the messiness of the marginality, identity, materiality, and politics of lives and liveliness” (Laura et al 33). Rather than attending to the specificities of subjective and embodied experience, theories of affect that emphasize “immanence” and “potential” run the risk of “derealiz[ing] corporeal matter” and rendering it “amorphous, and abstract” (Ball, “Losing Steam” 61). Moreover, by divorcing affect from not only the subject but from meaning-making, these theories ignore how texts might resonate with bodies, or how affect might sediment in language, and, in so doing, they “hold fast to the fantasy of something that predates the linguistic turn” (Brinkema xiv) and fail to account for the affective valences of those social narratives, particularly of race and gender, that are implicated in the mechanisms of power.

Claire Hemmings argues that the writings of gender, postcolonial, and critical race theorists have a longstanding concern with “affective attachment in the context of social narratives and power relations” (Hemmings, “Invoking Affect” 562). Hemmings makes her argument with reference to Franz Fanon, who demonstrates in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) that the raced body *feels* differently by virtue of its construction in knowledge, language, and intersubjectivity. Fanon is all too aware that race is not merely corporeal; he argues that because

of his race he is “overdetermined from without” (87). His blackness is not only a material fact, but is given meaning by “legends, stories [and] history” (Fanon 84). Nevertheless, he describes the experience of being “fixed” and “overdetermined” as a materially *felt* reality. He goes on to describe this *feeling* of his own racialisation during an encounter with a fearful white child, as being "assailed at various points" (Fanon 87). Through this encounter, he explains, his "corporeal schema" fragments and is replaced by a "racial epidermal schema" (84). This change in "epidermal schema" suggests, not only a change in how the world perceives him by virtue of his skin, but also reflects the fact that his experience of the world has changed, since it is via the skin, the epidermis, that one encounters the world. He goes on to observe: “my long antennae pick up the catchphrases strewn over the surface of things” (Fanon 87). His awareness of his racialized construction in language and in the other’s gaze is felt on his body as a change of his “epidermal schema,” and, as such, as a change of his affective orientation to the world, where he *feels* attuned to the world differently.

As was noted in the previous section on gendered violence and rape, “the rhetoric of rape” is implicated in and exposes how we think about race, gender, and class in a particular society. In *Frames of War*, Judith Butler suggests that “to be a body is to be exposed to social crafting and form, and that is what makes the ontology of the body a social ontology” (3). Here Butler is referring to the normative frames that allow life to be apprehended as life. Her formulation helps us conceive of affect as both bodily experienced and constructed via the “social.” Similarly, Elizabeth Povinelli proposes the term *carnality*, as opposed to *corporeality*, to identify “the socially built space between flesh and environment” (*Empire of Love* 7). For Butler and Povinelli, the body’s ontology emerges through what Butler calls a “field of intelligibility” (34) through which its orientation to the world is framed. This understanding of

the body resonates with Fanon's experience of his own racialization as a materially felt encounter with normative frames. Here, an understanding of the subject is essential to theorizing affect, yet this subject cannot be conceived as hermetically bound or sealed or as completely "moleculariz[ed]," to borrow Ball's phrasing, or abstracted. Building on observations from Freud's thermodynamic model of the subject, Ball suggests that we think of the body as "permeable," "beset and perhaps overrun by external and internal forces" ("Losing Steam" 59). Seen in this light, the study of affect requires a theory of the subject-body-world interface that insists on the complex relations between the individual and the social that are informed by the field of intelligibility through which interpretation occurs.

In this dissertation, I take issue with those theories of affect that foreground the "non-conscious, non-cognitive, trans-personal, and non-representational processes" (Laura et al 31), particularly as they fail to account for the affective experiences of racialized embodiment. For this reason, I am not only preoccupied with the importance of reconsidering the place of the subject in affect theory, but also with a reconsideration of the role of meaning-making and discourse in the mediation of affect. As Fanon's experience of his carnality—the interface between his body and normative frames—attests, to understand the place of the subject in theories of affect we must also account for "legends, stories [and] history" (84). Wetherell, who focuses on affective practice, sees this practice as a "figuration where body possibilities and routines become recruited or entangled together with meaning-making and with other social and material figurations" (Wetherell 20). This understanding of the body mirrors Butler's insistence that we understand the body as a "social ontology" (3). While non-representational theorists of affect such as Thrift, Massumi, and Clough emphasize the autonomy of affect, focusing on that which is immanent, erratic, and non-coherent, following Wetherell I am interested in affective

practices that form “ruts,” that “stabilize, solidify” and sediment around certain discursive patterns and practices, even as they might ricochet or rebound in unexpected directions (14). Unlike critics such as Jill Bennet, who sees avant-garde non-representational strategies as the prioritized sites for conveying affect in art and literature, I see affect being mediated – to borrow Anderson’s phrasing – and sedimented through familiar, repetitive motifs, tropes, and narratives. This is not to say that there is nothing erratic or unpredictable about affect’s circulation, but rather that affect often accumulates around history-laden concepts or narratives, particularly of gender and race.

Drawing on psychoanalytic and Marxist analysis, Ahmed uses the term *affective economies* to describe the public circulation of affect. She argues that psychoanalysis “offers a theory of emotion as economy, as involving relationships of difference and displacement without positive value” (Ahmed, *Cultural Politics* 45). Freud’s notion of the economy²³ is based on his hypothesis that “psychical processes consist in the circulation and distribution of an energy (instinctual energy) that can be quantified”²⁴ within a closed system (Laplanche and Pontalis 127).²⁵ In theorising the circulation of affects, Ahmed focuses on the processes that allow for the “distribution [of] energy” or intensity in the Freudian economy, particularly the notion of displacement (*Cultural Politics* 45). Displacement refers to how an object “may surrender to

²³ Although Freud does not produce a distinctive theory of affect, it is clear that affect plays a role in the Freudian economy as “the qualitative expression of the quantity of instinctual energy and of its fluctuations.” (Laplanche and Pontalis 13)

²⁴ This theory of the circulation, distribution, and qualification of energy is developed in Freud’s *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* in which he presented the hypothesis that “the mental apparatus endeavours to keep the quantity of excitation in it as low as possible, or at least keep it constant” (Freud 4-5). In Freud’s formulation, low excitation is experienced as pleasure and high excitation as unpleasure.

²⁵ Here Freud’s imagining of the economic aspects of the psyche draws on thermodynamic models of the time, allowing Freud to conceptualise the psyche as a system in which energy circulates as bound or unbound in the closed system of the psycho-physical apparatus.

another its whole quota of cathexis” or energy (Freud, “The Unconscious” 582). In this process, intensity displaces from one object to another object, which was “originally of little intensity but which [was] related to the first idea by a chain of associations” (Laplanche and Pontalis 121). In this fashion, there is an economic movement of intensities or energy via a “chain of associations” in the work of displacement.

In this vein, Ahmed goes on to argue that “[a]ffect does not reside in an object or sign, but is an effect of the circulation between objects and signs” (*Cultural Politics* 45). For Ahmed, signs accumulate what she calls “affective value” as an effect of their circulation (*Cultural Politics* 45). Importantly, Ahmed is interested in the “emotionality of texts” (*Cultural Politics* 13). While she is overly concerned with the language of emotions themselves, how they are named or performed, her argument that ‘figures of speech’ are “crucial to the emotionality of texts” informs my own attempt to understand how affect is sedimented around particular, often-racialized motifs and narratives in public discourse around rape. Both well-worn tropes of interracial rape and new narratives of social crisis gain “affective value” by virtue of their circulation, as well as through the “impressions” left upon them by the history of their circulation. As I will elaborate in Chapter One, affective practices form “ruts,” that “stabilize, solidify” and sediment around certain discursive patterns as they circulate in public (Wetherell 14). Ahmed’s understanding of the *affective economy* provides a model for how feelings become collective through the public circulation of objects and figures that I argue allows certain feelings to “stabilize,” however briefly, around familiar tropes and motifs. As we will see, however, the fractured nature of the South African public sphere along lines of race and class prevents these stabilizations from being anything but provisional, as the orientation of emotions ricochets and rebounds depending on the public being addressed.

The “initial optimism about the transition to democracy has given way to disillusionment with the failure of the ANC to make material changes in South African’s daily lives” (Swarr 18). The affective landscape of the new democracy has, therefore, been paradoxically defined by hope and despair, optimism and panic. In what follows, I will consider how these contradictory feelings are routed through public representations of the rape crisis in South Africa. Here, feeling is understood both as an “often ineffable meaning structure, [and] schema or ‘image repertoire’ that guides action” (Wetherell 24). The following chapters track how post-apartheid rape narratives provide insight into the feelings that resonate within South African publics as they convene around scenes of violence. These public feelings are akin to what Raymond Williams might have called a *structure of feeling*. Williams’ term seeks to describe the “experience of the present” in a manner that accounts for “active,” “flexible,” “terms [such as] consciousness, experience and feeling” (128-129). Drawing on Williams, Arjun Appadurai describes *structures of feeling* as built up from the minutiae of everyday life, such as passing comments and mundane interactions (153) and indicating, as Ganguly suggests, “the collective nature of self-understanding” (67).

This project is comprised of a series of case studies, each of which identifies the intersection between the public circulation of rape narratives and the discourses of the nation state. In each chapter, I show how a rape narrative, often an event of gruesome violence, energizes particular tropes or motifs that allow for the stabilization of affect into a communal feeling that is oriented towards the nation state rather than the victim of violence. While these feelings are not as structured or consistent as Williams’s definition would suggest, they do provide insight into the conflicts that define the felt experience of the South African “present,” drawing a line through anxiety, shame, despair, and finally provisional hope. In so doing, I treat

particular rape narratives as “nodes” in order to map how public feelings “cluster around certain sites,” figures, or narratives, “creating affective communities” (Knudsen and Stage 18).

In my opening chapter, I elaborate further on my understanding of the relationship between affect, emotion, and representation in order to understand the rhetoric of rape in South African literature at two distinct moments of the post-apartheid period. In this chapter, I consider how affect is mediated both through well-worn and historically freighted tropes and through the intimate granular language of the everyday. Beginning with an analysis of two highly acclaimed novels of the transition, Achmat Dangor’s *Bitter Fruit* (2001) and J. M. Coetzee’s *Disgrace* (2000), I ask why narratives of interracial rape are central to each text’s exploration of the nation’s nascent democracy. Following Graham and Samuelson, I argue that narratives of interracial rape are powerful tropes for the organization of affect and for expressions of anxiety over social change. It is clear, however, that Dangor and Coetzee mobilize the connotations of interracial rape in order to question and, at times, parody public anxiety over the new nation. If, following Ahmed, Butler, and Wetherell, we acknowledge that affect and feeling are oriented towards certain objects and have ideological content and meaning structure, then Dangor and Coetzee’s texts can be seen as questioning the motivation and orientation of the anxiety they expose.

In contrast, Kagiso Lesego Molohe’s *This Book Betrays My Brother* (2012) considers narratives of intraracial rape in primarily black communities. Written almost a decade after the end of apartheid, this novel uses a narrative style embedded in granular description to convey a very different set of anxieties over the condition of democracy for South African women. Unlike Dangor and Coetzee who consider the transition to democracy, Molohe questions the limited promises of the new democracy, exposing the relationship between race and gender in the post-

apartheid era. Through its emphasis on the minutiae of everyday experiences and intra-communal intimacies, Molohe's narration highlights how fear of sexual violence becomes implicated in the narrator's experience of her gender identity. By comparing these texts, this chapter also foregrounds contrasting representations of violence, either as a shattering event or as an event that is embedded in more routine and quotidian forms of gender violence.

In Chapters Two and Three, I consider two gruesome rape narratives that were represented in the South African press as sites of social crisis and moral panic, namely the rape of Baby Tshepang and the rape and murder of Anene Booysens. In Chapter Two, I draw on Timothy Bewes's definition of *post-colonial shame* in order to analyze the motifs that were repeated across the reportage of Tshepang's rape in the *Sowetan*, particularly through its focus on the "barbarity" of the crime and the crisis of the black family. In the second half of this chapter, I consider how expressions of shame are taken up and displaced in Lara Foot Newton's *Tshepang*, where shame is transfigured into anxiety through the figuration of the raped child as an image of foreclosed hope and futurity. Chapter Four takes up the problem of lost hope in its analysis of political despair in the representation of Anne Booysen's rape and murder. By considering a broad range of media representations of Booysen's rape, I investigate how this incident gets caught up in ongoing conversations around the failed state of the democracy. The events covered in each of these chapters highlight crisis points or scandals in the presidencies of Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma, respectively. For this reason, these events are represented through a discourse of social crisis that directs attention away from the problem of systemic gender inequality to concerns over political venality and national instability. In both chapters, the poor, rural township is figured as a site of social crisis, abjection, poverty, and despair, and the bodies of the victims become sites of lurid description and fascination. Drawing on tropes familiar from

Afro-pessimist discourses, the reportage of these events crystallize affect through the motifs of social decline, poverty, and insecurity. At the centre of these discourses is the question of black poverty and the failure of the new nation to provide systemic change for the black majority.

To a certain extent, my argument is in accordance with Gunne's desire to suggest a new kind of theory that goes beyond the suffering of the "rape victim" (41). In my fourth and final chapter, I foreground how black female artists have begun to counter this reduction of black women to passive victims or dead and mutilated bodies. While Chapters Two and Three consider the circulation of black women and children's mutilated bodies in the South African press, my fourth chapter foregrounds artists who celebrate black and brown women's sexuality even as they acknowledge the threat of violence and the pervasive fear that haunts women's bodily comportment in South African streets and homes. Focusing on the work of visual activist Zanele Muholi and artist Lady Skollie, I ask whether hope and optimism are possible in the face of political despair. In both Muholi's and Lady Skollie's work, the scene of sexual intimacy becomes a site for queer optimism, where women's desire and world-building capacities are celebrated in the face of an acknowledgement of the threat of physical violence.

The choice of events and texts for each chapter was difficult considering the numerous accounts of sexual violence that have emerged in South African public culture. Each chapter, however, is energized by political scandal, whether it be the controversy over ANC's response to J. M. Coetzee's *Disgrace*, Thabo Mbeki's refusal to acknowledge the connection between HIV and AIDS, or Arts and Culture Minister Lulu Xingwana's ire at Zanele Muholi's contributions to the *Innovative Women* exhibition. These public scandals explicitly emphasize the implication of South African rape narratives in the world of politics, foregrounding the affective valences of these narratives as they become embroiled in questions of how rape should be represented in

South African media, art, and literature. For this reason, this dissertation does not account for the rape of men and boys or for the intraracial rape of white women, as they have not, as yet, circulated in public in the same manner. This absence does not diminish the importance of these narratives of violence, but rather focuses on those rape narratives that circulated publicly, often as a site of political scandal.

Nevertheless, there were scenes, events, and narratives that I left out that still resonate with the concerns of this dissertation. The assault of a woman wearing a mini-skirt at a taxi rank in 2008 is one such example. This event was used in newspapers like the *Sowetan* to unmask the tensions between a rights-based discourse that focused on a woman's right to dress as she likes and maintain her bodily integrity, and those who believe that "women should dress properly" and that "today's constitutional rights were out of line" (Makhafola 8). The overtly disciplinary nature of this assault, as well as the immediate feminist responses to the event in the form of mini-skirt marches, meant that the victim was less easily displaced by broader anxieties over the state of the polity; however, in a manner similar to media representations of Tshepang's and Booysen's rapes, a discourse of "barbarity" emerged that aligned women's freedoms with modernity and progress. In a letter to the editor, Faith Mazimbuko, a representative of the ANC women's league, claimed: "[t]hese men are ignorant, barbaric and they are taking us back after we fought for liberation and the emancipation of women in this country" (Mazimbuko). The idea that rape is evidence of a rejection of modernity by a few unruly men is transfigured across the discourse surrounding sexual violence into a concern that the failure of the state to secure women's rights to bodily integrity is evidence of the nation's systemic failure to embrace "progress."

Across the narratives in this dissertation, concerns over violent crime mobilize these

anxieties over “modernity” and “progress” through familiar tropes of “barbarity” or interracial rape, conveying dense stories about the conditions of the new democracy through the idioms of hope and despair. In the chapters that follow, I track affect as a *collective condition*, as it is mediated by and sedimented around public representations of rape in novels, newspapers, television shows, and art works. I show that narratives of rape accumulate collective feelings that are often oriented away from the crime itself and towards the conditions of the nation state, reflecting, in part, South African’s inability to fully acknowledge or mourn the violence committed against black South African women.

Chapter One: Exploring the Conditions of Democracy through Post-apartheid Rape Narratives

Yizo Yizo (meaning “this is it” or “this is the real thing”), a 13-part award-winning television series, was produced by the South African National Broadcasting Commission (SABC) with the mandate of stimulating debate among black youth, their parents, and their community about the “conditions of education” (Modisane 122).²⁶ The series went on to exceed this mandate by tackling a range of social problems experienced by black youth, including sexual violence and criminality. Aired between February 1999 and March 2001, *Yizo Yizo* uses a gritty aesthetic to confer verisimilitude upon the everyday realities of a fictional township school, Supatsela High. In an episode that is worth revisiting for the connections it draws between social dissolution and rape, Hazel, a young and beautiful school girl, much admired by her peers, is raped by Sonnyboy, her older taxi driver boyfriend.²⁷ The violent encounter between the two characters—whose relationship is an example of what Mark Hunter has described as the transactional economy of township sexuality—is used to index anxiety over broader social ills, such as transactional relationships, gender violence, and social stigma (100).²⁸ The scenes of

²⁶ For a more detailed discussion of *Yizo Yizo*, see Morris “Style, Tsotsi Style,” 85.

²⁷ In South Africa, privately owned mini buses are the primary form of public transportation, particularly between urban centres and townships. These mini buses are referred to as taxis.

²⁸ Hunter’s ethnographic research focuses on ‘transactional sex’ in South African townships, which he describes as the “close association between sex and gifts” (“The Materiality of Everyday Sex” 100). The practice of transactional sex is symptomatic of a social context where men inhabit a “privileged social and economic position” with access “to the most lucrative sectors of the formal and informal economy,” and a “masculine discourse” that values multiple sexual partners (Hunter, “The Materiality of Everyday Sex” 101). Hunter warns against seeing women as purely victims of this transactional economy, observing that ‘transactional sex’ also allows women access to “power and resources in ways that can both challenge and reproduce patriarchal structures” (“The Materiality of Everyday Sex” 101). For a further discussion of transactional sex, see Wood et al 293.

Hazel being raped by Sonnyboy, a man she had trusted, are interspersed with images of the orderly institution of the high school being vandalized by local *tsotsis*. The school, often a symbol of social advancement through education, is ransacked, just as Hazel, who is a good student and a figure of hope, is raped; by juxtaposing these two events, the episode figures rape as a form of violence associated not only with the destruction of order, but also with a foreclosed future. Furthermore, in South Africa the image of a township school being ransacked is likely to evoke painful memories of the protest, civil disobedience, unrest, and state violence of the 1970s and 1980s, as well as the generational conflict that is often believed to define this era. For this reason, the episode powerfully condenses several social anxieties over the conditions in townships, the state of the youth, gender violence, and, more broadly, the social and economic stability of the emergent nation.

Sielke argues that when “transposed into discourse, rape turns into a rhetorical device, an insistent figure for other social, political, and economic concerns and conflicts” (2). This scene from *Yizo Yizo* reminds us that this “transposition” into discourse occurs in South Africa with a particular virulence and highlights the central position of the rhetoric of rape in the circulation of public feelings in South Africa. When I began this dissertation, I imagined that fear would be the primary emotion to circulate alongside South African rape narratives. Although fear is certainly experienced by South African women through the public awareness of high rape statistics, the rape narratives I surveyed tended to index a different set of concerns that regularly occluded the victim herself in favour of anxieties over the state of the emergent nation. Indeed, it was generally through the work of black female activists, artists, and authors that black women’s bodies were returned to the centre of rape narratives. While rape is regularly cast as evidence of national and familial malaise (a problem of both the public and the private) in the media and the

press, certain representations of rape trouble this formulation, either by emphasising the affective economies of the transition, or by foregrounding the experiences of black women in intimate detail.

Rape's significance in South African public discourses is apparent when we consider its place in post-apartheid literature. Set in the transition and its aftermath, Achmat Dangor's *Bitter Fruit* (2001) and J.M. Coetzee's *Disgrace* (1999) were greeted with critical acclaim (and, in *Disgrace's* case, controversy) and have become firmly established in what one might imagine as the emerging canon of South African rape fiction. Both texts centre on familiar scenes of interracial rape: in *Bitter Fruit*, Lydia, the wife of a former anti-apartheid activist, is haunted by her rape by a white policeman during apartheid, and in *Disgrace* two rape scenes drive the narrative: first, Melanie, a young coloured student, is raped by the protagonist, David, who is a professor at the time; second, Lucy, a young white woman living on a small holding in the rural Eastern Cape, is raped by three black men during a robbery. Coetzee's novel, in particular, self-consciously evokes familiar tropes of interracial rape in South Africa—the young white woman raped by poor black men—in order to subtly interrogate them. The plot of each novel pivots around rape narratives in order to explore the nature of testimony, particularly in relation to the capacity of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to respond to the violences of the past. In both texts, well-worn narratives of interracial rape are used to foreground the anxieties associated with South Africa's transition from apartheid.

In the second half of my chapter, I will focus on Kagiso Lesego Molope's *This Book Betrays my Brother* (2012) for its representation of intraracial rape. Molope's text gives granular descriptions of life in South African townships, seamlessly weaving the rape narrative into the young protagonist's coming-of-age story. The author foregrounds black women's perspectives in

narratives, where black women are often reduced to passive victims of violence, while at the same time emphasising the complexity of black women's relationships with black men. In *Bitter Fruit* and *Disgrace*, the perpetrators of interracial rape are archetypes: the heartless apartheid policeman and the unruly black criminal. In contrast, the rapist in Molohe's text is her beloved brother. In the novel, the messy scene of intraracial and intra-communal rape is explored through a narrative that highlights the intimate relationship between the perpetrator of rape, his victim, and his community. While *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* use rape narratives to interpret a nation in transition and the anxieties associated with social change, *This Book Betrays My Brother* focuses on rape narratives in order to examine what the new democracy has meant for black communities and black women in particular.

As I have suggested, rape narratives are nodal points in the affective economies of fear and anxiety in contemporary South Africa; I have chosen to focus on these examples in particular, as in each case, an event of rape is at the heart of each text's meditation on the state of the nation in transition – or the state of the nation almost two decades into democracy. To understand the relationship between these narratives and the public circulation of affect, it is necessary to consider in greater detail the connection between language, representation, and affect. As I noted in my introduction, affects are commonly conceived of as those forces or intensities that pass between bodies and arise from a body's "capacity to act or be acted upon" (Gregg and Seigworth 1-2). Contrary to those theorists of affect who seek to distance themselves from "representation" and "signification," such as Marco Abel (x), Nigel Thrift (7-8), and Patricia Clough (3), I am particularly interested in how these "forces" or charges are mediated and conveyed by language, metaphor, and representation. Although representation has tended to be something of a dirty word in affect theory, scholars such as Denise Riley, Eugenie Brinkema,

and Sarah Ahmed take affect's relationship to language and representation seriously.²⁹ Riley concisely identifies the paradox at the heart of the relationship between language and affect when she claims that “[l]anguage is impersonal: its workings through and across us is indifferent to us, yet in the same blow it constitutes the very fibre of the personal” (1). Riley's work develops a vocabulary for this “relative autonomy of language” epitomized by “the gulf between the ostensible content of what's said, and the affect which seeps from the very form of the words” (2). For Riley, language is “amiably indifferent” to us; neither “master” nor “instrument,” it exerts “torsion” on its users [...] neither “speak[ing] us” nor “obediently [conveying] what we elect” (3). Rather than focusing on how language transfers meaning, Riley is interested in what it does, how it moves us. Although I am skeptical of the attempt to fully distinguish what language does from what it means, I am interested in Riley's contention that language is simultaneously personal and impersonal, and that affect may “seep” from language in unintended ways.

In South Africa, the trope of rape (particularly interracial rape) in literature is independently articulated in numerous contexts and, at the same time, conveyed through predictable formulations, motifs, and narratives that often resonate with affect exceeding individual intention precisely because they are weighted with history. While Riley encourages us to consider language's autonomy, how it “speaks us” (3), I do not think this should automatically

²⁹ The relationship between affect, representation, and signification has been highly contested in affect studies. Abel, for example, continues to be interested in representation through his study of violent images, but rejects an understanding of these images in terms of “signification and meaning” (x). Instead, Abel foregrounds affects as forces rather than delving into the figurative meanings of violent images (9). Similarly, following Brian Massumi, Patricia Clough describes affect “in terms of its autonomy from conscious perception and language, as well as emotion” (3). In my introduction, I identified the depoliticizing potential of de-subjectified understandings of affect; here I am interested in indicating the overlaps between de-subjectified theories of affect—the so-called “virtual turn,” to borrow Ball's formulation—and those understandings of affect that frame it as pre-representational or outside signification and meaning.

be understood as aligned with those theories, advocated for by Brian Massumi among others, that focus on the “autonomy” of affect. This is not to imply that the affect produced by language is always intended, but rather that while affect may be autonomous with respect to the speaker or the author’s intentions, it is produced and mediated by the very effect of its circulation in discourse: as Riley suggests, “language [is] robust, and fat with history” (7). Riley’s emphasis on language’s rote quality, not the excess of poetic language but the predictability of malign speech or the language of love as a vector for affect, resonates with Sarah Ahmed’s claim that an object can become “sticky” with affect by virtue of its circulation (45). While Ahmed remains persistently concerned with the language of emotion itself— “how words for feeling, and objects of feeling, circulate and generate effects” (14)—I am more interested in how familiar tropes accrue what Ahmed might call “affective value” through their repetition and reformulation in the public sphere. This coincides with Wetherall’s suggestion that “affective practices” might form “ruts” that allow for affect’s sedimentation.

Ahmed and Riley provide a useful point of departure for understanding how an object, in this case a figure, motif, or trope, can accrue “affective value”; however, to understand the relationship between the texts I will discuss and their engagement with and reproduction of anxiety, it is necessary to consider how communal affect not only circulates (as Ahmed suggests) but is structured and mediated. While much has been said of affect’s non-representational and precognitive qualities (Clough 1-3; Massumi 28; Thrift 7; Stewart 3), of which Leys, Hemmings, Lisa Blackman, and Ball are rightly sceptical, Anderson’s work on affect, despite his use of non-cognitivist articulations of affect, remains interesting in its emphasis on the notion that

“affect is always already mediated” (13).³⁰ Anderson builds on Laurence Grossberg’s understanding of mediation by describing his use of the concept as “a general term for processes of relation that involve translation and change and from which affects as bodily capacities emerge as temporary stabilizations” (Anderson 13). Anderson emphasizes that affect should not be understood independently from “the forms that make up life” (13). In this light, I argue that representation should be interpreted as one of multiple apparatuses, made up of “discursive and non-discursive elements,” that mediate affective life (Anderson 35). As Anderson suggests, “we must pay attention to how representations function affectively and how affective life is imbued with representations” (Anderson 14). Here, I am focusing on how affect is mediated or “translated,” often via its circulation in language, and is organized into something like emotion or feeling.³¹

One of my prevailing concerns, not only in this chapter, but in this dissertation, is with the way anxiety emerges as a dominant affective mode in the post-apartheid era, associated, in particular, with discourses of criminality, rape, and law and order. This is a concern that I will take up more extensively in my chapter on Anene Booysen’s rape. Within the scope of this chapter, I am particularly interested in anxiety as a collective feeling that defines the period of transition and its immediate aftermath and emerges through narrative rather differently depending on the sector of South African society in question. For instance, L. Graham describes

³⁰ When Anderson refers to mediation in the context of affect, he is drawing on Laurence Grossberg’s definition of mediation, which is, in turn, dependent on the work of Deleuze and Guattari. Grossberg understands *mediation* to refer to the manner in which the path of causality is “interrupted, intersected, magnified or diminished, transformed, bent, blocked, inflected, redirected, etc., by other practices and events” (191). While Grossberg does not give priority to discourse as a means of this mediation, he also does not discount its relevance (191-192).

³¹ Unlike Massumi, I do not see this “stabilization” as somehow neutralizing affect.

the anxiety that circulates through narratives of interracial rape as reflecting white fear over black governance, whereas Franco Barchiesi, in a different context, identifies anxiety over social change and women's advancement among working-class black South African men.

Anxiety is generally differentiated from fear in terms of its relationship to its object; fear, unlike anxiety, has a direct object (Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics* 64). Anxiety underwent a number of reformulations in Freud's thought,³² and while it is beyond the scope of my current argument to map these changes, I would like to highlight Freud's account of anxiety in "Anxiety and Instinctual Life," where he returns to an earlier conception of anxiety that links it to repression. In this account, Freud sees anxiety as an effect of hysterical or neurotic repression, where a "quota of affect" that remains after repression is "transformed into anxiety" ("Anxiety and Instinctual Life" 546). While I do not intend to give a strictly Freudian account of anxiety, I argue that it is necessary to understand anxiety as a result of a remaining "quota of affect" that detaches from its original concept, idea, or impulse and is continually transferred to new objects only to be displaced, or at times sediment, around a substitute image or trope. While fear involves the anticipated arrival of its object, anxiety is not caused by particular objects; rather, anxiety is "an effect of its travels" (Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics* 66).³³ As Ahmed explains, "[a]nxiety becomes *an approach to objects* rather than, as with fear, *being produced by an object's approach*" (*The Cultural Politics* 66). According to Ahmed, it is through its circulation that anxiety is intensified. As anxiety attaches to more objects, or "gath[ers] more objects," it

³² For an incisive account of this transformation, see Ball's "Losing Steam" 59.

³³ Ahmed's understanding of anxiety here is informed by Freud's re-articulation of anxiety in "Anxiety and Instinctual Life" where he argues that, unlike "realistic anxiety" which anticipates danger, "neurotic anxiety" is "a freely floating, general apprehensiveness, ready to attach itself temporarily, in the form of what is known as 'expectant anxiety,' to any possibility that may freshly arise" (546).

intensifies, potentially overwhelming “other possible affective relations” (*The Cultural Politics* 66). The period of transition is defined by an intensification of anxiety, conveyed through the repetition of narratives of crisis and uncertainty, and directed towards constantly shifting signifiers of instability and disorder. The repetition of these narratives of crisis may be seen as an attempt to stabilize the ongoing effects of anxiety, but they repeatedly fail to contain its perpetual movement or escape.

Rape Narratives in Transition

The time frame in question is generally described as “the transition,” suggesting a movement between social and political orders and states of being, reflecting the residual effects of apartheid, its unfinished business, and the incompleteness of the new democratic project.³⁴ Ellenke Boehmer has argued that post-1994 literature “in terms of its thematic, symbolic and stylistic preoccupations, seemingly staggered, punch drunk, from one crisis and cry of pain to another, from one classic manifestation of trauma or inner wound to the next” (“Permanent Risk” 29). Considering Boehmer’s observation, it is unsurprising that the South African TRC has been a recurrent referent for those post-apartheid authors who repeatedly return to motifs of violence and trauma in their fiction. As Kerry Bystrom and Sarah Nuttall observe in their introduction to a special issue of *Cultural Studies* on public and private lives, the South African TRC provided

³⁴ The temporal designation “the transition” is often taken for granted in South African scholarship, without much effort at direct periodization. The most restrictive definition of the transition would be the period starting in the early 1990s and ending with the democratic elections of 1994; what Nadine Gordimer, borrowing from Gramsci, has called the “interregnum.” I use the term *transition* to refer to a slightly broader and more porous time frame that includes the first decade of democracy as a transitional period. The purpose of this looser periodization is to acknowledge that there was not a clean and decisive break between apartheid and democracy; rather, South Africans are still living with the effects of apartheid laws even after they have been abolished.

“one critical space for ushering lives into public culture” (Bystrom and Nuttall 310). The public revelation of inner lives is not new to South African cultural production; however, under apartheid, individual experience was often overshadowed in literature and cultural production by narratives that foregrounded collective struggle (Bystrom and Nuttall 311). In the aftermath of the TRC, the proliferation of “autobiographical acts” exposed both conventional and non-conventional experiences of apartheid, and “vulnerable or wounded flesh” emerged as “a master trope of art and popular culture in the democratic period” (Bystrom and Nuttall 313).³⁵ The preoccupation with crisis, trauma, and wounding in post-1994 literature reflects the “unfolding” feeling that accompanied the first decades of democracy and identified this period through an idiom that emphasized anxiety, crisis, and, eventually, waning hope.

The representation of violence and crises — including HIV, rising crime rates, and sexual violence— in post-apartheid literature “ha[s] been accompanied [...] by a pervasive sense [...] that the rights and freedoms that were promised by the achievement of democracy have not been delivered; that some of the fissures and hence tribulations of the apartheid era have remained entrenched” (Boehmer, “Permanent Risk” 29-30). It is unsurprising, then, that early in 2007, the Wits Institute of Social and Economic Research released a book of personal essays entitled *At Risk*. These essays map the first decade of democracy not only as a time of hope, but also of fracture, failure, and unease. Nuttall and McGregor, the editors of the collection, describe three

³⁵ Significant examples of what Nuttall and Micheal have called “autobiographical acts” from the period of the transition include Nelson Mandela’s *Long Walk to Freedom* and Mamphela Ramphele’s *A Life*. Alongside these autobiographies of anti-apartheid activists, white South Africans complicit in the old regime also wrote memoirs, including James Gregory’s ghost-written autobiography, *Goodbye Bafana: Nelson Mandela, My Prisoner My Friend*. A recent addition to this body of work is Jacob Dlamini’s biography/social history, *Askari*, that delves into the life of a famous *Umkhonto We Sizwe* veteran turned apartheid collaborator.

phases in South African literary production. Late-apartheid literature, they observe, was dominated by political narratives of “exile, struggle, community [and] resistance” while the immediate aftermath of apartheid was characterized by stories of trauma epitomized by the work of the TRC (Nuttall and McGregor 9). Nuttall and McGregor align their edited collection with a new “wave” of personal stories that are more diverse in their registers, including “surprise, shock, bewilderment” as well as “uncertainty, scepticism, and doubt” (9-10). Titled in the language of crisis, *At Risk*, the essays in this collection circulate narratives of death and depletion, the unfulfilled promises of freedom, the attendant risks and pleasures of the creative process, and what it might mean to stay on in South Africa even as the future of the country becomes more uncertain. The collection reminds its readers, “to live in South Africa is to be subliminally primed for major loss” (Nuttall and McGregor 12). As Keya Ganguly suggests, structures of feeling reflect the “collective nature of self-understanding,” and they are registered through “fictionalized [narratives]” that “express a common vocabulary of concerns” about the felt experience of the present (67). Texts such as *At Risk* reflect an orientation towards the new nation that is defined by uncertainty, unease, and the anticipation of loss.

The fractured nature of the South African public sphere—which I discuss in more detail in my chapter on Baby Tshepang’s rape—makes talking about a single structure of feeling rather difficult. Preben Kaarsholm argues that, “[i]n order to engage with the paradoxes of the public sphere in post-apartheid South Africa one must [...] begin by considering the ways in which public space has been fragmented historically” (412). The segregation of South African space along racial lines created distinct worlds and communities that remain relatively intact in the post-apartheid era, even as public space becomes more integrated. Leon De Kock uses the metaphor of a seam to describe the often-painful ways in which these “incommensurate”

worlds abut one another or are sutured together (276). “Suture” has become a popular metaphor for understanding the relationship between publics that are segmented along lines of class and race. The word “suture” not only invokes the act of mending two flaps of skin together, but also connotes the repair of a wound that will leave a scar. In the South African context, it suggests the painful histories that have separated publics, and the piercing stitch that now links them together. If we consider Ahmed’s description of an affective economy as an avenue to think about how affects become public and how they circulate in public, we can also conclude that affect can become “enclaved” within particular publics.³⁶ For example, while a sense of anxiety may be articulated in the white liberal public sphere over social disorder, for black publics, anxiety may reflect a sense of precariousness where the promise of a hopeful future is now experienced as an impasse. Anxiety therefore acts as one of the public feelings that emerges through literary and discursive representations of the transition, yet this anxiety is mediated differently depending on the public it addresses and the discourses it circulates within.

The essays in *At Risk* register the return to personal, intimate, and domestic scenes in post-apartheid literature and cultural thought as prioritized sites for exploring the conditions of the new national culture. In the three texts I consider in this chapter, each author explores the effects of sexual violence through domestic and familial narratives. In the post-apartheid public culture, “elites and members of a new government seized on discourses and iconographies of

³⁶ Here I am borrowing from Catherine Squires’ notion of an *enclaved public*, which she defines, in opposition to a *counter public*, in order to describe those groupings that are forced into enclaves by dominant groups, as opposed to *satellite publics* that choose their isolation from the dominant public sphere. Unlike the *counter public* which is in dialogue with or overlaps with the dominant public, she notes that “[t]he enclave is signified by the utilization of spaces and discourses that are hidden from the view of the public and the state” (Squires 458). While South African publics are not precisely enclaved in the manner described by Squires, they are often fractured along lines of class and race and have internal dialogues and concerns that may be opaque or illegible to members of other publics.

home and family with long colonial histories in Southern Africa in their efforts to shape a democratic nationalism” (Bystrom, *Democracy at Home* 2). Family fictions become one means for authors of transition and post-transition literature to stage the relationship between past and present traumas and the future of the nation state. The family, because of its metaphorical capacity to reference the nation, allows these texts to register the relationship between the public and private as the domestic realm becomes a site through which political conflict is introduced.³⁷ Drawing on Ahmed’s understanding of affect, Bystrom suggests that the home and the family become “affectively saturated” or “sticky” concepts in the “emotive conceptions of the ‘imagined community’ of the nation” (3). Historically, the family as an institution “played a crucial role in constructing and reproducing normative visions of white European culture and socializing colonial subjects into certain forms of public life” (Bystrom 5). Under apartheid, the effect of the migrant labor system and of urbanization on black families was a common preoccupation in literature. The pernicious effects of migrant labor were often indexed through narratives of the fractured black family, thereby reflecting the immoral and insidious effects of colonization and apartheid. In the post-apartheid context, the normative family continues to be a concept that collapses the realms of the public and the private and resonates with collective fantasies, metaphors, and social imaginaries; it might be the institution that needs to be protected from social disorder, crime, and illness, or whose stability promises the future of the nation and of democracy.

To understand the role of the family in post-apartheid public life and fiction, it is necessary to understand how the family was constructed through colonial and apartheid

³⁷ For a discussion of the family as metaphor for the nation, see Bystrom, *Democracy at Home* 5-8.

discourses. The introduction of missionary Christianity in South Africa aligned the Western nuclear family with “progress” (Bystrom, *Democracy at Home* 5). The family was also an important ideological concept for Afrikaaner nationalism, as it formed in response to British colonialism. While apartheid brought with it a renewed obsession with the white family and its boundaries (from racial contamination) and Western family values, pass laws, forced removals, migrant labor, “socially engineered poverty” and police brutality “tore apart black, coloured and Indian families” (Bystrom, *Democracy at Home* 7). The TRC reinforced an understanding of the negative influences of apartheid on black and brown families, where witnesses gave testimony about family members who “disappeared,” were assassinated, or forced into exile. Despite the problems associated with the Western home and family as ideological, fantasy-laden, and normative structures, for many black, Indian, and coloured persons, the home and family may have become an important counterpoint to be nurtured against the violence of apartheid public life, the disruptions of migrant labor in mines, and the humiliations of domestic service in white homes; however, because apartheid made it nearly impossible “for home to be a stable place of protection and belonging,” it could also be a site of “estrangement and abjection” (Bystrom, *Democracy at Home* 9). While apartheid authors who engaged with the domestic sphere represented the home as either a refuge from the violences of apartheid, or as deeply affected by those violences, during the democratic transition, the home and family was a site where “people had to attend to the wounds and legacies of the past and to devise new forms of daily life for the present and the future” (Bystrom, *Democracy at Home* 11).

The family fictions analyzed in this chapter introduce different relationships to the past and to the event of sexual violence. Both *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* explore and question the status of rape within the founding narratives of the new democracy. Their female characters,

however, refuse to be comfortably folded into narratives of nationhood. Through this refusal, both novels foreground the importance of rape and its articulation in public for conflicts over how the new nation is to be represented and imagined; for this reason, *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* frame rape as a scene through which the conditions of the new democracy are explored and contested. In *This Book Betrays My Brother*, the event of rape becomes foundational to the narrator's understanding of herself in relation to society. In each of the three narratives, rape disrupts a family; in each case, the family is left in disarray unable to fully reassert normalcy or repair damaged relationships. Although none of these texts makes an overt connection between family and the nation, through the exploration of the state of democracy through family fictions, the family becomes a fantasy-laden concept that conveys and sediments affect. While the domestic never simply "dissolves into a symbol," in the texts I discuss in this chapter, the concerns over the family (as informed by history and disrupted by violence) foreshadow the way in which family *as* symbol emerges in the public discussions of rape taken up in Chapters Two and Three. For the purposes of this chapter, the focus on the family emphasises the different relationships to the event of violence and trauma navigated across these texts.

Jasbir Puar takes up Berlant's notion of "slow death," which the latter uses to "move us away from trauma or catastrophe" to "the temporalities of the endemic" (qtd. in Puar, "Coda" 156), in order to describe "a zone of temporality ... of ongoingness, getting by, and living on, where the structural inequalities are dispersed" (Puar, "Coda" 152). Although apartheid was made up of the intersection of punctal examples of police brutality and everyday deprivations under the systemic violence of segregationist legislation, the post-apartheid era has been defined not only by the hopes corresponding to the optimistic image of the rainbow nation, but the slow attrition associated with the residual racial inequalities and the incursion of neoliberal economic

policies. In post-transition literature, there is a discernible shift from a concern with catastrophic events to an exploration of endemic inequality and uncertainty epitomized by poverty, sexual violence, and HIV. By considering representations of interracial rape in *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* and intraracial rape in *This Book Betrays My Brother*, this chapter charts a movement from structuring the event of rape as a rupture, to structuring it as a form of what Berlant calls “crisis ordinariness” to refer to those “happenings that force people to adapt to an unfolding change” (10).

Bitter Fruit and *Disgrace* present traumatic events as moments that interrupt an “ongoing, uneventful ordinary life” (Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* 10). These scenes interrupt both the family romance and the romance of the new democracy with shattering violence. In both texts the event of trauma is steeped in a relationship to the traumatic past of apartheid, and the subject of trauma is configured at the junction between the past and the present. *This Book Betrays My Brother* describes rape through a mode of what Berlant has defined as “affective realism,” which is derived from “embodied, affective rhythms of survival” (*Cruel Optimism* 11). Berlant focuses on the particular context of recession in the United States where “affective realism” denotes how “people’s desires become mediated through attachments to modes of life to which they rarely remember consenting” (52). In *This Book Betrays My Brother*, the aesthetic reproduction of the ordinary reflects the character’s attachments to normativity. In the novel, granular descriptions of the relatively mundane and boring elements of the young girl’s life foreground the ongoing experience of the present. The narrative of rape, rather than acting as a rupture with an “ordinary life,” forces a moment of readjustment where the protagonist has to reconfigure her modes of living with the awareness of sexual violence as a persistent threat.

Written in 1999 and 2001 respectively, *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* pose questions about the fantasies and imaginaries of the “rainbow nation” and its associated affective economies. In my discussion of Coetzee and Dangor, I argue, following Ahmed and Riley, that the familiar tropes that are associated with rape in South Africa are freighted with history, and it is precisely their “affective value” accrued through their repetition in discourse that allows them to mediate affect and convey anxiety.³⁸ In contrast, *This Book will Betray My Brother* (2012) is written at a very different point in the evolution of post-apartheid South Africa. No longer concerned with the theatre of political transition and of the TRC, the text demands that the reader pay attention to the “very small” and seemingly “minor” events of township life, producing a sense of “affective realism” as it charts its characters’ adjustments and readjustments to their worlds as they are reconfigured by violence. Both through its narrative mode and content, *This Book Betrays My Brother* evokes different emotional economies and a different relationship to the trauma of rape than those offered by *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit*. For Coetzee and Dangor, who deal with the tropes of interracial rape, sexual violence becomes metonymic for past and present political strife. By this I mean that the acts of sexual violence come to stand in for racial struggles over power, signification, and agency. In contrast, Molope considers sexual violence in relation to more quotidian forms of suffering and intimacy. Here, sexual violence does not overtly index political struggle, as it does for Coetzee and Dangor, but is shown to be intrinsic to a young girl’s

³⁸ When discussing violent words, Riley observes that “[t]he impact of violence in the present may indeed revive far older associations in its target” (11). Like Ahmed, Riley seems to be aware that language’s ability to convey affect is in part an effect of its historical associations. Riley’s concern with violent words focuses on how they lodge in the subject, becoming “malignant,” to be repeatedly dredged up (11-12). In contrast, I use Riley’s understanding of violent words in order to make sense of the resonance of particular painful tropes that become “malignant” in the social sphere, and accrue affect via their repetition.

narration of her own experience. As is the case in *Bitter Fruit* and *Disgrace*, Molope uses her portrayals of systemic gender inequality as a means of conveying anxiety about the conditions of the new nation and social change; she thereby reminds her reader that not all South Africans have equal access to the promises of democracy.

The Event of Rape

According to Meg Samuelson, the focus on interracial rape in South African literature from 1990 and 2000 has “relentlessly insert[ed]” “race” into scenes of rape (“Fictional Representations” 183). As Lucy Graham’s work on “black/white peril” narratives makes clear, interracial rape has been a longstanding preoccupation in South African literature. Nevertheless, Samuelson identifies the repeated representation of “interracial rape” and the birth of a mixed-race child as a staple in transition literature such as Arthur Maimane’s *Hate No More* (2000), J.M. Coetzee’s *Disgrace* (1999), Andre Brink’s *Imaginings of Sand*, Laretta Ngcobo’s *And They Didn’t Die* (1990), and Farida Karodia’s *Other Secrets* (2000) (183). To Samuelson’s list we could add Dangor’s *Bitter Fruit* and Kagiso Lesego Molope’s *Dancing in the Dust* (2002). Samuelson criticizes the emphasis on blood, race, and reproduction in these texts, where the womb is focused on as a “boundary” marker of “racial purity,” effectively obscuring the “violated female body” (“Fictional Representations” 183, 185). Drawing on Sielke’s understanding of the “rhetoric of rape,” Samuelson observes that, in these cases, rape becomes an “insistent figure” for “social, political, and economic” tensions (2). The concern with both interracial and intraracial rape in transition literature reflects the changing responses to rape in South African public spheres, where sexual violence is read as calling into question “the most fundamental institutions and principles of social order in this newly liberalizing state” (Morris,

“The Mute and the Unspeakable” 58).

Under apartheid, the nationalist government held a “monopoly on political violence” and largely turned a blind eye to violence and criminality occurring within the black community, or intimate violence occurring behind closed doors, across South African society (Morris, “The Mute and the Unspeakable” 59). Sexual violence was a “public secret” seldom prosecuted unless the perpetrator was black, and the victim was white (Morris, “The Mute and the Unspeakable” 58). In Coetzee and Dangor’s novels, interracial rape is a trope through which the transition from apartheid and the new social orders that accompany it are explored. By focusing on interracial rape, both Coetzee’s and Dangor’s texts self-consciously dramatize “the rhetoric of rape” and its relation to discourses of race and emergent conflicts over what it means to be a South African. In both novels, the consideration of the state of the emergent nation in transition is linked to their respective re-evaluations of the TRC and its subject-producing dimensions. These questions emerge through plots that focus on familial relationships disrupted by violence.

In brief, the South African TRC set the stage for how individual suffering would be negotiated and articulated in public in the post-apartheid period. In particular, the TRC’s treatment of individual trauma in relation to the structural violences of apartheid has had a lasting effect. Mahmoud Mandani, among others, argued that rather than providing the nation with a means to account for the systemic violence and racially distributed inequalities of the past, the TRC interpreted the effects of apartheid through the lens of individual trauma and injury (Mamdani 33).³⁹ Indeed, the Commission’s preoccupation with what it called Gross Human Rights violations—defined by the Promotion of National Unity Act No. 35 (passed into law on

³⁹ For variations on this argument, see Goldblat and Meintjes 7 and Posel, “The TRC Report” 159.

December 16, 1995) as “killing, torture, abduction [...] and/or severe ill treatment, or the conspiracy or attempt to commit such acts”—“permitted the expression of certain kinds of experiences while eliding others” (Ross 1, 11). By focusing on human rights violations as “specific acts” rather than systemic or structural abuses, the Commission’s construction of victimization stripped away “context and the effects of power” (Ross 11-2).

Importantly, the Commission’s focus on “specific acts” of violence meant that “women who bore the brunt of oppression through forced removals, pass arrests and other acts of systemic apartheid violence” were seldom interpreted as primary victims (Goldblatt and Meintjies 8). Women were regularly cast as secondary victims who testified to violence experienced by others, largely their sons and husbands (Goldblatt and Meintjies 8; Ross 17; Driver 220).⁴⁰ Based on recommendations made by feminist scholars, activists, and organizations, the Commission elected to hold “Special Hearings on Women” in order to encourage women to testify to their own traumas (Ross 24). The emphasis of these hearings was largely on women’s experiences of sexual violence, while men were never asked to speak of their own exposure to such violence. Despite the strategies that the Commission introduced to encourage women to testify, few narrated their own experiences of violence, perhaps because of the continued stigma that adheres to rape. Furthermore, women who had been raped in *Umkhonto we Sizwe* training camps often chose not to testify for fear that such testimony might damage the reputation of the struggle, or allow the ANC’s opponents to draw moral

⁴⁰ While the TRC considered rape and sexual violence to be human rights violations, it failed to acknowledge other forms of specifically gendered violence and humiliation, such as the failure to provide menstruating women with sanitary products, making them undress in front of warders, and cavity and body searches conducted by men (Goldblatt and Meintjies 11).

equivalencies between those who perpetuated, and those who fought against, apartheid.⁴¹

Consequently, the commission tended to naturalize gender binaries and failed to effectively identify the ways that apartheid operated differentially according to gender.

In part, the TRC's imperative was to give voice to individual narratives that were silenced under apartheid: restoring dignity to the victims of Human Rights Violations, while at the same time grappling with its mandate to provide a full account of apartheid.⁴² The national impact of the TRC was primarily derived from the publicly televised Human Rights and Amnesty hearings, during which the TRC's confessional mode came to "occup[y] centre stage" (Posel, "History as Confession" 131).⁴³ Through the TRC, South Africa's history was depicted as "a litany of damage," thereby invoking a version of the "historical subject steeped in emotion and damaged by past suffering" (Posel, "History as Confession" 129, 135-136). In the wake of the TRC, Morris has observed two seemingly contradictory maneuvers in cultural discourses. On the one hand, she notes the "valourization and institutionalization of narrative testimony" as a means to address collective trauma, particularly in public museums and monuments (Morris, "In the Name of Trauma" 390).⁴⁴ On the other hand, Morris notes that "there has emerged an experimental

⁴¹ Zoë Wicomb's novel, *David's Story* (2000), powerfully explores the controversial question of women's treatment in *Umkhonto we Sizwe* training camps.

⁴² Although the TRC report attempted to produce an overarching narrative of apartheid, individual testimonies were often riddled with ambiguities or at times even challenged the official workings of the TRC and its relationship to truth and history. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's testimony is the most famous example.

⁴³ By the December 1997 deadline, 21,298 statements concerning 37,672 gross human rights violations were received (Ross 13); however, the Commission is most commonly identified in the public imagination with the 76 public hearings, each lasting between two and five days, held from April 1996 to June 1997 (Ross 13). These hearings were broadcast live on television and radio. Audiences were encouraged to understand the testimonies as "unique experiences" and as representative of broader patterns of social suffering (Ross 15).

⁴⁴ Pertinent examples of the attempts to address collective trauma through memorials and monuments include the renovations at Constitutional Hill, Johannesburg, the Hector Peterson Museum, Soweto, the Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg, and The District Six Museum, Cape Town.

repudiation of both confessional and testimonial aesthetic strategies” (Morris 390-1). *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* both implicitly and explicitly examine the workings of the TRC in relation to individual narratives of trauma and violation. In both texts, this consideration of the workings of the TRC and its subject-producing dimensions overlays narratives of interracial rape, which, in turn, mobilize anxieties over the boundaries of the family (and of racial identity), through the specter of miscegenation. As a result, these texts foreground the relationship between the past and present as they ask what it means to testify to personal pain in public.

Coetzee’s and Dangor’s depictions of interracial rape in *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* rely on their reader’s knowledge of its historical associations, which in turn provokes the affective valences of these events. *Disgrace*’s plot is structured around two acts of sexual violence that mirror and articulate with one another. In the first, David Lurie, an adjunct professor of Communications at a large Cape Town University,⁴⁵ embarks on a coercive affair with a younger student, Melanie, who is subtly coded as coloured in the text.⁴⁶ The affair, which includes a coerced sexual encounter that should be understood as a rape, results in Lurie’s eventual expulsion from the university after a TRC-like committee. The second event occurs when Lurie

⁴⁵ David is described as a scholar of the Romantic poets, with a special interest in Byron and Wordsworth, though he primarily teaches Communications courses. By framing David’s occupation in this manner, Coetzee parodies the increasing instrumentalisation and neoliberalisation of the University. Attridge rightly observes that the novel responds to the great “rationalization” of universities that is occurring not only in South Africa but globally (166). Inasmuch as *Disgrace* is both a commentary on “the times” and exceeds such a reading, it responds to a broader political and economic context that promotes rationalization and efficiency (Attridge 165).

⁴⁶ During apartheid, the South African government split the population into four distinct racial categories: “African,” “White,” “Indian,” and “Coloured.” The racial designation “Coloured” was used to refer to persons of mixed-race origins, who came to be defined under apartheid through a separate racial category. While anti-apartheid scholars have tended to reject these categories as racist, and have used the term *black* to identify all persons of colour who were segregated under apartheid, occasionally it remains necessary to use these distinctions not only because they have been retained by the post-apartheid government in official policies of “socio-economic redress,” (Barchiesi xxi) but because they continue to be categories through which people self-identify.

goes to seek refuge with his daughter, Lucy, on her smallholding in the Eastern Cape. Three black men rape Lucy, and David is briefly set on fire. The remainder of the plot revolves around David and Lucy's conflicting responses to this event.⁴⁷ Feminist scholars have argued that the two narratives of interracial rape in *Disgrace* reflexively index "the history of 'black' and 'white' peril narratives" (L. Graham, *State of Peril* 135), and the "discursive and mythic tradition of rape" (Van Wyk Smith 15). Melanie's rape mirrors "white peril" narratives and is firmly associated with those discourses, dating back to slavery in the Cape, that position black women's bodies as perpetually sexually available (Samuelson, *Remembering the Nation* 141). Correspondingly, Lucy's rape falls within the familiar myth of "black peril" that was historically used to valorize segregationist legislation, and to police the bodies of black men and white women. Both "black" and "white peril" narratives have shaped the ways that "racialized gendered bodies have been produced and regulated" and "sexual violence has been conceptualized, and the political projects to which rape has been harnessed" in South Africa (Samuelson, *Remembering the Nation* 141). By structuring the novel around these inverse scenes of sexual violence, and by setting the rapes in urban Cape Town and rural Eastern Cape respectively, Coetzee draws on a repertoire of narratives and tropes that haunt the South African imaginary, particularly surrounding gender, family, and place.

Narrated through free indirect discourse, the novel is unremittingly focalized through David's limited perspective. As David Attwell aptly observes, "Coetzee's fiction "invites us to

⁴⁷ Due to my focus on rape narratives in South African literature and public culture, I do not have the scope in this chapter to address two of the most compelling aspects of Coetzee's narrative, namely the chamber opera that David contemplates and begins to compose in the latter part of the novel and the role played by animals, particularly dogs, throughout the narrative. For a particularly compelling account of these strands of the narrative, see David Attridge's *J.M. Coetzee and the Ethics of Reading* (174-191).

share the experience and the point of view of a particular consciousness or subject,” going on to add, “this subject is anchored in a particular historical and discursive formation” (183). In *Waiting for the Barbarians*—in many ways a significant pre-cursor to *Disgrace*—Coetzee uses the relentless focalization through an aging Magistrate’s perspective to draw the reader into discomforting proximity to the protagonist and his “blindness” to his own complicity with the violence of an empire sustained by torture. Accordingly, in *Disgrace*, readers are forced to watch the narrative unfold through David’s perspective—narrated in the present tense—even as they become increasingly aware of his own delusions (as well as moments of self-awareness).

In the opening chapters, David is described as an individual at odds with his context, not only as a white man, but also as a man imbued with Western culture and traditions. As Attridge explains, David is representative of a common experience “of old certainties gone, of little left to wonder at in a rapidly altering landscape” (“Race in *Disgrace*” 100). As a scholar of Romantic literature in a Communications Department, David is regarded by his colleagues as “a hangover from the past, the sooner cleared away the better” (Coetzee 40). Although this position is presented with considerable irony throughout—subtly facilitated by the third-person narration—David comes to symbolize a loss of the authority that traditionally accompanied white masculinity during apartheid; he is a figure of “superfluity” not only because of his race or age, but because his intellectual pursuits are no longer valued in an increasingly rationalized post-apartheid South Africa (Kossew 157). By presenting the text in free indirect discourse and by narrating in the present tense, the novel does not present the knowledge gained by reflection but rather unfolds, forcing the readers to witness the changes in the protagonist experiences as they occur. Without retrospective reflection, the reader is locked into the conflicts, discontinuities, and

feelings David experiences as he navigates his understanding of “the times,” to use Attridge’s phrasing.

Disgrace opens with David’s pronouncement that “he has solved the problem of sex rather well” through a weekly arrangement with an “exotic” sex worker, Soraya, who he describes as “quiet and docile,” and “compliant, pliant” (Coetzee 1, 2). Through this relationship we gain insight into the limitations of David’s perspective. David claims that “they have been lucky, the two of them: he to have found her, and she to have found him” (1). This comment reflects his projection of his desires and fantasies onto Soraya. The depiction of this relationship foreshadows David’s predatory interactions with younger “exotic” women—he intrudes on Soraya’s private life by hiring a private investigator when she ends their sessions and quits her escort agency. It is after the breakdown of his arrangement with Soraya that David begins to pursue Melanie. As Mike Marais observes, Lurie’s “relationship” with Melanie represents his “attempt to possess the Other, to assert control over her” (175). David’s encounters with Melanie, even prior to her rape, reflect his desire for mastery over her, including his renaming of her as Meláni.⁴⁸ Specifically, he repeatedly describes her in terms of ownership, stating, “a woman’s beauty does not belong to her alone [...] She has a duty to share it” (16). In both cases, David reframes exploitative relationships through romantic narratives, thereby using the discourse of romantic love to exert mastery over these women and their stories.

⁴⁸ Sorcha Gunne has argued that the theme of ownership, particularly ownership of women, permeates the novel (1). She links this theme of ownership to questions about the “power of narration,” arguing that in the case of Lucy’s story, the power to narrate the rape remains in the hands of her rapists (Gunne 2). Women are often described in terms of ownership in the novel and Soraya, who is described as owned by the agency she works for, is a prime example (Gunne 2). Barnard has also observed a concern with ownership and debt in Coetzee’s writing, arguing that the question of “settling of accounts and the paying of a price” is a recurrent motif that is provisionally dismantled in *Disgrace*’s ending (40).

By couching his relationship with Melanie within the “conventions of Western love poetry,” David “elid[es] Melanie’s subjectivity” while simultaneously absolving himself of his responsibility for raping her, disrupting her studies, and causing extreme distress (Cooper 25). Through his use of free indirect discourse, Coetzee brings the reader “into an uncomfortable proximity to and complicity with the white masculinist subject’s way of thinking” (Mardorossain 78). In the case of Melanie’s rape, while her perspective is “effaced” by the narrative David tells, the “previously established unreliability of David’s opinions” causes us to suspect his version of events, which romanticize and naturalize rape through his references to the “rights of desire” (L. Graham, *States of Peril* 142).⁴⁹ David’s own internal conflict is reflected in the description of the sexual assault as “[n]ot rape, not quite that, but undesired to the core” (Coetzee, *Disgrace* 25). In *Disgrace*, the rape narrative is used to unveil the power relationships within the institution in which the relationship occurs, as well as the imbrication of Western culture and romantic discourses in rendering Melanie a “rapeable subject.”⁵⁰ The text’s representation of Melanie’s rape forces readers to collude in and question familiar “rape scripts,” thereby foregrounding, for the reader, the narratives that they bring with them when encountering accounts of rape (Middleton and Townstead 117-121).

⁴⁹ Much has been written on the role of desire in the novel. Pamela Cooper, for instance, argues that desire in *Disgrace* suffuses the text with “ambivalence” and troubles the “narrative readability” of the ethical issues raised by the text (24). Similarly, Attwell suggests that desire in the text “exceeds and disrupts the rationalization of his age” (190). In contrast, Barnard argues that desire in *Disgrace* is repeatedly described through “phallic tropes” (34).

⁵⁰ A potentially disturbing element of the novel is that, while Lucy’s violation is unequivocally a rape, Melanie’s violation by David is far more ambiguous. Indeed, those who argue that Melanie was not raped often cite her return to David for a final sexual encounter as evidence. Middleton and Townstead observe that the ambiguity of Melanie’s rape scene both colludes in and questions the rape scripts that readers bring with them when approaching such narratives (Middleton and Townstead 121). Those critics who question whether Melanie was raped, unintentionally reproduce these rape scripts.

The text's representation of the disciplinary committee that is convened to assess Melanie's sexual harassment complaint against David reveals the intersection between the text's self-reflexive examination of narratives of rape and its interrogation of the state of the emergent nation. As critics have noted, the disciplinary committee that is convened to investigate Lurie's behaviour towards Melanie functions as a commentary on the South African TRC (Poyner 70, Kossew 155). Although it would be a mistake to interpret Coetzee's novel allegorically (as Attwell has often warned), the novel's parody of a TRC-like committee serves as a reflection on the discourses of truth and reconciliation, as well as the rights-based discourse that circulated in the wake of the TRC. The disciplinary committee is associated with the TRC through the committee's chair, notably a Professor of religious studies,⁵¹ who states that the committee "has no powers. All it can do is make recommendations" (Coetzee 47). As was the case with the TRC, the disciplinary committee's powers are symbolic and performative rather than legal. While the public hearings on gross human rights violations associated confession with the healing of the national subject through testimony, the amnesty hearings emphasized the importance of "full disclosure" (Wilson 2). In *Disgrace*, Coetzee's critique of the TRC is focused on David's unorthodox response to the demands made by the committee; while David admits to his guilt, he refuses to give a full account of his crimes. The committee's reaction to David reflects an expectation not only of "full disclosure" of the truth, but the performance (real or feigned) of the right kind of affect. Initially, David states that his reservations about the committee are not "legal" but "philosophical" (Coetzee 47). Through this statement, Coetzee complicates the grounds on which David's answers to the committee are to be understood, suggesting that the

⁵¹ This is clearly a reference to Archbishop Desmond Tutu who played a central role in the South African TRC and helped to set its religious tone.

committee is not concerned with unraveling the complexities of David's crime, that may indeed be philosophical as well as material, but with producing a satisfying statement and public performance of contrition.

The novel implicitly rejects the form of "institutionalized confession" required from David by the committee, reflecting the novel's broader suspicion of the state's capacity to provide avenues for redemption (Poyner 74). Instead, the novel offers alternative modes of redemption that are far less neat and conclusive than a public confession of his crimes. The novel does not condone David's behaviour, but rather situates his rape of Melanie in a broader historical context, reminding us that the implications of his actions are not simply individual harm, and cannot be ameliorated by confession. Dr. Rassool, one of the female committee members, observes that his behaviour is part of "a long history of exploitation" (51). This "history of exploitation" references both the history of sexual harassment endemic to many universities, and the history of white men considering brown women to be the legitimate and pliable objects of their desire. Indeed, while David willingly accepts Melanie's accusations, he refuses to read her statement, thereby preventing her from giving her own account of the events. David elides Melanie's voice in favour of his narrative that he became a "servant of eros" (Coetzee 52). David's appearance before the committee, therefore, also serves to both critique the workings of the TRC especially in its demand for the performance of contrition and redemption while, at the same time, acknowledging the complex histories of interracial rape.⁵²

The novel's concern with history is reflected by its setting in Cape Town and the rural Eastern Cape. As L. Graham observes, in each of the text's two settings, the university and the

⁵² For a detailed account of Coetzee's response to the TRC, see Rebecca Saunder's "Disgrace in the Time of a Truth Commission," 99-106.

rural Eastern cape, the act of sexual violation reveals the “power dynamics” specific to each context (*State of Peril* 143). In the rural context, the histories of “dispossession” and the coercion of indigenous labour affect how we read Lurie’s description of his daughter as a “*boervrou*,” “a sturdy young settler,” and a product of “history” (Coetzee 60-61). By referring to “history,” Coetzee acknowledges the dual oppressions of colonialism and Afrikaner nationalism, accompanied as they were by the expropriation of land; the question of land is central to the conflicts between David, Petrus, and Lucy during the latter part of the novel as Lucy chooses to align herself with Petrus through marriage in order to gain his protection.⁵³ In South Africa, “black peril” hysterias were frequently associated with frontiers, and with the perceived incursion of black men into white spaces, both literal and figurative (Samuelson, *Remembering the Nation* 144).⁵⁴ Lucy’s rape is repeatedly described as circumscribed by history and embedded in its location. David reassures Lucy, “[i]t was history speaking through them,’ [...] ‘A history

⁵³ The orchestration of power under apartheid was dependent on space, including: “the segregation of residential areas based on race, the restriction of black urbanization, the system of migrant labor from rural areas to towns; the emphasis on ethnicity and traditionalism, and the formidable apparatus of state surveillance and control” (Barnard 6). Land reform is a pertinent concern for post-apartheid South Africa precisely because both colonial policies and those of apartheid expropriated the vast majority of the land for a white minority (Gibson 1). Apartheid sustained policies that specialised race through forced removals, so-called “Bantustans,” and the attempts to sustain white urban areas dependent on black labor. The 1913 Natives Land act restricted the areas where black Africans could live. The act stripped black tenants and sharecroppers of their land, “replacing land ownership with labor tenancy,” and restricted black land ownership to the tiny 7% of the country designated as “homelands” (Gibson 11). The later 1936 Development Trust and Land Act 18 expanded the so-called “homelands” to 13.6% and authorized the relocation of Black Africans to “Bantustans” (Gibson 11). The legislation above predates the beginning of apartheid regime in 1948 and is a reminder of the continuities between colonial and apartheid policies.

⁵⁴ The Eastern Frontier opened up in about 1770 and is associated with the final subjugation of the majority of the San clans by black and white farmers, as well as setting the stage for interactions between the races that would dominate much of South African history (Giliomee 421). As both a social and geographical space, the frontier was associated with conflicts over land between European farmers and Xhosa chieftainships (Giliomee 426). This conflict was “exacerbated by conflicting views” of what land ownership meant: while colonialists considered land to be individual property, the Xhosa saw land as communal property with only loosely defined boundaries (Giliomee 426).

of wrong [...] It may have seemed personal, but it wasn't. It came down from the ancestors" (156). At various moments, both Lucy and David interpret the rapists' actions as retributive or redistributive—Lucy calls them “debt collectors” (Coetzee 158)—providing a striking counterpoint to the reconciliatory justice of the TRC. Here, the conflict over land, the rape of a white woman by a group of black men, and the tension between a black and a white patriarch over Lucy's fate are all shown to be burdened by the historical context of the Eastern Cape frontier.

Coetzee regularly draws on a repertoire of fantasy and anxiety embedded in South African writing. By reminding us of the genre of the *plaasroman* through the rural setting of the second part of the novel, he indexes a matrix of historical affects that continue to resonate covertly in the post-apartheid context. By bifurcating the novel around two rapes that act as a foil for each other, and around the conflicting sites of urban and rural South Africa, Coetzee's novel self-consciously engages with the fantasies of place, blood, and race, that are conveyed through the intersection of familiar motifs and tropes to represent place as a site for considerable anxiety over racial purity and the security of the settler's way of life. By skilfully re-plotting familiar family narratives of white paranoia and fear, Coetzee's novel shows how recognizable tropes can become “sticky” through their circulation and bear the “impressions” of their historical associations (Ahmed, *Cultural Politics* 8, 14). In this context, the familiar trope of “black peril” highlights and throws into relief white anxieties over social change through a reformulation of familiar images of white paranoia: the white woman's body and the land.

The two rapes that structure the novel, and its movements between the Eastern Cape and Cape Town, reflect the novel's interest in the scripts and tropes of colonialism, empire, race, and gender that co-opt and infuse even the most self-reflexive subjects. As Boehmer (“Not Saying

Sorry” 344), Samuelson (187), Declonte (442), Attwell (“Race in Disgrace” 338) and Marias (175-6) have noted, it is important to read the two instances of rape alongside one another and to consider the similarities between how each rape is represented. David described his most overtly coercive encounter with Melanie as follows: “[a]s though she had decided to go slack, die within herself for the duration, like a rabbit when the jaws of the fox close on its neck” (Coetzee 25). Later, both Lucy and David describe her rape as a kind of death (160, 161) and the perpetrators of her rape as “dogs” or “jackal[s]” (159). While both descriptions seemingly reinforce the problematic understanding of rape as a form of living death for women, the similarity of the language used to represent the two events disrupts David’s account of his coerced sexual encounter with Melanie as “not quite” rape (Coetzee 24). Both Lucy and David, at different moments, connect the two rapes, for example when David asks Lucy whether she is trying to remind him of “what women undergo at the hands of men” (Coetzee, *Disgrace* 111). To which she responds, “[n]othing could be further from my thoughts. This has nothing to do with you David” (112). According to Peterson, “[i]f David connects the two incidents in his mind, Lucy underscored that they are not identical abuses of male power” (122). What Peterson reads as Lucy’s refusal to connect the two “incidents” is instead one of many instances where Lucy rejects David’s masculinist desire to put himself at the centre of her story or to exert mastery over her narrative. Although Lucy does not have full knowledge of David’s assault of Melanie, she later suggests that he should understand the rapists’ motives by virtue of being a man (Coetzee 58-59).⁵⁵ Furthermore, each woman’s relative silence in the text, about her own

⁵⁵ Later in the novel, Lucy asserts that she is not a “minor” character in his narrative. The irony of this moment is, of course, that due to the tight focalization through David’s perspective and the novel’s use of free indirect discourse, she *is* a supporting character in the novel. Despite Lucy’s repeated attempts to

experiences, mirrors the other's; however, it is important to note that while Lucy's decision to remain silent about her rape is a choice, Melanie is silenced by David and often spoken for by her motorbike-riding boyfriend. These differences reflect the differential power relationships between the two women.

Lucy's refusal to report her rape is often the central concern in the academic discussions surrounding this novel. Gayatri Spivak argues that Lucy's actions are not an "acceptance of rape" but rather are a refusal to allow herself to be "instrumentalised" through narratives that use white women's "vulnerability" to rape as a means of social control (21). Similarly, Mike Marias has seen Lucy's response to her rape as a refusal to partake in the cycle of "domination and counter-domination," while Boehmer is critical of what she sees as Lucy's acceptance of "subjection, servility, and abnegation" as the price of her sympathy for others ("Not Saying Sorry" 349). As L. Graham has observed, it is not simply that Lucy refused to publicize her rape, rather she refuses to publicize it "in this place and at this time" (142). Lucy's refusal to report her rape allows the novel to subvert "classic 'black peril' literature" while simultaneously acknowledging that "women's bodies may not fare better in the new order of post-apartheid South Africa" (L. Graham, *State of Peril* 152).⁵⁶ Both women's relative silence and Lucy's eventual fate, where she hands her farm over to Petrus and comes under his wing, suggest that although the nature of patriarchal power may be shifting in the post-apartheid era, women continue to be victims of violence and are more likely to be seen as property than accepted as its owners (Cooper 31).

criticize David's centring of himself, and his own interpretations and concerns, the novel's narration prevents such attempts, while ironically troubling its own centring of David's narrative.

⁵⁶ For similar assertions about the novel's reflexive use of "black peril" narratives, see Samuelson, *Remembering the Nation* 173 and Mardorossain 76.

Moreover, I would argue that Lucy's actions should be read as a refusal to partake in the cycle of white paranoia that "black peril" narratives perpetuate. The depiction of the rape scene itself also throws white paranoia and the affective economy that surrounds land, place, and boundaries in the Easter Cape into relief. As Attwell observes, Coetzee does not initially overtly racialize Lucy's attackers (336). Similarly, he does not overtly racialize Melanie. In both cases, he relies on the reader's deeply entrenched knowledge of discursive codes around race and sexual violence. As Attwell further suggests, it is only through the attacker's imperfect English that they are eventually racialized, and Lurie descends into racist discourse through his ironic reflection that European languages will not help him in "darkest Africa" ("Race in Disgrace" 336). This seeming turn to racist language emerges as a form of "self directed irony" as he imagines himself through the cartoonish colonial trope of a missionary "being prepared for the pot" (Attwell, "Race in Disgrace" 336). Not only does this self-directed irony undercut a reading of Lurie's recourse to colonial tropes simply in terms of Lurie's ingrained racial attitudes, but, as Attwell suggests, it should also be understood to reflect on the reader's own reliance on racial stereotypes.⁵⁷ Attwell's analysis here is important for thinking about the affective valences of the text. In the text, affect sediments through the historical resonances of certain images and tropes. This sedimentation of affect is reinforced by the reader's own knowledge of gendered and racial stereotypes that renders these tropes "sticky," allowing fear to adhere to the black intruders and to the scene of violation.

⁵⁷ Here it must be acknowledged that different readers are likely to have different affective responses to this moment in the text. If such a moment relies on the reader's own engrained attitudes towards race, then it is likely that affective responses to this scene will differ according to race (and potentially nationality).

Like the rape narratives in *Disgrace*, Dangor's "white peril" narrative, presented in *Bitter Fruit* through the rape of Lydia in a police van while her husband screams outside, overtly questions the value of public testimony in relation to the workings of the TRC. Set during the first years of democracy, *Bitter Fruit* tells the story of the Ali family: Silas, an anti-apartheid activist now working as a government liaison to the TRC, his wife Lydia, a nurse, and their son Mikey, a university student.⁵⁸ Alternating its focalization among the novel's characters, the novel's plot is driven by the family's confrontation with the memory of Lydia's rape, which resulted in the conception of her son. As an orienting concern in the text, the TRC and its focus on confession and redemption give the novel its structure. The text is split into three parts under the headings, "Memory," "Confession," and "Retribution." The first two sections follow the rubric provided by the TRC, while the final section, "retribution," is a departure. The TRC and the Promotion of National Unity Act that preceded it were informed by the circumstances of the negotiated settlement, which brought an end to apartheid, and included the promise of amnesty for perpetrators. The title of the act itself suggests its emphasis on the "reparation and rehabilitation" of both victims and perpetrators (Ross 9-10). The text's dramatization of "retribution" troubles the TRC's use of confession to create a "historical subject" that was both "ethically and psychologically redeemed" (Posel, "History as Confession" 120). In the final section of the novel, Du Boise is murdered before he can give his confession to the TRC or receive amnesty. Mikey shoots both his friend Vinu's father, a white member of the liberation movement, and Du Boise. The death of these two white "fathers," who are also rapists of brown

⁵⁸ As in *Disgrace*, the university in *Bitter Fruit* is often ironically represented as a relic of the past, mired in its historical implications in apartheid and its inability to evolve to meet the needs of young South Africans.

women, is neither celebrated nor decried in the text. Rather, through Mikey's vengeance, the novel refuses a more comforting narrative of reconciliation by opening up the possibility of violent retribution. As in *Disgrace*, where the rapists are described as "debt collectors" (Coetzee 158), *Bitter Fruit* and its conclusion trouble the very notion of restorative justice without redistribution, while at the same time dramatizing yet another site of white anxiety: the vengeance of the oppressed.

The novel begins with an encounter between Silas and Du Boise in the quotidian setting of hyper-consumerism, the supermarket. The chance meeting between the two men, who represent institutional figures of the new and old regimes respectively, introduces the novel's concern with "the objectives of restorative and transitional justice" (Akpome 15). As a character whose public job is to support the TRC, yet who is privately affected by the violence of apartheid, Silas is shown to aspire to the rational position epitomized by the TRC report, embodying the tension between the suffering subject objectified in human rights discourse and the rational individualism that is simultaneously held out as its promise. In contrast, while Silas functions in a "metonymic capacity" to represent the "official mechanisms [...] of reconciliation" (Akpome 14), *Bitter Fruit* uses Lydia's narrative to express skepticism over "the cathartic potentiality of public testimony" (Miller 155).⁵⁹ Recalling the night of her rape, Lydia rejects her husband's assumption that her screams were a fully legible index of her pain, asking, "[h]ow do you know it wasn't a scream of pleasure?" (14). In so doing, she dismisses her husband's desire to understand her experience as an act of mastery, going on to say, "[y]ou don't know about the pain. It's a memory to you, a wound to your ego, a theory" (Dangor 14). In

⁵⁹ For similar interpretations of Lydia's silence, see S. Graham, "Remembering to Forget" 41-42 and Strauss, "Listening Otherwise" 52.

rejecting Silas's empathy, the text is not suggesting that Lydia's experience is unspeakable—in fact, she writes what is described as a “lucid” account of the event in her journal—rather it is evidence of the “the lack of ‘an addressable other’” (Miller 152) and of an overt refusal of the “terms of empathetic recognition” (Hemmings, “Affective Solidarity” 152). Lydia's narrative reminds us that “[t]o be empathised with could be a horrific prospect, indeed, one resulting in the dissolution of the other's sense of self” (Hemmings, “Affective Solidarity” 152). Lydia's discomfort with Silas's empathy reflects her resistance to any attempt to universalize or theorize her experience, or for him to use it for his social advancement. Like Lydia, in *Disgrace*, Lucy consistently resists her father's attempts make sense of her experience as a patriarchal impulse, rejecting his attempts to interpret her actions in terms of “abstractions” (Coetzee 112).

As I have observed, Lucy's refusal to report her rape or to give a full account of it is perhaps one of the most controversial elements in *Disgrace*. Drawing on Judith Butler, Middleton and Townstead argue that “[f]or Lucy, the kinship bond—with Petrus, his extended family, and her child—might function as a replacement for the pitfalls of an individual identity, as seen in David's world” (Middleton and Townstead 133). Seen in this context as responding to violence with non-violence, Middleton and Townstead interpret Lucy's behaviour as a decision to “forgo justice” in favour of “mutual recognition” (Middleton and Townstead 133). Instead, I would argue that Coetzee's text repeatedly questions the value (for the individual, or for society) of confession and testimony. Feminist orthodoxy advances “speaking out” about rape as both a personal and political imperative that will benefit the “survivor,” to use their parlance, and the community. One way to read Lucy's and Lydia's actions, respectively, might be as a criticism of this assumption. Hengehold argues that the imperative for women to give testimony about rape in a legal setting tends to individualize rape in terms of personal trauma, “dislocating it from

other forms of social and structural violence” (190). Furthermore, as Alcoff and Gray observe, “survivor discourse has paradoxically appeared to have empowering effects while it has in some cases unwittingly facilitated the recuperation of dominant discourses” (Alcoff and Gray 263). Though survivor discourse does have the potential to “disrupt the maintenance and reproduction of dominant discourses,” it also has the potential to be “subsumed” by these discourses (Alcoff and Gray 270). Both Lucy’s and Lydia’s characters seem to confront this paradox. As I have observed, Lucy situates her refusal in a particular time and place. Unlike David, who described his refusal to testify in overtly masculinist terms as a refusal to be neutered and curb his natural desires, Lucy rejects any attempts to subsume her narrative within the violent dominant discourses of South Africa’s past. Similarly, in rejecting public confession, Lydia calls into question “the allegedly therapeutic and ontological effects of public speech that motivate the commission’s effort” (Mack 206). In *Bitter Fruit*, Lydia rejects an invitation to testify before the commission, and, in so doing, refuses to have her narrative co-opted by the masculinist project of nation-building or be “appropriated by a hegemonic discourse of male dishonour, or figured as a metaphor of male conquest” (Samuelson, *Remembering the Nation* 121). Indeed, the history of “black” and “white peril” narratives in South Africa suggests the continual appropriation of female suffering in political struggles that were often overtly patriarchal; like Lucy, Lydia rejects such a co-option through opacity and silence.

In *Bitter Fruit*, Lydia’s response to the memory of her rape “exceeds” the confessional project of the TRC that sought to produce a legible account of human rights abuses under apartheid (Miller 150); her actions are often difficult to interpret and undermine rather than evoke affective connection. For example, when first hearing of Silas’s encounter with Du Boise, Lydia breaks a beer glass and dances on the broken glass, severely injuring her feet. In a

similarly disturbing moment in the text, Lydia's desire turns towards her son Mikey. Lydia's decision to kiss Mikey is disconcertingly aligned with Du Boise's violence: "[a]nd yet, that kiss was indelible, a gesture impossible to withdraw. Like Du Boise's penis, an irredeemable act of intrusion" (Dangor 166). By evoking the taboo of incest, likely to discomfort the reader, alongside the comparison between Du Boise's act of violence and Lydia's kiss, the text actively disrupts empathetic identification. By emphasizing the opacity of Lydia's experience, the novel links her resistance to empathy to her refusal to conjoin her narrative of suffering to the TRC's nation-building project. Lydia is wary not only of a "husband who feels [his wife's] pain as his pain," but of one who will gain political currency, playing the "brave stoical husband," through her public testimony (Dangor 156). Lydia's story denies the co-opting impulse of male national narratives and re-centres a "female voice - so often kept at the margins of the collective memory and the liberation narrative" (Akpome 14).

In both novels, Lydia and Lucy comment on the role of women's bodies in a masculinist cycle of exchange (Poyner, "Writing Under Pressure" 110), suggesting that women's bodies are co-opted in service of the nation-state through their reproductive capacities and are burdened by honour and shame. As I have already observed, the white patriarchal family and Western domesticity were essential ideological devices for Afrikaner Nationalism and the colonial governance that preceded it. "Black peril" narratives, in particular, drew much of their force from the threat of miscegenation and racial mixing. The anxiety provoked by miscegenation, particularly under apartheid, was differential in that it valued different women's bodies differently and saw white women's reproductive capacities as necessary for the maintenance of minority rule. Nevertheless, in *Bitter Fruit's* exploration of coloured identity, racial mixing is simultaneously eroticized and represented as a site of anxiety and shame. Early in the text Vinu

proclaims that “bastard people are beautiful,” while later, Moulana Ismail observes that “you conquer a nation by bastardizing its children” through rape (Dangor 163, 204).

In each text, the anxiety conveyed through discourses of racial mixing is reflexively explored. In *Disgrace* the multiracial unborn child, who is a product of rape, is a figure for futurity. Lucy’s hope to “be a good mother” (216) imbues this pregnancy with at least the potential of an optimistic future, even as it is associated with her acquiescence to the possibility of living “like a dog” (205).⁶⁰ At the same time, the now-pregnant white woman who chooses to join the polygamous household of her former self-proclaimed “gardener and dog-man” may be read as the hyperbolic actualization of the most paranoid of white anxieties (64). As Coetzee suggests in “White Writing,” in South Africa the “tainting of blood” is regularly reflected in the “language of paranoia,” and the mixed-blood child “destroys the peace of the community” and acts as a “harbinger of doom” (152). *Disgrace*, however, undercuts the paranoid economy of fantasy that Lucy’s pregnancy might potentially evoke when David hopes that this future child will be “just as solid, just as long lasting” as its mother (217).

In *Bitter Fruit*, Mikey enacts revenge rather than reconciliation and seeks multiple intersecting histories to understand his past. Mikey’s role as a figure of retributive justice reflexively actualizes anxieties over racial mixing, as does his growing interest with Islam and his associations with People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), a South African vigilante group known for its links to religious fundamentalism. Throughout the novel, Mikey is represented as a condensed site of white desire and anxiety; as the product of miscegenation, he is at once regularly eroticized, and provokes anxiety through his associations with vengeance and

⁶⁰ David’s internal monologue reveals the link between rape and reproduction when he claims, “[t]hey were not raping they were mating” (Coetzee 199).

Islamic “fundamentalism,” the emergent site of transnational white paranoia. In each case the mixed-blood child is used to ironically actualize the fears associated with miscegenation that Coetzee describes, in order to foreground how feelings sediment through histories and narratives.

Finally, both *Bitter Fruit* and *Disgrace* use the heavily freighted tropes of interracial rape to begin to reconsider the state of the emergent nation and the place of women within it. In each text’s concern with the workings of the TRC, interracial rape is used as a means to navigate the relationship between personal suffering and public testimony. In addition, both authors use these old tropes to evoke and begin to examine emerging strands of national anxiety that are specific to the post-apartheid context, particularly the question of crime and criminality. In *Disgrace*, David embarks on this lengthy internal monologue:

A risk to own anything: a car, a pair of shoes, a packet of cigarettes. Not enough to go around, not enough cars, shoes, cigarettes. Too many people, too few things. What there is must go into circulation, so that everyone can have the chance to be happy for a day. That is the theory; hold onto the theory and to the comforts of theory. Not human evil, just a vast circulatory system, to whose workings pity and terror are irrelevant. That is how one must see life in this country: in its schematic aspect. Otherwise one could go mad. Cars, shoes; women too. There must be some niche in the system for women and what happens to them. (Coetzee 98)

Lurie’s account includes women alongside property in this large “circulatory system” of redistribution. It is Lucy’s rape that provokes him to describe the insecurity of personal property in relation to the insecurity of women’s bodies in the new South Africa, and in so doing, draws our attention to an emerging set of anxieties that mark out black criminality as a signifier of national disorder. Indeed, *Disgrace* is replete with signifiers of national anxiety, including the

home invasion and Lucy's rape, scenes of an inept and over-burdened police force, and theft when David return to Cape Town to find his home has been robbed. Similarly, in *Bitter Fruit*, Kate, Silas's white friend and former cadre, observes that certain parts of the city are "[n]ot safe for a woman. More women were raped in this city than anywhere else in the world. The hyperbole of our new struggles" (Dangor 77). Later Alec, Silas's brother-in-law, muses that "law and order" is a "joke that whites sold us" (Dangor 85). Focalized through Alec, the text describes an urban environment where citizens are forced to protect themselves "behind high walls and barbed wire" (Dangor 85). In *Bitter Fruit*, the new South Africa, especially the post-apartheid city, is characterized by the simultaneous threat to private property and women's bodies, where people are increasingly cloistered and separated by security measures. If *Disgrace* stages the Eastern Cape as a site of residual white paranoia, it is the contested urban space of Johannesburg that Dangor suggests is the stage for emergent anxieties over disorder, lawlessness, and, according to S. Graham, uneven development (94). As novels presenting the transition to democracy, both texts present a new South Africa fraught with anxiety; however, the anxieties indexed in each text reflect the divergent economies of affect that circulate South African publics.

As Poyner observes, both *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* "stage questions" over the conditions of new, post-apartheid, "masculinities" ("Writing under Pressure" 110). Indeed, both Silas and David are represented as men struggling with social change; David repeatedly describes himself as at odds with the contemporary moment in South Africa and the increasing rationalization of society, whereas Silas is out of place in the liberation struggle both in terms of his race—he does not feel black enough for the incoming regime—and because of the transition to Mbeki's presidency. In both cases, men's anxiety over social change is amplified via women's bodies and

women's choices. Although Lydia's rape occurred during the apartheid era, it resurfaces in the post-apartheid context as a traumatic event that shatters the illusion of an ongoing ordinary life and interrupts the family's coherence with conflict and unwanted desire. Similarly, Lucy's rape disrupts the relationship between father and daughter and amplifies David's sense of dissonance with the place and time of the novel. In both cases, narratives of interracial rape are used to foreground each character's struggle to navigate a changing social landscape both in terms of racial and gendered privilege. These anxieties over social change are undercut, however, by the opacity of the female characters and their ability to change and adapt to new circumstances.

Writing Rape as Betrayal in This Book Betrays My Brother

The charged nature of interracial rape in South African public discourse was notably demonstrated by the often-cited *African National Congress' (ANC) Submission to the Human Rights Commission on Racism in the Media*. The submission framed its claims with reference to Coetzee's novel's depiction of Lucy's rape by a group of black men, arguing that: "[i]n the novel, J.M. Coetzee represents as brutally as he can, the white people's perception of the post-apartheid black man" (ANC). L. Graham notes that it is unclear from the submission whether the ANC is suggesting that Coetzee's text unmasks and criticizes covert forms of white racism or whether they are accusing Coetzee of perpetuating the belief that black men are dangerous rapists (142).⁶¹ In contrast, Attwell asserts that rather than accusing Coetzee of racism, the ANC

⁶¹ The ANC were not alone in their critical reception of the novel. South African authors such as Nadine Gordimer, Christopher Van Wyk, and Athol Fugard were critical of the novel for, among other things, "fanning the flames of white paranoia" and "colluding with and perpetuating the worst nightmares and clichés about South Africa as a violent society" (Mardorossain 73).

used him as a “expert witness” to the “persistence of racism,” while ignoring the literariness of Coetzee’s text, which the report interprets as “social truth” (“J.M. Coetzee and South Africa” 176). In framing their statement on racism in the media through this fictional rape, the ANC not only ignores the literariness of *Disgrace* but also inadvertently demonstrates the centrality of rape narratives to the politics of representing a reformed South African civil society:

Accordingly, there is nothing racist about the reporting of crime, rape, corruption and issues of democracy and human rights in our country. However, racism, driven by the white stereotype of the African, informs such reporting, which falsely asserts that: violent crime in our country has grown by leaps and bounds since 1994; South Africa is the “rape capital” of the world; and, an ANC overwhelming [...] majority in parliament, the restructuring of national government etc., constitute a threat to democracy. (ANC)

The ANC’s paradoxical statement simultaneously invites open criticism from the media while also warning against the “racism” of certain opinions; specifically, the media’s portrayal of the high incidence of rape. Within this frame, the media’s reporting on the prevalence of sexual violence is interpreted as a political attack. As a result, the ANC’s statement potentially silences both narratives of interracial rape (that may potentially evoke racist stereotypes) and growing concerns over intraracial and intra-communal rape. The ANC’s response to *Disgrace* reflects the powerful economy of interracial rape as a trope in South Africa. In this case, the frustration associated with representations of black men as rapists and moral monsters in historical accounts of “black peril” is transferred to contemporary fiction and to more immediate discussions of intraracial rape.

In *This Book Betrays My Brother*, Molohe tackles the problem of writing about rape from within the black community as a means to consider the conditions of the new democracy for

black women. As was the case in *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit*, *This Book Betrays My Brother* foregrounds the family and considers the effects of sexual violence on familial relationships; however, written almost two decades into the new democracy, this text does not represent scenes of sexual assault as shattering events that interrupt or undo ordinary life, but rather situates rape within a continuum of everyday micro-aggressions.⁶² As in Molope's previous novels, *Dancing in the Dust* (2002) and the *Mending Season* (2005), *This Book Betrays My Brother* tracks the coming-of-age story of a young black girl. The novel is narrated in the first person as a confessional narrative wherein the narrator, Naledi, reveals that as a child she witnessed her brother rape his presumed girlfriend, Moipone. The first-person narration, though told retrospectively by the adult Naledi, remains focused on the child's naive perspective. The novel imitates the genre of a memoir, creating the illusion of an unmediated description of events that focuses on the granular details of Naledi's life. *This Book Betrays My Brother* is framed as an attempt for the adult narrator to come to terms with her conflicting loyalties to her family and to other women. It is the latter, her responsibility to, or "allegiance" with Moipone, that provides the impetus for the narrative, which is understood as a "betra[al]" of her familial loyalty (Molope 11). To represent her brother negatively, Naledi suggests, is to betray her responsibility to tell "[f]amily history" as "beautiful poetry" using the most flattering "light" (Molope 10). To do otherwise might be considered a *diroti*, a "lie" (Molope 8).

Set in *Marapong*, or the "silver city," a "location" outside Pretoria, the novel explores tensions specific to the post-apartheid context as it follows Naledi and her brother's experiences

⁶² Drawing on the work of Chester Pierce, Derald Wing Sue defines *micro-aggressions* as those "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities" that, often unintentionally, communicate gender, racial, and/or class discrimination (5).

attending a racially integrated private school in Pretoria, and interrogates the emergent class conflicts within the township community. Even the topography of *Maropong* is organized according to class; “Wealth” the narrator observes, “follows the lay of the land. The higher you are up the hill, the larger, grander and farther apart the houses are, and the closer you get to cars, running water and indoor toilets” (Molope 15). The narrator indicates that as affluence increases “the boundaries get more pronounced” (Molope 15). At the end of the novel, Naledi’s close friend Ole—the text’s only queer character—makes the following accusation, “[y]ou live in cars [...] You go from your parent’s house with its high walls and security gates. You don’t know anything” (Molope 162). As Ole’s statement makes clear, Naledi’s relative privilege insulates her from the privations of township life. Both Basi and Naledi are protected by their class position. In particular, Basi’s family uses their resources to defend him against the accusation of rape and send him to a private school in Cape Town; however, while class remains an important concern in the text, it does not fully insulate Basi and Naledi from the structural violences associated with race and gender.

From its outset, Basi is portrayed as a beloved member of the community, who, unlike his sister, remains able to move seamlessly between his affluent home and his childhood friends in the “silver city.” The text opens with Naledi likening the response to her brother’s birth, a long-awaited son, to the joy associated with a big traditional wedding (Molope 7): Boy-children, the text suggests, are a cause for celebration that extends beyond the nuclear family to the entire community. Basi, who is a kind brother, a sports star, and popular with his friends, is described as “made of everything strong and beautiful and promising,” as a “pillar of loyalty” (Molope 10). Unlike the perpetrators in Coetzee’s and Dangor’s novels, who are represented as one-dimensional social stereotypes, Basi is portrayed through the golden light of his sister’s

admiration: he is given complex and often contradictory characteristics and is immensely likeable. By representing Basi in this fashion, Molope dramatizes the intimacy Basi shares with his sister and his community, thereby complicating simplistic representations of perpetrators as moral monsters.

Moreover, the unrelentingly positive depiction of Basi is a potent reminder that this is a society that disproportionately celebrates boys and their accomplishments. The narrator herself has trouble separating the general adoration for her brother from her own knowledge of his crime. As the novel concludes, the narrator reiterates that Basi remains “the much-loved and adored boy,” who will be “cocooned in the loyalty of his parents, his friends and the women who love him” (Molope 185). She acknowledges that, “he’s not living in a world he can trust either,” just as earlier in the text, Five Bob—a local man who struggles to keep a job—reminds her, “it’s a rough world for a Black man. He only has family to count on” (Molope 185, 167). She observes that in her community, boys and men are protected and unquestioningly loved by their parents, friends, and lovers. By presenting this paradox, Molope introduces the difficulties that accompany speaking about intraracial rape in public in South Africa. If we recall the suggestion, implicit in the ANC’s submission, that even acknowledging high rape statistics may be met with public censure, we can understand more fully how anxieties over speaking publicly about intraracial rape are dramatized throughout Molope’s text.

The novel’s epilogue begins with the question: “You do know my brother, don’t you? I’ve been thinking that it’s best I don’t continue without acknowledging that probability.” (Molope 174). She goes on to describe the powerful man Basi has become. He is the object of “admiration” for his “‘fierce and unprecedented’ pursuit of justice” (Molope 174). When Molope breaks the fourth wall, so to speak, she is not suggesting that the reader knows Basi; she is

reminding her South African audience that it likely knows men like him. By depicting adult Basi as a public figure, who is paradoxically a rapist yet a defender of “justice,” Molohe prompts us to consider the numerous powerful South African men who have been accused of sexual misconduct but retain the “admira[tion]” of their community. Perhaps the most obvious example is Jacob Zuma, who was charged with rape in 2006, or Zwelinzima Vavi, who was accused of sexual harassment in 2013. Men, the novel repeatedly suggests, are beloved, and, where possible, defended. When the community comes to Basi’s aid, publicly reviling Moipone with cruel rumours, we are reminded of the effigies burnt outside Jacob Zuma’s court hearings when he was accused of raping the daughter of a family friend, and the unswerving support he received from female supporters who were highly visible outside the courthouse. Molohe’s text, then, suggests that rapists are not unrecognizable monsters or racial stereotypes; they are embedded in the community and are often admired. Moreover, by configuring speaking out about rape as a “betrayal,” the book evokes the potential social consequences associated with condemning rapists in public.

While the novel does not try to vindicate Basi, it tacitly suggests that his experiences of racism might provide the backdrop, if not motivation, for his actions. There are two distinct moments in the text where Basi is shown as circumscribed by his awareness of himself as a black man in a newly integrated South Africa. In the first incident, he is prevented from playing rugby against an all-white team, despite being the team’s captain. In the second incident, a white woman protectively clutches her purse to her chest and pulls her child away as Basi walks past. Basi observes, “Makhoa will always be scared man,” and he goes on to describe white fear as, “[t]he feeling that they’re in the wild. That Africa is the wild and they’re hunters. We’re the lions. Be afraid” (Molohe 98). This is not the only time in the novel that Basi is referred to as a lion

(Molope 19, 82); however, while white fear is represented as unfounded, it becomes clear that the “lion” *is* potentially threatening, but to women in his own community. Later, Naledi will describe herself and Moipone as “impalas among hunting lions” (Molope 184). Here, the text criticizes white paranoia over crime, while suggesting later that black women’s fears are founded in embodied experience. Although racism is not given as a direct antecedent for Basi’s actions, this description of white paranoia is represented as part of the context that allows reporting him, or writing the narrative of the rape, to be understood as a “betrayal” not only of family ties, but of the desire to protect black men from racist attitudes. Naledi is caught between her loyalties to her family and community, and her loyalties to other black women, embodied by Moipone.

In *This Book Betrays My Brother*, men are shown to be highly valued in South African society. Indeed, for much of the novel the narrator is consumed with a desire for boys, and their attentions; she is described as a girl who had “been aware of boys forever” (Molope 25). Simultaneously, the text demonstrates that community in Marapong devalues women, discards their bodies, and threatens them with violence. In the novel, young Naledi has two obsessions: finding a boyfriend and the “decomposing” body of a woman found by Basi and his friends in an undeveloped, wooded area near Marapong. Basi describes the dead woman as follows: “[s]he’s no one [...] No one named her. No one came looking for her” (31). While it is easy for Basi to dismiss the memory of the woman’s body, it is impossible for Naledi to do so. Significantly, the language of Basi’s statement reflects the cavalier way the body was discarded: “[s]he’s no one” (31). Ultimately, we learn that the woman was “raped and killed” by a man she trusted and thought of as a friend (Molope 170), an incident that mirrors Moipone’s rape by Basi. Like this dead body that repeatedly returns to the narrator’s imagination, Marapong is also haunted by a ghost of a woman, Vera, who accosts cars in her tattered clothing, forcing drivers to notice her.

The novel, therefore, repeatedly references women who have been killed, whose bodies have been abandoned, but who refuse to be forgotten. While *This Book Betrays My Brother* centres on Basi—his place within his family, his aspirations, and his casual elegance—women who have been victims of male violence persistently haunt its periphery and refuse to go unacknowledged.

Not only is the novel haunted by the figures of dead women and their discarded bodies, but it meticulously documents the more quotidian experiences of sexual domination in Marapong. Naledi describes the group of men who loiter on the front step of her family’s grocery store, “calling over every girl who walked by and hissing at the ones who ignored them” (Molope 66). Later one of these men comments as Ole walks past, “[e]ish, this one just needs to be raped. That will fix her” (Molope 161). By documenting men casually referencing the practice of “curative” rape, the novel insists that certain forms of sexual violence are tacitly accepted in this context. When Basi coerces Moipone into a conversation after intervening in what he interprets as a too-intimate interaction between her and Ole, Naledi describes the scene as “familiar” (Molope 101):

I had seen it many times; the man standing very close to the woman while she kept moving away from him. People said the man had to work very hard for a woman’s attention, and the more resistance he encountered, the more honourable the woman was thought to be. When I was in primary school, when we still lived *ko motseng*, I remember boys twisting my wrist until it was dry and red. It was all part of the games boys and girls played, I was told. I got used to it, and the more a boy twisted my wrist the more I thought he liked me (Molope 101).

Here, by describing the “familiar [...] dance” wherein a “honourable” woman is expected to feign indifference and resist sexual overtures from men, the narrator foregrounds the gender

norms that reinforce and perpetuate rape in South Africa. In this scene, we see how gender violence becomes “familiar” to the young narrator, who comes to associate it with benign “games” that “boys and girls played.” Similarly, Moipone is later criticized for the short skirt she wears when she was raped, and young Naledi is told “to be careful,” “to protect [herself]” because “[i]t’s natural. All men have needs” (Molope 171). Through the sheer quantity of these casual statements that reinforce and reiterate rape scripts, Molope presents a world in which language that perpetuates gender violence saturates everyday conversation.

Although the treatment of gender violence in the text may initially seem heavy-handed and didactic, Molope’s novel importantly suggests that her young protagonist’s emerging experience of herself as gendered and of her own sexuality is circumscribed by the tacit acceptance of sexual violence in her community. Throughout the novel, Naledi’s growing attachments to and pleasures in the trappings of normative femininity are repeatedly explored in granular detail. In preparation for an upcoming social (dance at a local school), Naledi’s actions are meticulously chronicled:

I wore my new short miniskirt with the zipper on the side. My hair was perfectly curled with hot hair tongs, my blouse was red and black, and my shoes had heels—which would have made one or two teachers at my own school faint, but I was having fun. I applied my mother’s lipstick carefully and dabbed it with my little finger. I smoothed my skirt down with both palms and I combed my hair lightly for what must have been the tenth time. And then, very very carefully, I sat in front of the mirror and hoped that this wouldn’t crease my skirt. I threw my shoulders back and pushed my breasts forward—they were quite big at thirteen and *oh!* how perfect they looked in that blouse (37).

The lengthy nature of this scene, along with the detailed descriptions of Naledi’s gestures—

“dabbed it with my little finger,” “smoothed [...] with both my palms,” “threw back my shoulders”—saturates the reader in the embodied experience of performing gender. Here, the minor details of the young girl’s clothing, hair style, and makeup remind the reader that attachments to normativity can be incredibly pleasurable, “*oh!* how perfect they looked in that blouse...” Later in the novel, however, on the eve of another school dance, it becomes clear that the pleasures of these attachments have been interrupted by Naledi’s awareness of her vulnerability to violence. After witnessing Basi rape Moipone, the narrator no longer sees her experiments with sexuality as safe, and she becomes “frightened” of “being alone in the dark” with her date (Molope 144)

In *Disgrace*, the historically freighted scenes of interracial rape and the repetitive use of malign or violent speech by the focalizer serves as a conduit for affect, expressing anxiety over the conditions of the emergent nation state. In contrast, Molope’s text is resolutely focused on the quotidian, and continuously preoccupied with the granular description of a young girl’s interests, fears, and experiences. While the novel’s title claims the centrality of the “brother” as the object of betrayal, this betrayal occurs not only through the disclosure of the rape narrative, but through a narrative that resolutely foregrounds a young girl’s often (seemingly) trivial experiences, her obsession with boys, her conversation with friends, and her concern with fashion, hair, and makeup. It is this accrual of quotidian details and encounters that allows the text to convey a sense of intimacy, not only with the narrator herself, but also with the perpetrator of rape. As is the case in *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit*, the event of rape disrupts the family romance, which in Molope’s novel is intimately tied to a narrative of black class mobility, where the rape accusation is seen as a potential hindrance to Basi’s future. While the event of rape, and the narration of the event, interrupt the familial relationship as a kind of “betrayal,”

unlike in *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* rape is not represented as fracturing the everyday but is foreshadowed by the perpetual refrain that “when boys are ready, there is nothing you can do” (Molope 110). The novel’s emphasis on familiar gestures of male dominance, from microaggressions and cat calls (66) to minor scenes of physical coercion, rather than the more dramatic scene of Moipone’s rape, reflects that atmosphere of fear and anxiety that surrounds the narrator who begins to “avoid boys” and avoid provocative clothing. Through witnessing the rape and its aftermath, Naledi learns that “being a girl” means that you are not in “a good position to warrant support,” even when you are a victim of violence (Molope 183). The novel seems to question whether it is not women who have been “betrayed,” by a society that continues to support and idealize men who are accused of rape.

Rape, The Family Romance, and Social Change

In his famous essay, “The Rediscovery of the Ordinary,” Njabulo Ndebele observes that Black South African literature under apartheid had been largely preoccupied with the “representation of spectacle” reflecting the spectacular nature of the apartheid regime itself, which was typified by pass raids, forced removals, gross economic inequality, and “draconian laws” (Ndebele 41). This writing, according to Ndebele, was characterized by a lack of subtlety, where nuance was sacrificed in order to emphasize the “spectacular contest between the powerless and the powerful” (Ndebele 46). He argued that protest literature tended to suppress not only “individual as well as social fears,” but “the deepest dreams of love, hope, compassion, newness and justice” (Ndebele 49). In response to this trend, Ndebele argued for a return to the ordinary in South African writing, for a renewed concern with the intricacies of private lives, social processes, and individual interiority. Indeed, Nuttall and Michaels have observed a turn to

the intimate and the private in numerous autobiographies published in the years of the transition, as the “individual [...] [emerged] as a key, newly legitimized concept” (Nuttall and Michael 298). Each of the texts I have discussed in this chapter seems to take up Ndebele’s demand to reinsert intricacy and nuance into the project of post-apartheid literature; however, each text is also poised at the intersection between the private and the public; private pains are repeatedly used to index concerns over the condition of the emerging nation-state.

In their exploration of the conditions of the new nation, each novel I have discussed in this chapter foregrounds the family as the staging ground for these conflicts. Both *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* focus on a family that has been disrupted by an event of violence. As Munro observes, figuring the nation through the family romance was historically used to secure racial bonds, with women acting as figures of hearth, home, reproduction, and tradition, and with men as forging the future (176). *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* both reproduce and disrupt this tradition. *Disgrace* self-consciously references the family romance through his figuration of Lucy as a “sturdy [...] settler,” as well as through her eventual pregnancy; indeed, Lucy does seem to reproduce these traditions as a figure of reproduction, yet the irony of David’s description of her as “*boere vrou* [peasant or farm woman]” and the text’s disruption of the traditional representations of rural life as morally simple and idyllic throw such an interpretation into relief. If anything, Lucy’s final pregnancy and the new family she is forming with her unborn child represent a complex negotiation with the implications of living on in the present. In *Bitter Fruit*, the family is tainted by multiple counts of incestuous desire, and Lydia is represented as forging a future only by collapsing the bonds of familial responsibility and of the couple form. Lydia’s future is embedded in a disruption of accepted forms of family, responsibility, and desire, as her new acquisition of a driver’s license comes to stand for her newfound freedom from husband,

son, and rapist. In Moloche's texts, the black family is disrupted by events of sexual violence. In this text, the narrator's relationship to her family is used to explore her relationship with and responsibility to her community, and more obliquely, to the nation-state. Moloche represents speaking about intraracial rape as a navigation between racial, communal, and familial solidarity and solidarity with other black women.

In each text, it is not only the family romance but the representation of the act of sexual violence itself that facilitates the text's exploration of the conditions of the new democracy. In particular, in *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* narratives of interracial rape are used as a means to consider emerging questions and anxieties associated with the period of transition, including a reconsideration of the TRC itself, its legitimacy as a means to usher in a new "rainbow nation," and its use of testimony as a technology of subject production. In both texts, the scene of extreme, one might even say spectacular, violence is used to articulate and mirror ongoing debates over the state of the new nation. Despite *Disgrace*'s self-reflexive foregrounding of the discourses of "white" and "black" peril narratives, both *Disgrace* and *Bitter Fruit* continue the convention of using narratives of interracial rape as a vehicle to convey social anxiety. L. Graham has argued that, "[w]hile the current focus on rape as a social ill may be accounted for partly by the increasing emphasis on gender [...], panic about crime statistics in the transition to a non-racial democracy often also expresses complex anxieties about governance by a historically-black political party" (*State of Peril* 135). Although L. Graham is astute in pointing out the role of rape narratives in conveying "complex anxieties," I am not convinced that these "anxieties" are solely over the "governance by a historically-black political party." Instead, as I will show more decisively in the following chapters, representations of rape in the South African public sphere serve to convey a dense web of anxieties that include concerns over law and order

and the ability of the new state to secure such order, the state of the family (often explicitly coded as black), and the position of women in post-apartheid society. While Coetzee dramatized and critiqued white paranoia over the incursion of black bodies into traditionally white spaces by setting parts of his novel on the Eastern Cape frontier, both Coetzee's and Dangor's texts convey anxiety over the uncertain future of the new nation and the emerging social conditions and uncomfortable proximities that define the moment of transition.

In Molohe's texts, the rape narrative is a fulcrum for questions around the position of black women in the new democracy and for exploring their responsibilities (real and imagined) to their communities. Embedded in thick descriptions of township life, Molohe contextualizes events of sexual violence against the backdrop of social change within townships themselves, where class plays an increasingly important role. In *This Book Betrays My Brother*, Molohe's concern with quotidian and often boring features of her young protagonist's life immerses the reader in the minutiae of a young girl's experience in order to convey the emergent fear that the young narrator comes to associate with her own sexuality through her exposure to the realities of rape. In the novel, intraracial rape is conveyed through an explicitly female lens to expose forms of sexual violence that are ongoing and woven into the fabric of everyday life. For Molohe's protagonist, exposing the beloved brother as violent reflects the fraught and painful experience of representing intraracial rape in public. In *This Book Betrays My Brother*, this process is self-conscious, as the text reminds us, both explicitly and implicitly, of the forms of intraracial gender violence that have been ignored or normalized in the post-apartheid public culture, as well as reflecting on the complex dilemmas associated with speaking publicly about intraracial rape as a black woman.

While narratives of interracial rape foreground difference as the source of anxiety, the narratives of intraracial rape in this chapter consider how a continuum of gender violence and coercion saturate everyday interactions. In Chapters Two and Three, I will give a more detailed consideration of public depictions of intraracial rape. These narratives, I argue, increasingly become tied to concerns over the state of the new nation through repeated public expressions of anxiety over the conditions of the black family. Rather than reflecting on how gender violence occurs in quotidian settings, as Molohe does, these public portrayals of infant and gang rape represent ordinary lives in townships and rural communities as saturated by a state of crisis.

Chapter Two: The Crisis of the Ordinary: Representing Baby Tshepang's Rape

In October 2001, the South African press began to report the rape of a nine-month-old infant in Louisvale weg, a township in Upington in the Northern Cape. The baby girl, who the local media named Tshepang, or “have hope” in Setswana, survived the assault and received medical attention in a Kimberly hospital. The media frenzy responding to this event would continue for months, with newspapers expanding their coverage of infant rape to consider the problem of child abuse more broadly.⁶³ The public focus on infant rape in 2001, despite the fractured nature of the South African public sphere, reflected a prevailing unease over the state of the nation in its infancy. As Rachel Jewkes et al observe, “[c]hild rape stirs strong passions. Anger at the act itself is compounded by the symbolic threat of rape of children to the moral order of society” (1809). The media coverage of infant rape, and child abuse more generally, restated the links between public concerns over gender violence and sociopolitical instability.⁶⁴

⁶³ In early November, *The Star* reported that, “[a] total of 31,780 child rape and attempted rape cases were reported to the police in the 18 months since January [1999]” (Sapa, “Shocking Statistics” 6). Scholarship supports the belief, held at the time, that child rape statistics in South Africa were shockingly high. In three South African studies, “reports of sexual abuse as a child averaged between 26% and 56% for both men and women” (Richter 394), and Pitcher and Bowley reported in the *Lancet* that 221,072 sexual offences against persons under 17 occurred in 1999 (274). Importantly, although child and adolescent rape was, and continues to be, a growing problem in sub-Saharan Africa, infant rape is “inordinately rare,” making up only 2% of all rapes of children (Pitcher and Bowley 274). Furthermore, there are striking features that differentiate infant rape from child and adolescent rape. Specifically, infant rape requires the perpetrator to “first create a common channel between the vagina and the anal canal,” often with a weapon or “implement,” in order to make penetration possible (Pitcher and Bowley 274).

⁶⁴ The reportage in both the *Sowetan* and the *Star* tended to conflate baby rape with the broader category of child abuse, and used the terms *child*, *infant* and *toddler* rather loosely. For instance, it is not always clear what differentiates a “two-year-old” child from an “eighteen-month-old” infant in this coverage. Moreover, one of the few definitions of child abuse that I found was in *The Star* where it was described as: “rape, sodomy, incest, indecent assault, attempted murder, assault, abduction, kidnapping[,] and public indecency” (Sapa, “Shocking Statistics” 6). The slipperiness of the usage of these terms and categories allowed both newspapers to suggest that the rape of children, broadly defined, was a ubiquitous social problem. In addition, by collapsing the distinctions between child, infant, and toddler, children could

These anxieties were, however, expressed differently depending on the public being addressed. Nevertheless, infant rape, I will argue, became a fulcrum for emerging concerns over the post-apartheid state's ability to secure a moral community and social order.

Baby Tshepang's rape was invariably discussed in the media alongside questions of morality and family stability. These concerns were inflected differently depending on the media outlet and the public it addressed. In the *Sowetan*, which was, at the time, one of the few publications that had black editorial staff and sought to address a black public, these anxieties often overtly centred on the state of the black family and the role of the ANC-led government in establishing a "moral" community. Deborah Posel has argued that in the months following Tshepang's rape, sexual violence became "a trope for [...] degradation, violation and moral frailty" in the South African press ("The Scandal of Manhood"²⁴⁷). The concern over the political and moral state of the new nation is evident in the motifs that run through this reportage, including: the common mention of barbarism, the indictments of the government's ability to protect its citizens and respond to the HIV epidemic, and the judgmental representation of Tshepang's mother. My investigation will follow these seemingly disparate motifs through 55 articles published in the *Sowetan* from October 31 to December 14, 2001. These articles repeatedly express an inability to understand the perpetrators' actions and a concern over what this crime suggests about the state of the black community as well as the state of the nation as a whole. As I will discuss in more detail, the incomprehensibility of the event itself, and the shamefulness of the individual perpetrator's actions, are transmuted in these articles into collective feelings of shame and anxiety.

emerge as a broad category and the threat to children could be formulated as a threat to the future of the nation.

In this chapter, I will conduct a close examination of the *Sowetan*'s representation of Tshepang's rape in relation to Lara Foot Newton's play, *Tshepang: The First Testament*, in order to diagnose the discontinuous formation of public feelings around this event, with a particular focus on shame. Infant rape became a powerful vector for public feelings in South Africa not only because it is an abhorrent crime, but because, unlike rape of an adult woman, it is difficult to understand within the bounds of "normal" heterosex. While the crime of infant rape might raise familiar questions regarding the representation of violence and its ethics, more importantly, for my purposes, it also produces a problem for understanding and interpretation raised by the conjunction of the two terms *baby* and *rape*. On the one hand, the words *baby* and *infant* connote innocence, newness, and purity. If we consider an infant's body, it is un-sexualized, tiny, helpless, and entirely dependent on the whims of others. On the other hand, the word *rape*, despite activists' attempts to define it purely in terms of power rather than sex, is inevitably conjoined to connotations of sexuality, desire, and defilement. The contrast between the two words' connotations reflects how this crime is difficult to interpolate into available frames of interpretation. Although in the previous chapter, I argued that affect sediments around familiar tropes and is routed through normative frames, in this case, it is the failure of familiar social forms to make sense of infant rape that becomes the source of this case's affective resonances.

Building on Silvan Tomkins' provocation that shame is always preceded by "interest or enjoyment" (qtd. in Sedgwick 39), recent scholarship has been concerned with the recuperation of the emotion, particularly in response to self-help discourse that seeks to eradicate it.⁶⁵ The

⁶⁵ To be clear, this renewed focus on shame does not suggest that shame is a "good" emotion or feeling; instead, Probyn suggests that because of shame's activation through interest, it can be productive: "it adds rather than takes away" (15).

shame expressed in the representation of Tshepang's rape, however, does not lend itself to an understanding of shame as, on the one hand, provoked by enjoyment or interest or, on the other hand, as an "ennobling" or "morally beatific" emotion (Ngai 6).⁶⁶ Instead, I would argue that the expression of shame in this context emerges in an often-painful relation to a set of normative values. As Jean-Paul Sartre observes, shame's "primary structure" is "*before somebody*" (302); shame is "*shame of oneself before the Other*" (Sartre 303). As Eve Sedgwick reminds us, unlike guilt which is about what "one does," shame "sharpens the sense of what one is" (37). Although Sedgwick suggests that shame is "the place where the *question* [not the essence] of identity arises most originally and most relationally" (37), I would argue that shame fixes identity, often in overtly racialized or gendered terms. Moreover, for Ahmed, drawing on Sartre, shame "requires an identification with the other," real or imagined, and it is through the imagined perspective of this other that the self is returned to the subject as "the object as well as the subject of feeling" (*Cultural Politics* 105, 106). Shame, therefore, has what Liz Constable refers to as a "relational grammar" (4), yet, as Sedgwick suggests, it also marks a disruption in the circuit of relationality (37). Performing the double duty of "uniting and differentiating simultaneously," shame identifies shared norms and values and, simultaneously, designates one's momentary alienation from these shared normative parameters (Constable 3). In what follows, I am not focusing on shame as experienced by an individual subject, but rather collective shame as

⁶⁶ It is worth noting that the word *shame* has a peculiar economy in South African colloquial speech. In South Africa you will often hear someone proclaim, "Ag, shame" at the sight of a too-cute baby or, paradoxically, someone who has undergone some hardship, for example a homeless person or a person who has fallen down some stairs. The odd usage of the term in everyday South African conversation suggests to Wicomb that shame's association with "disgrace" has been "excised" from daily use (100). The word *shame* "has acquired a peculiar semantic attenuation into an utterance of tenderness, sympathy, or empathy" in common usage (Wicomb 100).

it is evoked through the address of a particular public. In this context, shame is both an emotion and a rhetorical gesture that mediates the boundaries of communities, and, as a result, differs depending on who is considered shameful, and which public is being evoked as a community through shame.⁶⁷

To understand the relationship between the cognitive dissonance that the event of infant rape produces and the public shame that is repeatedly evoked in the *Sowetan*, Timothy Bewes's understanding of shame as an "event of incommensurability" is a productive starting point (3). For Bewes, shame is "a profound disorientation of the subject by the confrontation with an object that it cannot comprehend, an object that renders incoherent every form available to the subject" (3). While Bewes is concerned with the act of writing itself, and particularly with the form of the modern novel, his suggestion that shame emerges from the "inadequacy of form with respect to content" is productive for my understanding of the shame that is expressed in and produced through the coverage of Tshepang's rape (Bewes 39). For Bewes, form "is not limited to literary form but includes ideas, habits of thought, clichés, acts of violence and concepts in general" (Bewes 46). Although Bewes interest in form focuses on the "inadequacy or impossibility" of writing (137), his provocation that "shame, then, is the experience of the dissolution of the consolation of forms" is essential to my understanding of the shame expressed alongside Tshepang's rape (Bewes 46).

Here, Lee Edelman's discussion of form through a Lacanian understanding of the symbolic is illuminating. In this schema, form is related to the fantasy, or the fantasy of form rather, "that

⁶⁷ For example, while texts addressing a black public tend to suggest a shared communal shame embodied through the event of Tshepang's rape, texts addressing a white public tend to displace shame onto the action of the perpetrator specifically (thereby displacing their complicity in the history of apartheid and the continued racialization of poverty).

assures the stability of our identities as subjects and the coherence of the Imaginary totalizations through which those identities appear to us in recognizable form” (Edelman 7). Tshepang’s rape, therefore, becomes a source of shame because it disrupts those available forms that assure stability, coherence, or meaning to the subject and/or the community. As I will show, infant rape is an instance of violence that troubles available forms, in this broader sense, that characterize not only how we traditionally conceive of rape, but also of heterosexual sex, and the family.

While I find Bewes’s understanding of shame as a “gap” that results from an incommensurability between “content and form” to be compelling, his theorization of *postcolonial shame* warrants some careful interrogation. Like Rothberg, I am unconvinced by Bewes’s claim that the “experience of disjuncture” is not a “subjective experience” (Rothberg 378). Bewes’s critique of Sartre’s understanding of shame is instructive for gesturing towards what I see as the limitations of his insightful argument:

Sartre’s shame is predicated on static categories of thought (self and other, ‘us’ and ‘them’, soul and body, individual and society, colonizer and colonized [...]), categories that enmesh us in the actual world and situate the subject in a finite and unhappy place with regard to the Other. Shame (in Sartre’s understanding) holds these oppositions in place, whereas thought (in Deleuze’s understanding) takes place on the basis of their suspension (Bewes 172).

Here Bewes rejects Sartre’s version of shame as an emotion that is largely produced through an “unhappy” relation to the Other and enmeshed with categories of identity. Bewes’s rejection of Sartre becomes clearer when we consider the two versions of shame he introduces: “instantiated shame” and the “event of shame” (188). Like many theorists of emotion and affect who embrace Deleuze, Bewes seems eager to do away with an understanding of shame that rests in the subject,

describing the event of shame as “inexpressible and unnameable, [...] discontinuous with its naming and conceptualization,” whereas instantiated shame is “predicated on the category of the ego, a shame that preserves its own substance” (Bewes 172). Unsurprisingly, Bewes’s theoretical affiliations with Deleuze result in his interest in and prioritization of the “event of shame” as he sees it playing out in literature. The problem with Bewes’s otherwise instructive argument is summed up by Rothberg as follows: “If shame is an index of implication in a structurally unjust world (our world), then understanding implication will also demand a differentiated account that not only dissolves subjects and objects as we know them but also reconstructs their relations, distinctions, and proximities” (386). Following Rothberg, decoupling shame from the notion of the subject fails to account for shame’s implication in constructing the “distinctions” and “proximities” between subjects and objects, between the self and community; nor does it account for the manner in which shame “sticks” to particular subjects, identities, and sexual practices.

Indeed, shame is an emotion already *sticky* with its connotations of sexual and social misdeeds, where, in the case of rape, the victim is forced to bear the displaced guilt of her rapist that *sticks* to her, as shame, through widespread social taboo. As Moran and Johnson note, shame is attached to certain narratives that are inherently gendered; “female sexuality figures as the site and source of shaming” (2). The productive functions of menstruation and birth are assigned shame, as is the destructive violation of a female body in rape. Just as shame often adheres to female bodies through the demand that women uphold “collective honor, be it familial or national” (Moran and Johnston 13), shame also attaches to racialized bodies for their perceived failure to meet the normative values or standards of white settler colonialism.

In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon describes how he is “fixed” through his encounter with the white gaze, and his body is returned to him as racialized and as an object of “[s]hame

and self-contempt” (95, 96).⁶⁸ Similarly, describing Coloured identity in South Africa, Wicomb argues that shame adheres to this identity through the history of slavery, miscegenation, and “as colonial racism became institutionalized, for being black” (100). Coloured identity becomes shameful, for Wicomb, through its unacknowledged histories in racial and gendered violence. As these examples show us, Bewes’s desire to focus on the de-subjectified “event of shame” ignores shame’s role in producing and reproducing, “fixing” if you will, “static” categories of identity that, while imaginary, have material consequences for the individual. Bewes’s “de-subjectified” understanding of shame further ignores how affect sediments around certain narratives, tropes, and forms precisely because of their historical content. Indeed, the disorienting effect of shame emerges from the incommensurability of an event or experience with available forms, which meanings adhere to.

The cognitive dissonance produced by infant rape evokes different layers of communal shame through the irreconcilability between the event itself and social forms, in turn evoking anxiety over social coherence. This concern with social dissolution, which is taken up in each of the following chapters, is amplified by the figure of the infant. In *No Future*, Lee Edelman argues the child is a figure of futurity that subtly subtends all politics and enacts “a logic of repetition that fixes identity through identification with the future of the social order” (Edelman 25). I cannot give a full account of Edelman’s nuanced argument within the scope of this chapter; however, in brief, Edelman’s text provocatively seeks to think beyond the “unquestioned value” of the positivism embodied by the reproductive futurity communicated

⁶⁸ Ahmed gives a similar reading of Fanon in her analysis of hate in the *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, where she contends that “[t]he hated body becomes hated, not just for the one who hates, but for the one who is hated” (57). She contends that “the ‘taking on’ of the white gaze is central to [...] Fanon’s argument [...] where he describes how the black body is ‘sealed into crushing objecthood’” (Ahmed 57).

through the figure of the child. The “structuring optimism of politics,” which Edelman criticizes in his polemic, installs “the perpetual hope of reaching meaning through signification” (5). In Edelman’s Lacanian schema, politics “names the struggle to effect a fantasmatic order of reality in which the subject’s alienation would vanish into the seamlessness of identity at the endpoint of the endless chain of signifiers lived as history” (Edelman 8). As the figure for reproductive futurity, the Child promises meaning, enacting a “logic of repetition that fixes identity through identification with the future of the social order” (Edelman 25). In the case of Tshepang’s rape, the violence done to the infant’s body is shown to disrupt or even destroy meaning, discomfortingly unsettling social order, and resulting in shame or the anxious desire to entrench new forms of rigid social reproduction. In this instance, infant rape comes to circulate in the media as a harbinger of a foreclosed or at least threatened futurity, epitomised by optimistic images of the transition, such as the metaphor of the “rainbow nation.” In what follows, I do not intend to either reify the figure of the child as the engine for future-oriented politics, nor critique or resist this figuration, as Edelman does. Rather, I am concerned with how threats to the figural child, and the concomitant disruption of meaning, result in the intensification of certain public feelings as communicated through the representation of this case in art and media.

Before moving on, it is important to briefly acknowledge the problems of simply transposing Edelman's understanding of the Child onto how this figure circulates in the South African context. The "primacy of the child" who is deserving of "care and protection" and that subtends "reproductive futurism," thereby securing the privilege of heteronormativity, is, of course, for Edelman, a white, North-American child (2-3). Under apartheid, white women's reproduction was promoted and secured against the imagined threat of miscegenation. Moreover, the protection and care of white children was often undertaken by black domestic workers in

urban centres, often at the expense of time spent with their own children. As mentioned in the previous chapter, despite their associations with colonial governance, the “Western” home and nuclear family exist in South Africa as ideological, fantasy-laden, normative structures; as sites to be preserved and protected under/against apartheid, and, because of the migrant and domestic labour systems, as sites of “estrangement and abjection” (Bystrom, *Democracy at Home* 11). As James Bliss has argued, “Edelman does not account for those modes of reproduction that are not future-oriented, the children who do not register as such, and the ‘families’ that are not granted the security of nuclear bonds” (86). While Bliss is particularly concerned with criticizing Edelman's argument from the position of Black feminist theorizing in the United States, his point holds for the South African context, where under apartheid, and in Afro-pessimist strands of post-apartheid discourse, the black family is configured negatively as a site of “pure dysfunction” (85). Despite the blind spots in Edelman's theory, in that he ignores the fact that not all reproduction is associated with hope and hopefulness—for example, under apartheid, fear of excessive black reproduction was a site of white institutional anxiety—his understanding of the figural child is useful in this instance because, as Posel has argued, baby rape became a metonym for the state of the nation in its infancy, and infant rape came to be figured as an assault on national futurity. Moreover, much of the newspaper reportage on infant rape associated the state's ability to protect children with its ability to secure a national future; however, this symbolic economy circulated alongside images of black family “dysfunction” as a site of public concern.

In this chapter, I will trace the motifs that became routes of public feelings of anxiety and shame in the coverage of Tshepang’s rape in *The Sowetan*. I will then go on to consider Lara Foot Newton’s *Tshepang: The Third Testament*, which overtly reflects on the media’s

representation of this violent event. In both *The Sowetan* and *Tshepang*, shame is articulated in order to navigate broader questions of community and belonging and is evoked by the disjuncture between the event itself and the means we have to understand and interpret it. Finally, I will consider the advertisement for a “Tamper Proof Undergarment” in the *Sowetan* as a reflection of the desire to secure the infant’s body and to restate a reassuring vision of the future, in other words, to reassert a series of social norms. In the media’s response to the rape, the discourse on infant rape quickly transfigured into one of securitization, as different publics demanded increased police presence, vigilante violence,⁶⁹ or the protection of children’s bodies. As a result, the child’s injured body was deployed across different publics in order to make claims for increased government intervention into both public and private spheres. The nature of these claims, however, differed considerably according to the racial and class position of the claimant.

The Crisis of Social Reproduction: Representing Infant Rape in the *Sowetan*

During late 2001, the *Sowetan* repeatedly framed infant rape within the broader context of child abuse, fuelling a moral panic over the safety of children who were now figured as imperilled. If, as Edelman suggests, the figure of the child “has come to embody for us the telos of the social order and come to be seen as the one for whom that order is held in perpetual trust,” then the threat to all children becomes a threat to the “vitalizing fantasy” of sameness and social coherence or stability that the figural child embodies (11, 16). During this period of moral panic,

⁶⁹ For examples of public calls for increased policing and vigilante justice, see Rapitso, “Growing Outrage Over Child Rapes” 2, Sapa, “Castrate child rapists-MEC,” Koorts, “Something must be done about these rapists” [Letters to the Editor], 19, and Somitso, “Mob stoning shows rape anger” 4.

the *Sowetan*'s reportage used the figure of the infant, and children more broadly, to openly question the state of the new nation and the government's ability to effectively protect its citizens. Amidst this concern around national stability, the *Sowetan*'s journalists also posited more intimate anxieties, specific to the primarily black publics it addressed; particularly over the conditions in the very communities from which these perpetrators emerged, and over what Mark Hunter calls "social reproduction" ("Beneath the 'Zunami'" 1117).

I focus my analysis on the *Sowetan* rather than other prominent broadsheets such as the *Star* or the *Citizen*, because in 2001, despite declining readership, with two million readers daily it remained the most popular daily newspaper in South Africa, serving "English-literate, middle- and working-class, urban black South Africans" (Worthington 611; Cowling 339). Since its inception in 1980, as a successor to the banned newspapers *The World* and *The Post*, the *Sowetan* has explicitly addressed itself to a black public (Cowling 325).⁷⁰ From 1988 onwards, under the stewardship of Aggrey Klaaste, nation-building emerged as a key concern in the newspaper and continued to influence the paper's reportage until the *Sowetan* came under new ownership in 2004 (Cowling 336, 339).⁷¹ Under Klaaste's leadership, nation-building was loosely defined as "rebuilding structures in black communities" and as an effort to gain control

⁷⁰ The *Sowetan* was an example of what has been called the "captive press"—newspapers under apartheid with black journalists and editors but constrained by white ownership (Cowling 325). Nevertheless, the *Sowetan* served a "disenfranchised class of black township residents and attempted to represent them" in a society where the black majority were not considered full citizens and had few rights (Cowling 325). Despite white ownership, the *Sowetan*, influenced by the ideologies of black consciousness, reimagined black life, providing a powerful counterpoint to apartheid representations, and overtly encouraged black public engagement with questions of nationhood and citizenship (Cowling 326).

⁷¹ Under apartheid, media freedom was repressed by an array of censorship laws that prohibited, among other things, the representation of images of ANC leaders (Wasserman and de Beer, "A Fragile Affair" 196). The essentially white public sphere was split between the "English press tied to capital putting forward a liberal critique in terms of human rights" and the Afrikaans press that remained largely subservient to and supportive of the authoritarian state (Wasserman and de Beer, "A Fragile Affair" 196).

of structures of power and create leadership, alongside “a vision for the future” (qtd. in Cowling 337).⁷² Imbued with a heritage from black consciousness, under the slogan “Building the Nation,” the *Sowetan* proposed modes of nation-building that simultaneously imagined an multiracial nation and promoted black empowerment. Significantly, the *Sowetan* sought to produce an imaginary of the nation and of citizenship for its black readers prior to the end of apartheid and before its readers were even considered to be citizens of the nation in which they lived.

Despite the clear orientation towards nation-building in the *Sowetan*, it should be noted that the South African public sphere has been “historically fragmented,” and in the post-apartheid era the emergence of a national public sphere available to all citizens is impeded by “class division, poverty and extreme inequalities of access to wealth, resources and power” (Kaarsholm 412). Those who study print media under apartheid tend to consider three distinct publics: “black, English-language and Afrikaans-language” (Crowling 331). While these distinctions may be messier, more variegated, and more porous in contemporary South Africa, especially with the emergence of a growing black middle class, it remains necessary to consider publics, often split along racial, ethnic, and class lines, rather than a

⁷² The very concept of the nation and a coherent national imaginary is fraught in a context as fractured as contemporary South Africa. As Jessie Forsyth et al. observe, in Africa questions of citizenship and national identity are troubled by “colonial histories” that defined African states through “Western-made borders” (110). Simultaneously, they acknowledge that “discursive attempts to construct national unity and identity persist” and remain attractive, in the case of South Africa through “affectively galvanizing” individuals around national ideals such as the “rainbow nation” (Forsyth et al. 110). The South African media was certainly implicated in stressing “unity,” “sameness,” and a coherent national identity during the period of the transition (Forsyth et al. 110). While Thabo Mbeki’s articulation of the African Renaissance may have been less inclusive than Nelson Mandela’s propagation of forgiveness and shared identity under the banner of “rainbow nationalism,” both presidents sought to foster a shared sense of South African-ness.

coherent deliberative public sphere in the Habermasian sense. Here, following Michael Warner, I am referring to publics as existing “only by virtue of their imagining” and through the “discourse[s] that address them” (8, 71). The *Sowetan* addresses and thereby evokes a black, urban, English-literate public, often in connection to a particular set of normative ideals of the moral national citizen and his or her role in relation to the community and, more broadly, the nation-state.

Nancy Worthington describes the *Sowetan*'s approach to rape reporting as gender-sensitive and as epitomizing what she calls an *ubuntu* media philosophy. Drawing on the IsiZulu and IsiXhosa notion of inter-subjectivity and human-ness—“a person is a person through other people”—Worthington understands the *Sowetan*'s rape coverage between 2007-2008 to exemplify an approach to journalism that “privileges educating the public, facilitating dialogue, and eradicating social hierarchy” over journalistic impartiality (609). Although the *Sowetan* was under different leadership in 2001, Worthington's observations remain valuable. Indeed, Wasserman and de Beers have observed the *Sowetan*'s “communitarian perspective” which addressed readers as members of the nation state rather than as “individual consumer[s]” (203). This is not to imply that the newspaper produced a singular monolithic version of the nation-state or addresses itself to a single, internally coherent black public, but rather to suggest that the *Sowetan*'s coverage often forgoes journalistic impartiality and addresses its public, not solely as members of a black urban South African community, but also as citizens of an emergent nation.⁷³

⁷³ Journalists for the *Sowetan* often seem to understand their role as didactic, not only bolstering a shared national identity, but educating their readers in what it means to be a citizen, what rights they should anticipate as citizens, and how they should interpret key issues, such as gender violence.

Worthington identifies three frames used in the coverage of rape in the *Sowetan*: “ubiquity of rape, enforcing male dominance, and justice denied” (609). Each of these frames, Worthington argues, reflects the “ubuntu media philosophy” that conceives of the journalist’s role as a relationship with and responsibility to the community, rather than through liberal notions of the importance of journalistic objectivity.⁷⁴ In 2001, infant rape was presented in the *Sowetan* through the “ubiquity of rape” frame in order to introduce and tackle the systemic problem of child abuse, which was understood to be pervasive. The *Sowetan* represented infant rape and the broader category of child abuse as a widespread social malaise and threat to the fabric of society, described as a “scourge,” “a cycle of crime,” a “sickness of our society,” and “a culture of violence” (Sapa, “Scourge of Child Abuse” 10; More 7; “To love, protect and molest,” 19; Sapa, “Child rape ‘rooted deep’” 3). Word choices such as “scourge,” “sickness,” and “cycle” as well as references to “our society” and a “culture of violence” reflect an understanding of rape as a systemic problem and depend on metaphors of the nation as a social body that is corrupted by a “culture of violence.”

While, of course, the *Sowetan* depicted infant rape as abnormal and sensational, the narrative of Tshepang’s rape communicated concerns over the health of the nation as a moral community by referencing more broadly conditions of scarcity and social insecurity. For example, a single article includes a list of sexual violences: the rape of a five-month-old infant; a six-year-old girl raped by her uncle; a sixteen-year-old girl raped by two men; a fourteen-year-old girl raped by three men; and the stoning of a man by two hundred people in a

⁷⁴ “Ubuntu media philosophy” and the socially conscious and, at times, didactic journalism associated with it, is invariably in tension with the fact that the newspaper itself is a commodity. The rise of tabloid journalism targeting the black township population after 1994 may have also put pressure on newspapers such as the *Sowetan* to produce more sensational stories and cover more sport and celebrity culture.

township outside Uitenhage (Bhengu, “More Child Rape Cases Reported” 2). From this list, the variety and scope of what the *Sowetan* defines as “child abuse” becomes apparent; from a five-month-old infant to a fourteen-year-old girl, it seems that all girl children are represented as potentially threatened by a variety of crimes that range from incestuous rape to multiple-perpetrator rape. The article’s portrayal of these diverse examples of rape through a listing format generates a complex picture of sexual violence in South Africa as a systemic problem, suggesting that sexual violence against children has become “ubiquitous,” and is a feature of the quotidian scenes of poverty and social insecurity in which it occurs, thereby producing a narrative of social crisis.

The cumulative effect of this listing practice produces a narrative of child rape as an omnipresent social problem, thereby configuring the figure of the child as under perpetual threat in order to make a demand for the state to secure its wellbeing. An article titled “Increase of Abuse Throughout Country” again uses listing as a technique to reinforce the now-familiar claim that child rapes were increasing nationally. The article describes six cases:

“A nine-month-old baby was allegedly raped by six men at Upington, Northern Cape [...] The baby has had to undergo extensive surgery”;

“A two-year-old girl at a farm in Naboomspruit, Northern Provence, was allegedly raped by an unknown man”;

“A two-year-old girl in Thembisa, East Rand, was married off to an inyanga who claimed that his ancestral spirit asked for a virgin child as a wife. The child was allegedly raped last month”;

“A thirteen-month-old baby was allegedly raped in KwaNdebele, Mpumalanga, last month. No one has been arrested.”;

“A two-year-old girl was allegedly raped by a neighbor in Jabulani, Soweto. The suspect, who is known to the police and family, has not been arrested.” (Bhengu, “Increase of Abuse Throughout Country” 2).

The aggregate effect of this series of crimes is to suggest the pervasiveness of infant and toddler rape, which is usually understood to be a rare occurrence. The repeated reminder that suspects have “not been arrested” also subtly implicates the failures of the police and, by proxy, the state to sufficiently intervene in a situation that was increasingly represented as a national crisis.

While the age and geographical community of each infant and child is named, the perpetrators are often invisible from the list, either going unmentioned or described as the “suspect,” “the neighbour,” and “the unknown man.” In so doing, the article deflects responsibility from individual perpetrators to the state, implicitly demanding that the state intervene, through the police, to protect these children and restore social order to these impoverished township contexts that have, since apartheid, fallen through the cracks when it comes to social services. The threat to the figural child or the nation’s children is produced here as a threat to social coherence and as an implicit demand for the state to enforce order and secure a communal future.

The articles I have highlighted above are representative examples of news coverage in the *Sowetan* in 2001, during which time, as Posel has argued, baby rape became a metonym for the state of the nation in its infancy. One article describes child rape as “a reflection of the sickness of our society” (“To love, protect and molest” 9), while another states that: “[w]hen society fails to protect its children, then it cannot claim to be the custodian of the moral values unique to the world’s civilized communities. If these weaknesses are left unaddressed, it will end with the disintegration of society” (“Sowetan Comment: Moral Society Dares Not Fail its Children” 10). These quotations reflect Jessica Dutton’s claim that “[d]uring this time, talk of the moral citizen

proliferated and ‘infant rape’ was approached as a problem of social moral degeneration” (252). Violence against children, in these articles, is not only seen as a reflection of the “sickness,” “disintegration,” and “weakness” of a society unable to uphold “moral values,” but as evidence of South Africa’s inability to take its place among “the world’s civilized communities.” Here, the figure of the-child-under-threat is put to work in order to reconfigure the social order as imperilled; meanwhile, the state’s failure to sufficiently secure “moral values” through the protection of children is conceived as a shameful exclusion from “civilization” and modernity.

Emerging discourses of sexuality in post-apartheid South Africa link together these anxieties over “moral values” and “social disintegration.” In 2001, baby rape became the focus of these emerging discourses centring on a “perceived crisis of masculinity” (“The Scandal of Manhood” 239). Although, as Posel notes, following Foucault, all sexuality is entangled with “relations of power” reflecting “vectors of inequality and difference,” there are moments where the political nature of sexuality is intensified and these moments “illuminate in unusually vivid ways how the discursive constitution of sexuality is enmeshed within a wider matrix of moral anxiety, social instability and political contestation” (Posel, “The Scandal of Manhood” 241).⁷⁵ The following extract from Chris More’s column in the *Sowetan* epitomizes the place of Tshepanq’s rape in a “wider matrix of moral anxiety” and “political contestation”:

⁷⁵ The titles of articles covering Tshepanq’s rape clearly communicate anxieties over the state of the post-apartheid nation, for example: “System Fails Child Sex Abuse Victims” (Bhengu 13), “Reasons Child Rapists Get Away” (Somniso 21), “Change Law on Rape - Winnie” (Mquqo), “Urgent Need to Provide AZT to Rape Victims” (Bloom 19), and “Give PEP to All Victims of Rape” (Nicholson 19). These titles show how infant rape allowed journalists to raise concerns over an ineffective judicial system, as well as the failure of the government to make dispensations that would safeguard victims of rape from contracting HIV. The concerns these articles raise, such as ineffective policing, judicial systems, and healthcare, are particularly acute for the black public whom the *Sowetan* addresses, who are less likely to be able to access privatized services such as private security and healthcare available to the largely white middle classes.

But why can't [the Government] see that things have degenerated to unimaginable levels? Why is the government's head in the sand? Could it be that because they and their families are so ensconced in safety and security that nothing that is happening to the people who voted them into power reaches or touches them? (More 7)

The article paints a picture of a political elite divorced from the conditions of everyday South Africa. The government's supposed neglect of "the people who voted them into power" is framed in terms of class; the article claims that politicians are protected from the social and economic deprivations of township life and can now ignore the precarity of the majority of black South Africans. Although More explicitly frames his concerns through an appeal to a shared national identity, by distinguishing the social and political elite from his readers, he identifies with a township-dwelling black public who have been slow to reap benefits from the new dispensation. By configuring the foreclosed future of the nation through the injured body of a poor infant, articles such as More's also suggest that by ignoring the inequalities that beset township and rural communities, the political elite is abandoning the majority to conditions of hopelessness.

Unlike the politicians, whose heads "are in the sand," those South Africans who believed in the "promise of a better life" now drift "from that promise into an abyss" (More 7). More's use of the language of futurity through the word *promise* reiterates the role infant rape plays in suggesting that the "promise" of the future has been foreclosed. More adds, in typically sensational language, "[a]ll we hear are screams of infants crying out for help and all we see is the blood of infants, young boys, women and men being sacrificed at the alter of criminality" (More 7). Taking note of the melodramatic and emotional language, it is evident that the article charts a distinct trajectory from the "little victims of rape" in the title, to the failings of the

constitution, to the unfulfilled promises of the new South Africa, in order to end with an entire community— “infants, young boys, women and men”—endangered by crime. Similarly, in a letter to the editor, Hans Mangole articulates an understanding of society as fractured through its inability to secure children’s safety: ‘When society fails to protect its children, then it cannot claim to be the custodian of the moral values unique to the world’s civilized communities. If these weaknesses are left unaddressed, it will end with the disintegration of society’ (“Moral Society Dares Not Fail its Children” 10). While Mangole addresses the community rather than the nation, his concerns mirror More’s in his suggestion that a society that fails to “protect its children” risks social “disintegration” and collapse. In both articles, the threat to children is registered with anxiety and is configured as a threat to the nation or community’s social and moral coherence.

The role of Tshepang’s rape in articulating local anxieties over the threat to children as a figure of foreclosed futurity was intensified by the narrative’s connection to contemporary debates around the HIV/AIDS epidemic which was, itself, conceived of as a threat to the future of the nascent nation. An explanatory narrative, which often accompanied proclamations that child and infant rape were on the rise, was the belief that baby rape was caused by an African myth stating that sex with a virgin cures HIV.⁷⁶ The virgin rape myth refers to the “idea that a person can be cured or protected from AIDS by exposure through intercourse to the bodily fluids of a virgin” (Richter 395). The status of this myth itself, which circulated in newspaper accounts and in academic articles, is highly vexed. In response to an article published in the *Lancet*,

⁷⁶ Some researchers claim that there is a link between this myth and a belief, which can be dated back to 1913 in England and Scotland, that contact with the “bodily fluids of a virgin” would cure sexually transmitted diseases (Richter 393).

Epstein and Jewkes comment:⁷⁷

In the current South African case, this claim is predicated on racist assumptions about the amorality of African men and is highly stigmatizing towards people with HIV. It is also a diversion from the real causes of child rape which, in southern Africa at least, have much to do with the challenges posed by poverty and inequality to existing gender-based and age-based social hierarchies. (Epstein and Jewkes 1419)

Similarly, L. Graham observes, “the idea of the ‘virgin cure’ circulating in the media is essentially a myth about a myth, and the causes of child abuse are more mundane” (*State of Peril* 187). The representation and reception of this myth depended on the public to whom it was addressed and the context within which it was represented. Unsurprisingly, in media that addressed a middle-class, often white audience, this narrative interpreted infant rape as symptomatic of a “regressive” cultural beliefs and was attractive because it comfortably lends itself to Manichean binaries between Western progress and African stagnation. In the *Sowetan*, however, there was a concern that the belief in this myth produced an unflattering image of black South African society in particular, and the country as a whole (Sapa, “Minister Rails Against Sex with Virgin Myth” 3).

Posel observes that the myth of virgin rape was an attractive narrative because it reaffirmed that it was “exactly the moral purity and sexual innocence of children [...] which made them victims of rape” (Posel 245). In this context, rape came to be seen as polluting and

⁷⁷ There is no consensus as to whether the myth of virgin rape does impact incidence of infant, child, and adolescent rape. Epstein and Jewkes have claimed that we must consider existing gender- and age-based hierarchies and other social conditions, such as poverty, in order to understand the phenomenon of infant rape (1419). In contrast, Pitcher and Bowley, who trace the myth to Central Africa, argue that the virgin cleansing myth does impact these forms of rape. For a full account of this debate, see Richter 393 and Fassin 95-96.

contaminating (Posel 245); the child victim was understood not only to be morally or socially tainted by the rape, but also physically corrupted by the disease (Posel 245). At the same time, Posel argues, “[t]he figure of the rapist as an HIV-positive man therefore positioned him much more firmly within the social mainstream - a member of a community, rather than a deviant and faceless brute on the fringes of communal life” (Posel 245). In discussing this myth, former Minister of Correctional Services, Ben Skosana, was quoted in the *Sowetan* asserting that “[t]he very people who are expected to provide sanctuary and security for little children are at the forefront of these atrocious acts” (Sapa, “Minister Rails Against Sex with Virgin Myth” 3). In this case, the rapist is represented as failing to meet his social and moral obligations to his community. So, while Posel may be right that this rapist is not represented as “a deviant and faceless brute,” his actions signal him out as failing in his relations to his community.

Moreover, the circulation of the virgin rape myth in media’s representations of the case occurred against the backdrop of Thabo Mbeki's so-called AIDS denialism (whereby he refused to acknowledge the causal links between HIV and AIDS) and the government’s refusal, at the time, to distribute anti-retrovirals (Bird and Spurr 43). While the HIV/AIDS controversy might initially seem to be a question of science and drugs, it was also a confrontation over the conditions of knowledge (Fassin xix) and "a struggle over the discursive constitution of sexuality, in a form which dramatizes" the heated struggles over the enmeshment of sexuality “in the politics of 'nation-building', and the inflections of race, class and generation within it" (Posel, "Sex, Death and the Fate of the Nation" 128).⁷⁸ At the centre of the controversy over HIV/AIDS

⁷⁸ One of the lasting legacies of Thabo Mbeki’s presidency remains his unpopular, and some would say dangerous, position on HIV. After assuming the Presidency in 1999, he relied on experts who denied the causal link between HIV and AIDS (Van Rijn 522). For the first years of his presidency, Mbeki and the ANC remained indecisive on the issue of HIV’s causes and how to respond to the growing epidemic

treatment was the question of mother-to-child transmission of the disease; therefore, HIV and AIDS became directly implicated in questions of reproduction and futurity, as well as progress and modernity, where commentators tended to represent the debate as one between rational science and irrational conspiracies and traditional beliefs.⁷⁹ Media reports connected Tshepang's rape to the government's failure to address the HIV epidemic and, in particular, to provide AZT to rape victims. The social anxiety associated with the HIV/AIDS epidemic was then condensed in this narrative through its association with infant rape as it was deployed as a narrative of foreclosed futurity. An article entitled "Anti-AIDS drugs for baby rape victim" states, "[t]he anti-retroviral drugs were donated to the baby by the private sector since the public healthcare sector does not provide such drugs to rape victims" (Bhengu 2). The pointed criticism of this statement is that the state has failed to provide the necessary health care for victims of rape, thereby deflecting the responsibility onto the private sector.⁸⁰ Similarly to the discourses surrounding Tshepang's rape, which figured the nation's children as imperilled, the representation of the HIV/AIDS epidemic reflected an image of the nation threatened by illness and death. In South Africa, where the virus is connotatively associated with heterosexual promiscuity, it becomes a marker for "rampant sexuality, which spreads contagion as much through the family and the

(Van Rijn 522). In April 2002, anti-retrovirals became available to victims of rape, and in July 2002 the Constitutional Court reaffirmed the Pretoria High Court's decision that forced the government to provide anti-retrovirals to all HIV-infected pregnant women (Van Rijn 522). Neville Hoad's analysis of this controversy is instructive for his acknowledgement that Mbeki's position must be understood to be historically informed by the representation of "blackness as pornographic spectacle" and as part of the administration's struggles with "publicly representing African sexuality" (95).

⁷⁹ Health minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang became notorious for her support of Mbeki's position, and for her support of natural remedies based on raw garlic, lemon, and the 'African potato.' This position was often taken up in the media as evidence of a conflict between rational and empirical science, and static 'traditionalism' hostile to Western modernity.

⁸⁰ It is important to note that these criticisms of the state are not intended to challenge the validity of ANC governance, but rather to demand that the state fulfill its responsibility to its citizens in the form of more effective policing, reliable healthcare, and a trustworthy judicial system.

community as through the body" (Posel "Sex, Death, and the Nation" 138). At a time when official national discourse focused on rebirth, through images of an African Renaissance, the link between Tshepang's rape and the emotional valences of the HIV/AIDS crisis conveyed a different narrative of a blighted and contaminated nation and of morbidity rather than futurity.

If, in part, the affective valences of this narrative were sedimented through its association with the HIV/AIDS crisis, which was, in turn, a conduit for familiar concerns over imaginaries of race through images of rampant promiscuity, the narrative of Tshepang's rape also accrued affect by virtue of the fact that it exceeded normative frames for apprehending sexuality and sexual violence. As Richter notes regarding infant rape, "we have so few descriptive and conceptual tools with which to apprehend what has taken place or why" (397). Indeed, the reportage on Tshepang's rape in the *Sowetan* repeatedly focused on a collective inability to understand this event and to interpret the perpetrator's motivations. In an article entitled "Growing Outrage Over Child Rapes," a "concerned citizen," Ms. Knosi Mgadi, exclaims, "[w]hy would anybody rape a small child? It doesn't make sense at all. Sometimes I think it could be because they are not on good terms with the baby's mother and they want to get revenge" (Rapitso 2). Later in the same article, "Mr. Sath Moseitlha of Meadowlands said he could not understand what went on in the minds of rapists" (Rapitso 2). As these statements suggest, while rape may be "understandable," once refigured through narratives of heterosexual desire, the rape of infants remains almost impossible to interpret without, as Ms. Mgadi does, trying to find an explanation outside the act of violence itself, and, in this case, by referring to familiar heteronormative narratives of revenge.

According to Dutton, one of the ways in which the rape of infants was rendered "speakable" in the South African media was by framing the perpetrators, initially thought to be a

group of six men, within a colonial lexicon, using words such as *savage*, *barbarian* and *monster* (256). She claims that, “[t]he invention of insiders and outsiders” in the coverage of this rape solidified distinctions between “us versus them” so that “at least, ‘we’ are innocent” (Dutton 252). While this may reflect the representation of this event in those newspapers that addressed a white or at least middle-class public, this dynamic seems to function rather differently in the *Sowetan* where the articles are generally written by black authors with a black audience in mind. Although the event of Tshepang’s rape is often described in terms of *barbarism* in the articles I sourced, I do not believe, as Dutton suggests, this works to create an innocent “us” that can be contrasted with a guilty “them,” as might be the case in the adoption of this colonially inflected language in articles addressing white publics. Rather, there seems to be a preoccupation with what this event says about post-apartheid society as a whole, and the black majority in particular. As is inferred in a column in the *Sowetan* called “Heart to Heart with Felicia”: “What is becoming of our society? The international community is beginning to shun us because of our barbaric crimes” (11).⁸¹ In this quotation, the “barbaric crimes” are *ours*; they are not, as Dutton claims, committed by an unrecognizable *them* outside the community. Rather, the responsibility is shared.

As Ahmed suggests, shame may adhere or stick to particular subjects. As I observed in the previous chapter, familiar tropes become sticky through their history of circulation, sedimenting affect around certain familiar words and clichés. In the postcolonial context, the word “barbaric” becomes sticky through its association with violent discourses of colonialism. The word might also *stick* more easily to some subjects than others, by virtue of their history or

⁸¹ Until 2004, Felicia Mabuza-Suttle was the host of a television talk show in a similar vein to *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, where guests were encouraged to disclose intimate narratives for public consumption.

race. The recourse to the word *barbaric*, as it is inflected with Manichean connotations of the binary between civilization and savagery, resonates with the affectively laden associations of HIV with "bad sexuality" and unruly heterosexual promiscuity, reproducing sexuality as a locus of "moral shame" (Posel, "Death, Sex and the Nation" 139).

The word *barbaric* not only evokes racist categories, but reflects the investment of these categories in the *telos* of Western progress and modernity. As Comaroff and Comaroff note, "the end of apartheid held out the prospect that everyone would be set free to speculate and accumulate, to consume, and to indulge repressed desires," while in reality, most experience postcoloniality as "privation" and are forced to confront "the difficulties of social reproduction in an age that once held out fervent hopes of rebirth" (284). Additionally, if we consider infant rape as accruing sentimental charge precisely because it becomes a figure for foreclosed future and progress, then the use of the term *barbaric* repeatedly in these articles suggests not only the virulence of colonial lexicons, even when used by black authors, but more accurately the anxiety over blockages and obstructions to teleologies of Western modernity and progress. Modernity, in this sense, is often configured as the state's ability to assert law and order through the protection of children. This concern over modernity relates back to the spectre of "irrational" cultural practices evoked by the myth of virgin rape, where "irrational" customary beliefs are seen as inimical and even dangerous to the progress of a modern liberal democracy.⁸²

⁸² These tensions around the relationship between modernity and tradition are by no means uniform, and South African modernities are not singular. Appeals to tradition and ethnic particularity are often potent political tools, as was made evident during Jacob Zuma's rape trial. Tradition and culture are often raised in order to justify the treatment of women or to control their dress or behaviour; however, the *Sowetan's* occasionally didactic mode of journalism tends to embrace 'modernity' through its conception of South Africa as a modern democracy, and is more likely to deploy liberal human rights discourses than make recourse to tradition. Importantly, the modernities evoked by the *Sowetan* often reflect the newspaper's associations with black consciousness, and may be more closely associated with the respectable liberalism

In his ethnography, Mark Hunter observes a transformation of intimacy in South African township communities, which he associates with a “crisis of social reproduction” where to be poor increasingly means to be “unmarried” (“Beneath the ‘Zunami’” 1122). Although observers, particularly in publications such as the *Sowetan*, interpret this decline in marriage as a decline in morality, Hunter argues that it reflects “a complex reconfiguration of resources, residential geographies, emotional and sexual relations, and labour (formal, informal, and domestic) at a time of chronic unemployment” (“Beneath the ‘Zunami’” 1114). While Tshepang’s rape was used to convey anxieties over the nation’s future through the figure of the threatened infant (and later, child), it was also caught up in anxieties over the conditions of the family, particularly in poor communities.⁸³ Once it became clear that Tshepang’s rape was not perpetrated by a gang of six men, as previously assumed, but by her mother’s ex-boyfriend, “public expressions of blame, shame, and anger shifted toward the 16-year-old mother” who gave birth to Tshepang at 15

of the ANC than “Western” models of modernity. This is not true of the *Sowetan*’s columnists, who often deploy much more conservative notions of gender and morality, either with reference to Christian traditions or ancestral belief systems, or a complex mixture of both.

⁸³ Teen pregnancy is particularly common in poor black and coloured communities in South Africa and tends to be “unplanned or unwanted” (Mkhwanazi, “Understanding Teenage Pregnancy” 347). While teen pregnancy has actually declined in the years following apartheid (Mkhwanazi, “Understanding Teenage Pregnancy,” 347), it remains high among black and coloured youth and is perceived as a social problem. While abortion is more readily available in post-apartheid South Africa—The Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act (No. 92 of 1996) made it legal and free for women to request the termination of a pregnancy, from a doctor or midwife, up to and including 12 weeks gestation—abortion is still viewed negatively (Mkhwanazi, “Twenty Years of Democracy” 330, 337). Despite the progressive legislation, it is often difficult for young poor black women to access these rights, and young people continue to access abortions illegally (Mkhwanazi 331, 337). During her field work, Nolwazi Mkhwanazi found that there remained taboos around young people’s sexuality in poor black communities, and pregnant girls are often seen by older men and women as becoming pregnant deliberately, in order to hold onto a boyfriend or to access Child Support Grants (“Twenty Years of Democracy” 336). In contrast, Mkhwanazi notes that poor young black women often have limited agency when it comes to negotiating the frequency and timing of sex as well as the use of contraception, especially while in relationships with older men or relationships that are deemed to be transactional (337). For a further discussion, see Wood and Jewkes 41-44.

(Dutton 245). While the facts of the case highlight the social and economic precarity of many black South African women and children, the vilification of Tshepang's mother reflects mounting anxiety over young women's sexuality and its relationship to morality, honour, and shame, which Hunter associates with "the virtual ending of a patriarchal bargain based on male work" ("Beneath the 'Zunami'" 1122). Tshepang's mother, who was 16 and "had gone to buy food [...] when the incident happened," was represented unsympathetically as an irresponsible mother and was held culpable for leaving her child unsupervised (Sapa, "Raped Baby 'Recovering'" 2; Bird and Spurr 46; Dutton 252; Gqola 128). Invariably the mother's young age of 16 was mentioned, and she came to stand in for "a sexually promiscuous, ill-educated, and behaviourally problematic teenager" (Bird and Spurr 46). It was seldom noted that, because of her young age, Tshepang's mother herself had been the victim of statutory rape in order to conceive her daughter. Rather, Tshepang's mother, partially because she could not be named in the media because of her young age, became a generalizable figure of social malaise. While the infant's torn body was a site of sympathy and moral outrage, the mother's body, as a figure for sexual impropriety, became a vector of shame precisely because of the prevailing anxieties over decline in (both traditional and Western) marriage.

This image of maternal failure endured. During the coverage of the rape of an unnamed baby in December 2001, the *Sowetan's* articles immediately focused on the infant's mother. The 24-year-old mother, who left the child unattended, is described as irresponsible. In an article entitled "Baby Violated in Vicious Attack," a neighbour is quoted as saying, "[t]his baby would not have been raped had she looked after it. This is her third baby. The other ones are with her family in Kwazulu Natal" (Bhengu, "Baby Violated" 1). By choosing these quotations, the article focuses on the mother's character, the state of the family, and her economic precarity (for

which she is situated as bearing the responsibility), rather than the identity of the perpetrators. In such statements, the problem of infant rape is transposed onto moral anxieties over unwed young mothers, who represent sexual promiscuity and social irresponsibility; not only is the young woman an unwed mother of three children, but she does not take appropriate care of these children.⁸⁴ It is notable that the fathers of these babies are seldom mentioned.⁸⁵ If, as Posel argues, the representation of infant rape over the course of late 2001 propagated anxiety over the fathers of the nation, there was also a continual displacement of blame onto young mothers who become the new vectors of this anxiety; as a result, Tshepang's rape amplified concerns over the state of the black family, epitomized by representations of young black women's sexuality and the HIV epidemic.

As I have already noted, shame is an emotion that mediates the boundaries between inside and outside, facilitating ties of belonging and alienation. At the same time, the concept of family has a special place in shame's "relational grammar." Shame marks out what is normatively good, those values that are shared, while at the same time sticking to those who fail to uphold these values. The family, and particularly the woman's place in the family, becomes a prioritized locus for shame precisely because the family is often seen as the normative vessel for these shared values and for the values of the imagined community of the nation. The shame that

⁸⁴ Jewkes et al found that child rape in sub-Saharan Africa was seen by informants as a "female problem," not only because of the gender of the victims, but because maternal negligence was often held accountable for it (1818).

⁸⁵ In one of the few instances Tshepang's father was interviewed, in an article appearing in *The Star*, he is described as "angry" and "deeply hurt" (Warby, "Tshepang Was Raped Here" 1). While the same article notes that sex and relationships with underage women is common in Louisvale weg, it is uncritical of Tshepang's father as a statutory rapist (Warby, "Tshepang Was Raped Here" 1). Instead, he is described as bewildered and angered by his daughter's fate, and unlike Tshepang's mother, his role as a parent is never interrogated or criticized.

circulated alongside Tshepang's rape is closely tied to the manner in which this shocking event disrupted social forms (such as the family and community) and exceeded available frames of interpretation. As Morris notes, sexual violence and violence against infants and very young children in particular "is often read as the symptom of a failure both in the formation of the public sphere and in the restoration of previously damaged institutions like the family" ("The Mute and the Unspeakable" 57). The media's preoccupation with morally flawed mothers, in particular, who failed to reproduce social order through the protection of children, quickly transformed into criticisms of the government's failure to restore dignity and provide services to poor black communities after apartheid. Against the backdrop of Mbeki's discourse of the "African Renaissance" as a rebirth of a new nation, Tshepang's rape was often deployed in order to suggest that the hopeful promise of this rebirth was foreclosed.

"Shame on Us? Shame on You, Shame on All of Us!"

In the introductory notes to *Tshepang; The Third Testament*, Lara Foot Newton states that the "narrative is inspired by the life story of Baby Tshepang and thousands like her" (n.p.). With the phrase "thousands like her," Newton situates infant rape as a systemic problem rather than a punctal event. Newton's play retrospectively tells the fictionalized story of Tshepang's rape through the perspective of Simon—Tshepang's fictionalized mother, Ruth's, friend or partner. Staged with two actors, the play focuses on Simon's narration of events while Ruth remains forcefully silent and opaque. While the play focuses on the event of Tshepang's rape, it seeks to contextualize it in the socioeconomic circumstances of the rural town of Louisvale weg by

focusing on the stories and experiences of the town's inhabitants.⁸⁶ Importantly for my purposes here, *Tshepang* overtly engages with the media's representation of Louisvale weg as a "town of shame."⁸⁷ As Dutton explains, in the media's representation of this event the "moral citizen" was secured through the displacement of shame onto the "monstrous town" of Louisvale weg, which was particularly associated with publications that addressed a middle-class, and at least partially white audience. In *Tshepang*, shame is explored through a series of displacements that collapse the distinction between "us" and "them," and is shown to emerge through the seeming disintegration of social forms, such as the family. Moreover, playing on the translation of *Tshepang* as "hope," the play explores the interplay of hope and hopelessness through scenes of social crisis and decay.

Although framed through the event of exceptional violence, the play itself is preoccupied with observing the slow depletion of everyday poverty, asymmetrical gender relationships, and

⁸⁶ It is significant to note that the public evoked by the play is quite different to the publics addressed by the *Sowetan*. *Tshepang* was first performed for a European audience and for an elite theatre-going public in South Africa; however, *Tshepang* has been included for a number of years on South African High School syllabuses, and, in the tradition of struggle theatre in South Africa, has been performed in South African townships, particularly to youth audiences. The play did, therefore, circulate beyond these more elite publics and is interesting for precisely this reason. Despite its position as "high" art, its intertextuality with the kinds of articles I have described up to this point allows it to work both as a cultural critique of the representations of this case and as a cultural text that is symptomatic of the circulation of emotion that accompanied this event. At the same time, Newton is a white author who wrote the play during a graduate program at the University of the Witwatersrand. Although Newton conducted primary research in Uppington, the play must be seen as an outsider's perspective and runs the risk of reproducing an ethnographic gaze. The moment in which the play most clearly risks valourizing the white gaze is when a white ambulance driver comes to retrieve *Tshepang*. This white interlocutor is represented as dismayed by the scene of infant rape, and "put his forehead on her forehead and then [...] began to cry" (Newton 42). As one of the few expressions of sorrow in the play, where crime is often treated with indifference, it is suspect that these tears come from a white outsider. This moment in the play risks valourizing white sympathy, despite its concern with apartheid and its continued legacies in Louisvale weg.

⁸⁷ Examples of this coverage include: Warby, "A Road to Nowhere in a Town of Shame" 15, Schmidt "Baby *Tshepang* Town Still Confronts Devils," and Schmidt, "Where the Horror Never Ends" 13.

those quotidian forms of violence that do not make the news. The text presents these forms of everyday inequality through the narratives of the townspeople that Simon either tells or stages. The text's persistent concern with alcoholism reminds readers of the legacy of apartheid and the pernicious "dop" system on migrant workers in the Cape,⁸⁸ which used alcohol as an "element of social control" (London 1408-1409). In one of the many moments in the play that suggests dissolution of comforting social structures, such as marriage, in the face of the poverty unemployment, and alcoholism, Simon says:

(To the audience, secretive.) I don't have a houvrou you know, they're too much trouble.

The others, they all have one, but not me. They're too expensive. A houvrou is a woman that you keep, but she's not your wife. But here it is better to have a houvrou, because you can't get rid of a wife. A houvrou you can let go (Foot -Newton 13).

Using the language of employment— "[a] houvrou you can let go"— this quotation ties gender arrangements to labor contracts and links gender inequality to systemic poverty. Similarly, the quote reflects a context where poverty and a history of migrant labor has had long term effects on social structures such as the family, and where the new dispensation has failed to restore the institutions of intimacy. As the play progresses, the intersections of gender inequality, poverty,

⁸⁸ The "dop" system was a common feature of South African agriculture, particularly wine farms, under colonialism and apartheid, where farm workers were paid with alcohol (London 1408). This system has its history in the early years of settlement in the Cape Colony where indigenous peoples were encouraged to work on settler farms with payment of tobacco, wine, and bread (London 1408). Over the next 300 years, this system was institutionalized as an "important element of social control," and played a significant role in retaining agricultural labor and producing a market for cheap alcohol (London 1408-1409). In 1961, the Liquor Act was amended to prevent payment in alcohol as part of a wage; however, it avoided the free dispensation of wine as "a gift" (London 1409). While the dop system has largely diminished, the longstanding relationship with alcohol among communities dependent on migrant work in the wine industry is unsurprising. Indeed, a number of journalists covering Tshepang's case noted the proliferation of "Soetwyn," a cheap red wine deemed too inferior to go to market by local wine estates, but sold cheaply to the people of Louisvale weg (Warby 9).

and the after-effects of apartheid are made apparent as the town of Louisvale weg is represented as a site of social and economic disintegration.

In the play, the violent gender relationships in Louisvale weg are explicitly linked to the conditions of scarcity in rural South Africa. The relationship between gender violence and the context of socioeconomic insecurity is highlighted in the text through the relationship between the character Petrus and his sister. In the text, Petrus inducts his teenage sister into sex work. He comfortably reads comic books while boys have sex with her. If the boy did not orgasm in his allocated time, “for an extra two cents, [Petrus] would let [him] continue inside a half-loaf of white bread” (Newton 24). In this scene, it is the brother who profits, socially and financially, from the commerce surrounding his sister’s body. This is amplified by the description of Petrus having sex with his sister between her adolescent customers. The text suggests that women are violently commodified within this dire economic context, but do not share in the profits of their own exploitation. Furthermore, by casually raising the relatively taboo topics of incest and the sexual exploitation of a young girl, the text reinforces the sense that reassuring social structures, such as marriage and the family, are disintegrating in impoverished communities such as Louisvale weg. In such scenes, Newton, as a white playwright, risks reproducing precisely those images of Louisvale weg as abject that were conveyed in the media, and that her narrative ostensibly seeks to criticize.

It is significant that even Simon, the narrator, participated in this scene of exploitation, thereby suggesting that all the men in this town are in some way implicated in the subjugation of women. After describing this moment from his childhood, Simon notes that the “half-loaf was Petrus’s brilliant invention, but, as my Aunt Thandi says, ‘a man, given half a chance, will put it in anything’” (Newton 24). This quotation foreshadows the climactic scene where Simon acts out

Tshepang's rape with a broom and a loaf of bread. Through this gory connection between these two loafs of bread, the play seems to link Tshepang's rape to a context of gender-based oppression, where rape and incest are normalized, while at the same time suggesting, "a man, given half a chance, will put it in anything." The latter statement is one of the explanatory models that might be used to understand this incomprehensible crime; however, if this is the case, as the play progresses, interpretive frames for infant rape continually change, shift, overlap, and come into conflict. By repeatedly deferring the means to understand the event of infant rape, the play self-consciously reflects its own limitations, and foregrounds the inadequacy of these interpretive frames.

The effort to conjoin spectacular and structural violence in the text is further reflected in the exhausting litany of violence, trauma, and social and economic insecurity addressed by the play. Each character is defined through their relationship to the event of Tshepang's rape: often in terms of their negligence, and their shameful failure to fulfill their responsibility to the most vulnerable members of society. The play's suggestion seems initially to be that Tshepang's rape reflected a failure of a moral community and the social structures that secure community. This failure is later displaced onto the state, which is diagnosed as complicit in the socioeconomic conditions of abandonment that define this community. Shame is initially represented as the "relational grammar" of the community, as they are all shown to be connected in some way to the infant's rape. For example, Simon describes Dewaal, one of many minor characters introduced throughout the play, as follows: "Dewaal felt when it happened. [...] Dewaal suffered when it happened" (Newton 20). Similarly, Simon identifies Sarah by explaining that, "[s]he is also the one who did nothing when it happened. Just lit a match walked out the room" (Newton 22). Dewaal and Sarah's reactions to the rape, either empathy or negligence, are shown to be

defined by their past traumas. Dewaal had lost a child of his own and so “feels” when Tshepang is assaulted, whereas Sarah, who was a victim of sexual abuse, ignores the act of violence as it occurs. These incidences are evidence of the play’s vital claim that the people of Louisvale weg are “victims of their histories” (Graham, *State of Peril* 182). The play’s concern with histories of trauma is most strikingly exemplified by the character Alfred Sorrows, the sexual offender in the play, who is informed by his own childhood experience of violence in the form of a brutal beating that is enacted on stage through the breaking of the broom that he is represented by; however, far from being a linear or causal explanation for behaviour, the sheer number of events of violence chronicled in the play characterizes Louisvale weg as a place that has been abandoned to conditions of violence, addiction, and enervating poverty.

Newton’s play responds to and complicates the press’s representation of the township of Louisvale weg as shameful (Dutton 246; Bird and Spurr 42). In the *Cape Times*, Schmidt identifies Louisvale weg as a town “confront[ing] devils” where “[h]orror never ends,” and “the dreams of its 6000 dirt-poor residents come to die.” Similarly, in *The Star*, Louisvale weg is described as “a Town of Shame,” “a hell on earth,” and “a daily nightmare,” beset by “drugs,” “alcohol,” “poverty,” “violent crime,” and “teenage pregnancies” (Warby 15). In both articles, Louisvale weg is depicted as plagued with poverty, vice, and systemic alcoholism; more importantly, it is represented as a place without a future. Unlike the media’s characterization of Louisvale weg as the veritable heart of darkness, *Tshepang* troubles the representation of the town in the press by focusing its audience’s attention on the presence of journalists, and the content of newspaper headlines. Although Louisvale is repeatedly described as a place where “nothing happens,” it soon becomes clear that terrible things *do* happen; the media, however, is accused of sensationalizing both poverty and violence at the expense of the community it

depicts.

In Newton's play, Louisvale weg is described in terms of negation, as is reflected through the repetition of the word *nothing* in both English and Afrikaans, in the refrain "[a]nd besides nothing ever happens here. Nothing. Niks" (Newton 12). Simon introduces each character with a story of violence or social insecurity, and it soon becomes clear that there are things that *do* happen. The refrain—"nothing ever happens here"—paradoxically suggests that everyday violence and sorrow "happen," but are unacknowledged and unmourned by South Africa at large. In this vein, consider the story of Dewaal's lost son:

He screamed his name night and day, but he didn't answer, because he was gone. He screamed until the doctor came, and then he never mentioned his name again. There was supposed to be a proper investigation. The police were supposed to conduct a proper search with dogs and helicopters. But it didn't happen. Because here nothing ever happens.

Nothing at all (Foot Newton 21).

In this excerpt, the repetition of the phrase "supposed to" emphasizes the failure of the state to meet its obligations to this community. Here, "nothing ever happens" no longer refers to 'no events happening' within the community, but to nothing being done about these events by the state. While articles such as Schmidt's represented the town as shameful and beset by moral failure and alcoholism, Newton's play displaces the blame for these vices from the people of the town onto the government and the history of apartheid.

In the text, shame circulates not as the failure of a minority to meet the "normative notions of a "good citizen," but as a failure of the state to secure the new social order of post-apartheid South Africa. In *Tshepang*, the town's shame is described as an encounter with the outside world and is produced as an effect of being captured in the public eye:

“Then the police took action. They arrested six men. Six men had raped an infant. Six men!
A gang rape!

Now you want to see something happen? You want to see something happen? They arrived. The press, the newspapers, television, film, cameras, USA, Britain, Johannesburg, Amsterdam. They all came here. What a story (Happily.) — six men raped a nine-month-old baby. You see! You see how shit you are? You see how shit we all are?”

(Newton 45)

This quotation reflects the text’s concern with the media’s “commodification of suffering” and the spectacle that circulates beyond South Africa to “Britain [...] Amsterdam” (Graham, *State of Peril* 185). The play overtly interrogates the media’s production of this community as both shameful and a signifier for national shame. In the text, it is through the event of Tshepang’s rape that the town changes from being the place where “nothing happens” to a town of shame, which makes them momentarily “important.” While L. Graham emphasizes that “representing the townspeople as opportunistic rather than pro-active is deeply problematic” (*State of Peril* 185), she fails to give adequate attention, not only to the text’s representation of the town as a place where agency is constrained by poverty, but also to the irony of phrases such as, “You see how shit we are?” Through such phrases, the play criticizes the media’s commodification of a community’s poverty and its focus on spectacles of violence. At the same time, one might question whether Newton participates in this commodification and creation of spectacle through the circulation of this play. Nevertheless, while the *Sowetan* expressed concerns that infant rape rendered the black community shameful in the eyes of the outside world, Newton’s play questions this allocation of shame and re-articulates it as an accusation that comes to include the nation as a whole.

Moreover, *Tshepang* suggests that the play's audience is complicit in consuming spectacles of poverty and violence. This dynamic becomes particularly clear when Simon accosts a judgmental reporter, exclaiming: "Get out of here! Take your cameras and get out! This town was raped long ago. This town was fucking gang-raped a long, long, long time ago! Shame on us? Shame on you, Shame on all of us!" (Newton 49). Here, L. Graham points out that the play reinforces the belief that the townspeople "have been brutalized and dehumanized by history" and are "being spoken by history" (*State of Peril* 185). While this is certainly an accurate representation of the play's preoccupation with the violences of the apartheid era, it fails to account for the complex series of displacements that we see occurring in this passage. Specifically, we see a movement from the rape of an infant's body to the structural violences of the past being described as the brutalization of black South Africans. Moreover, we see a movement of shame from Louisvale weg to "you" to "all of us". This movement, wherein the "you" seems to include the reporter being addressed and the audience members who have also been attracted to observe this spectacle of violence, becomes – once it includes "all of us" – a displacement of shame onto the nation itself. Shame in this context is no longer a "relational grammar" but comes to adhere to those in power for their inability to secure social order and protect the future of the nation. At the same time, shame is directed towards the audience who have come to witness and consume the spectacle of violence.

Echoing Posel, L. Graham decisively argues that, "in the national imaginary the child's incredible survival became conjoined with the idea of the body politic" as the incident not only inspired a moral panic that came to symbolize "the most fundamental political and moral challenges confronting the newborn democratic nation," but also evoked the notion of South Africa's "'miraculous' survival beyond the abusive history of apartheid" (*State of Peril* 182).

This position seems to be based on the explicit messianism of Newton's play, where Tshepang becomes associated with Simon's childhood story of the "girl Christ" (46) who will make up for her brother Jesus's failure to notice towns like Louisvale weg who eke out their existence under conditions of social abandonment. Drawing on the connotations of Tshepang, meaning "have hope," the play does reflect a messianism, which I would argue poses less of a promise of an optimistic future, than an impossible one. This pessimism, rather than optimism, is reflected in the series of juxtapositions that conclude the play. First, the play rehearses a series of newspaper headlines that are suggestive of the treatment of infant rape in the press:

"Five-month-old baby sodomised"

"Two-year-old raped and left for dead"

"Mother sells sex with her three-year-old for food and shelter"

"Twenty thousand child rapes in South Africa a year"

And still silence! Nothing! (Newton 55)

Through this list of headlines, reminiscent of the listing practice I earlier observed in *Sowetan* articles, the text links Tshepang's rape to broader patterns of violence; the text suggests that it is not only Louisvale weg where "nothing ever happens," but that in South Africa, the rape of children and babies results in "silence! Nothing!" This emphasis on South Africa's silence in the face of rape is followed by Simon encouraging Ruth to join him (and the rest of the community) at the tavern for a drink. Faced with Ruth's unbending silence, Simon acquiesces to forgo the tavern for another night. The play ends as Ruth, who is represented as irrevocably burdened by the past (she carries a little bed strapped to her back), stares out impassively at the audience and says, "Tshepang," meaning "have hope". Because Ruth is a figure whose position is unchanged throughout the play, her expression of hope is rendered ironic and is reformulated as an

expression of hopelessness.

Those who interpret the play as hopeful tend to see Simon as a figure of hope. Indeed, Simon--who cares for Ruth for three years after she is pushed out of her community and mutilates her own body by cutting off her breasts--is interpreted by some to represent a more positive version of masculinity and as a powerful counterpoint to the negative figurations of black masculinity that proliferate in the South African media. As an artist who creates figurines that he sells and a storyteller, as well as a caregiver, Simon is interpreted as offering a "glimmer of hope to create a better environment and future" through creativity and care (Blumberg 130). Where you stand on such an interpretation depends, in large part, on what you think about the text's exploration of the relationship between the individual and their context. Such liberal understandings of the power of the individual in terms of creativity are quickly thrown into relief when you consider the sheer quantity of scenes of poverty, violence, and social abandonment that abound in the text. If part of the success of this play is that it contextualizes individual violence in terms of socioeconomic deprivation and historical inequality, it is hard to interpret the individual as a site of hope or as an engine for change. While Simon does present an alternative vision of black masculinity anchored in care for women, the text weaves a vision of Louisvale weg that leaves little room for hope of collective change beyond individual kindnesses.

The play's final accusation renders South Africa's silence over violence against women and children shameful. The play charts a complex series of displacements that begin with the shame of a single woman, Ruth, then the shame of the town, Louisvale weg, and finally with the shame of the nation. With each displacement, the meaning of shame, and how it is constituted, is modified. While the text seems concerned with who is and is not acknowledged and protected by

the nation-state, it is shame that becomes the “relational grammar” of these connections through the affective economy of “shame” as a signifier in the text. The text’s repeated re-articulation of narratives that might inform our understanding of Tshepang’s rape suggests the narrative’s difficulty in accommodating such an incommensurable event. The tension between the play’s attempts to frame and reframe an event that evokes such cognitive dissonance facilitates my understanding of the text as both an exploration of national shame, and a vehicle for this shame. Similar to the *Sowetan*’s coverage of this event, the incommensurability of infant rape with social forms or explanatory narratives that might promise the comfort of signification becomes the source of shame’s circulation.

Securing the Body, Securing the Future

Up to this point, I have considered Tshepang’s rape as indexing the complex relationship between public and private, and between those who are included and excluded from the imagined communities of the nation-state through public expressions of thwarted understanding and shame. In Sarah Nuttall’s article, “Girl Bodies,” she confirms that this event’s representation in the media both polices notions of public and private and questions them. Nuttall’s argument focuses on an advertisement for a child chastity belt found in the *Sowetan*. The historical connotations of chastity belts both reflect the female body’s association with honour and shame, and the patriarchal desire to contain and control female sexuality. Through her analysis, Nuttall asks to what degree the public representation of the current rape epidemic can be seen as a result of the history of apartheid, and to what extent it can be understood as the product of urban legends and imaginaries specific to the post-apartheid context, particularly of crime, security, and technology (21). Building on Nuttall’s argument, I consider how fantasies of security,

embodied by this strange device, respond to the collective sense that infant rape represented a disruption of comforting social forms.

Throughout the coverage of Tshepang's rape, the media repeatedly gave lurid accounts of her injury; regularly, the extremity of the violence done to her body was described in detail and used to convey the moral otherness of this crime. Reportage focused on the gruesome mechanics of the act itself, as well as giving descriptions of the damage to the victim's vagina, colon, anus, and perineum. In this case, Tshepang's catastrophic physical injuries, often the subject of sensational news journalism, reflected the cognitive dissonance evoked by this case as readers were allowed to imagine the effect of an adult male penis on a vagina so small that a finger cannot be inserted into it. Alongside the spectacle of Tshepang's injuries, the media reported community members' demands for vigilante justice and for children to be protected. The destabilizing effect of the vivid accounts of Tshepang's injuries was countered with an increased language of securitization, and the "tamper proof undergarment" becomes a provocative figure for this broader discourse.

Nuttall's article analyses two devices: a chastity belt for children and an anti-rape condom (filled with hooks, a *vagina dentata*), both of which work as a means to secure the female body, infant or adult, against intrusion, to have it wired, linked to security systems, and rendered "tamper proof" (Nuttall 22–23). The device is a mixture of the technologically advanced and the arcane; the garment, essentially a chastity belt, which evokes a sense of medieval Europe, is repackaged as the "Tamper Proof Undergarment" in order to tap into particularly South African imaginaries. The device comes with an alarm system, just like many affluent South African homes, and a microchip for tracking a kidnapped child. The slick euphemistic name suggests how this archaic object has been adapted for a public familiar with

the discourse of high-tech security devices.

As is the case with baby rape itself, the concept of a *chastity belt* for infants reflects a discomfoting intersection between the perceived purity and innocence of babies and sexuality. On the one hand, the discussion of this object evokes the intersection of gender and shame in the representation of infant rape. As Johnston and Moran note, “[i]nsofar as the axis of shame and honour can and does place women in important social roles, the tension surrounding the female body paradoxically establishes a baseline of shame that undermines the potentially positive function of shame” (13). The “baseline of shame” established by the female body is reinforced by the desire to secure the “honour” of the bodies of girl-children against violation in a manner that mimics the securitization of property from intruders so common in South Africa. On the other hand, this commodity reflects the notion, expressed earlier in this chapter, that securing and protecting children often signifies the desire to secure and protect the future and stabilise signification, often through the reproduction and perpetuation of the “same,” of the status quo.

This object’s association with the securitization of upmarket homes and gated communities links it to anxieties that are also linked to the reproduction of whiteness and economic privilege.⁸⁹ Lindsay Bremner describes the securitization of the South African city as

⁸⁹ Much has been written on the relationship between crime and white anxiety in urban South Africa. Under apartheid, the Group Areas Act resulted in an urban environment where space was racially determined. Those people designated as “Indian,” “African,” and “white” had access to different spaces and institutions (Hansen 101). The gradual end of racial segregation in the 1990s saw an influx of black people from the townships and rural areas into formerly white and Indian neighborhoods; “the public spaces, roads, beaches, and malls of the former white city became racially heterogeneous, and loci of intense everyday conflicts” (Hansen 102). The figure of the black man as dangerous criminal became amplified in this context of increased demographic heterogenization (Hansen 102). Hansen, who conducted his fieldwork in primarily Indian neighborhoods in the Durban, argues that, “[c]rime — both real and spectral” is “experienced and understood” differently depending on race while at the same time acknowledging that crime and criminality were seen as a problem for “all South Africans” after 1994 (Hansen 103, 104).

follows:

An imaginary of safe and unsafe areas, routes and intersections, reorders the ways people move through and use the city. New private infrastructures - surveillance cameras, wall barricades, gates, alarms, armoured vehicles, fortified entrances, intercom systems- build new repertoires of ritualized behaviour into daily life and fragment the city. Crime prevention becomes a mode of urban and environmental design. Discourses of fear become facts, worked into the city's economic, political and social life through marketing, the popular media and conversation (Bremner 100).

This lengthy excerpt from Bremner's *Writing the City into Being* is instructive in its articulation of the incorporation of crime prevention into the very fabric of the city itself and the everyday routines of its inhabitants. While relationships to crime and criminality differ according to class and race in South Africa, privatized crime prevention, whether it is in the form of highly armed private security, electric fences, gated communities, or security cameras, has become part of the texture of the city, and is deeply implicated in diverse post-apartheid imaginaries and public cultures. As Nuttall observes:

If it has up to now been property—owned mostly by whites but increasingly by blacks, too—that has been defended against “them,” the mostly black men who operate as criminals in South African society, what exactly might the implications be when it comes to the security of the body itself? (29)

Here, Nuttall observes the links between those technologies proposed for securing the girl's body and those used to secure private property against criminality, which have become an intrinsic part of the post-apartheid imagination. Nuttall's account of these devices that protect the child's body against intrusion reflects how technology—especially of security and defence—has

acquired new meanings in South Africa (Nuttall 31). Like private property, children need to be secured against the violence of strange men, who are implicitly figured as black. While Nuttall rightly emphasizes the racial dynamic implicit to this mode of securitization, where the private sphere is the only sanctioned space of segregation in post-apartheid South Africa, it is also important to note that with the rise of a black middle class, the threat to the child's body (black or white) is now inflected by class, as the intruder is imagined to be poor as well as black. In a sense, if we follow Nuttall's logic, the proposition to secure the baby or the girl-child's body with this strange device symbolically comes to suggest a desire to fortify "civil society." As Morris observes, child rape, and especially the rare occurrence of the rape of children under three, is "metonymically inscribed in the narratives that circulate in the mass media" as a "sign of crisis whose narrative context is that of national decline" (Morris, "The Mute and the Unspeakable" 84).

The domestic sphere and the family are regularly conceived of as beyond the purview of the state, as the "autonomous space of patriarchal desire" (Morris, "The Mute and the Unspeakable" 80). The turn to secure the child's body against intrusion appeals to a society where the "privatization of police function" is seen in private security companies in wealthy neighbourhoods and "vigilante forces" in townships (Morris, "The Mute and the Unspeakable" 83) and can be read as evidence of the perceived failure of the government to exert "legitimate violence" and enforce social order. Although narratives of security and criminality have a long history in South Africa that centres on the image of dangerous black intruders and the minority government's anxiety over "swamping" (through the perceived dangerous fertility of black women), these narratives gain new inflections in the post-apartheid context. One the one hand, though advertised and discussed in the *Sowetan*, the "tamper proof undergarment" suggests how

white fear not only monopolizes public discourses, but is refigured through a logic of class difference and marketed to a black public. On the other hand, Tshepang's rape came to index anxiety over the state of the nation and its future. The threat to children, figured through the spectre of child rape, became a fear that the nation was unable to protect its most vulnerable inhabitants, as well as an anxiety over signification, as available frames of interpretation and social forms were rendered unstable. In this light, the "tamper proof undergarment" reflects the privatization of policing and security, suggesting that the individual is forced to step in where the state has failed in order to protect their children.

To conclude, it is unsurprising that Tshepang's rape became a site for considerable accrued affect, alongside the circulation of a moral panic over infant rape more generally over the course of 2001. In the last months of 2001, journalists, columnists, and commentators in the *Sowetan* repeatedly registered infant rape as evidence of a failure as "a nation to preserve our integrity, ubuntu and societal values" (Ramaphakela 19). Many articles called for "moral regeneration" (Kweza and Thinane), interpreting the rapes of infants as an "indictment against our society" and as evidence of "the irresponsibility of the men and women in our society" (Mquoqo and Chauke). In the *Sowetan*, "rebuild[ing] society" and securing a better future were regularly linked to restoring "pride and dignity to the African child" (Makhado 11). In the *Sowetan* shame over infant rape was conjoined to the difficulty of interpreting this crime within available social forms and frames of reference, and infant rape was interpreted as evidence of the wholesale disintegration of reassuring social structures. In Newton's *Tshepang* the scope was broadened to include those who participated as spectators, capitalized from the event of extreme violence, or turned a blind eye to poverty. In this case, shame is not so much an emotion as an accusation and a rhetorical gesture that envelopes the nation at large in shared responsibility.

Finally, Nuttall's analysis of the "Tamper Proof Undergarment" conjoins shame to anxiety over personal security, clearly demarcating the intersecting vectors of white anxiety and paternalism disingenuously marketed to a black public in the pages of the *Sowetan*.

As I have suggested, demands to protect children are invariably invested in securing the future and stability of social order, or perhaps reflect a desire to establish a renewed society that was promised but remains illusive. In the pages of the *Sowetan*, concern over child and infant rape turned to demands for increased policing, particularly in townships, and stricter sentences for prisoners. One letter to the editor strongly proclaims, "[w]here is the Government in protecting the children now? Why are rapists getting away with it? We need to install a judicial system that will act as a deterrent—and not a potential encouragement—to these disturbed individuals who rape children" (Koots 19). Shame, then, quickly transformed into anxiety, which was, in turn, formulated as a demand for the state to reassert the social order that infant rape is seen to disrupt. If shame emerges from the fragmentation of the ability for familiar forms to make meaning, then in this case it quickly converged into a desire to re-establish an ordered social world. In the following chapter, we will see the problem of rape being taken up in a different context, the rape of Anene Booyens, through renewed expressions of hopelessness and despair over the state of the nation.

Chapter Three: Are We Inured to Violence? Political Despair in the Media's Coverage of Anene Booysen's Rape.

On 1 February 2013, 17-year-old Anene Booysen was found in a construction site in the town of Bredasdorp, South Africa, where she had been gang-raped and left to die. Despite the shocking details of Booysen's death, her rape entered into both local and international media because of its transnational connection to a similar crime that occurred two months earlier in Delhi, India (Graham, "Confronting a Colonial, Patriarchal and Racist Past" 35). In the latter incident, Jyoti Singh, a 23-year-old medical student, was raped by six men on a bus in Delhi while returning home from watching a movie with a male friend. She died of her injuries in a Singapore hospital (Kapur 9). In both incidents, the victims were gang-raped, disemboweled, and left for dead. Until the coverage of Booysen's death was cut short by the infamous murder of Reeva Steenkamp by her partner Oscar Pistorius on February 14th of the same year, the South African press was preoccupied with comparing Singh's and Booysen's rapes. In particular, the South African coverage expressed a concern with what it interpreted as the differing scales of public response to each event. In India, Singh's death was followed by widespread public demonstrations and anger at the failure of police, politicians, and senior officials to secure women's safety (Watson and Lalu 2). In contrast, the response to Booysen's death in South Africa was more variegated. Booysen's murder was followed by small-scale protests—including marches in Bredasdorp and Cape Town—as well as public statements by COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions), the ANC women's league, and the office of the president (Davis, "Anene Booysen: Why India and SA responded differently"). The hashtag #stoprape trended on South African Twitter, and a local radio station played a chime every four minutes to signify the frequency of rape (Polgreen "Brutal Gang-rape and Murder of 17-year-old Woman"). The South African press tended to interpret these responses as insufficient; while Singh's rape was seen to

elicit national rage and mass protests across India, South Africa's response was viewed as more tepid.

As with the other rape narratives I have already considered, the South African media used Booysen's rape to express anxiety over the government's ability to secure law, order, and a moral community. Booysen's case, however, is of interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, by drawing a transnational connection to the Delhi rape, local reporters were able to interpret the public responses to Booysen's rape as inadequate and symptomatic of a societal failure to feel appropriate outrage and to protect women. Secondly, the coverage of this event aligned gender equality with narratives of (neo)liberal progress, thereby equating the state's failure to secure the safety of women with broader Afro-pessimist narratives that were gaining currency at the time. In so doing, the media tied narratives of South African's perceived apathy to gender violence to a prevailing sense of political despair and hopelessness. Finally, Booysen and her wounded body were continuously deployed as a symbol for national failure. Her narrative was regularly co-opted and incorporated into other narratives of gender violence, such as Singh's rape and murder, and Reeva Steenkamp's murder later that year. Just as Tshepang's rape facilitated the circulation of narratives that interpreted infant rape as a threat to the reproductive futurity of the nation, Booysen's rape regularly conveyed failure in terms of narratives of progress identified with gender equality, law and order, and the stability of the nascently democratic state.

In this chapter, I will not be giving a detailed account of Singh's death as it actually occurred, or of the contentious responses to her rape and murder, in India by politicians and the media, and in the international press.⁹⁰ Instead, I am interested in how this event functioned in

⁹⁰ The public response to Singh's rape in India included large demonstrations in Delhi that spread to other major cities (Belain-Gagnon et al 1060). Protestors were critical of the government's inability to provide

the South African imagination and circulated in the local press alongside Booysen's rape.⁹¹ Importantly, the columns, think pieces, and news articles that I surveyed tended to decontextualize the protests in India in order to interpret these events as evidence of Indian society's refusal to support rape. This narrative of India's public outrage provided a convenient counterpoint to the media's analyses of Booysen's rape, which continuously diagnosed the South African public response to rape as apathetic. The South African press interpreted the public's reaction to Booysen's rape as a failure to perform the appropriate public affect. In so doing, the press framed the public's response to the crime as evidence of a national sense of hopelessness and despair that responded to the failings of the post-apartheid state.

In what follows, I will be approaching a question that has been in the background of my argument up to this point: What happens to the circulation of a public concern, such as rape, when hope is lost? Furthermore, what does the loss of hope look like in a society whose inception was based on an incredible optimism and hopefulness? In other words, I am concerned with how the media's interpretation of the public's response to Booysen's rape as evidence of a

security for women, and demanded more "robust" anti-rape law (Belain-Gagnon et al 1060). Initially, the state responded defensively to protests, attempting to control them by closing down metro stations (Butalia 78). When politicians decided to address the issue publicly, their statements often perpetuated rape culture even as they expressed sympathy (Butalia 78). Abhijit Mukerjee, for example, claimed that rape only happened to "dented and painted" women (qtd. in Butalia 79). Nevertheless, sustained protest and international attention prompted the Indian State to act, resulting in a revision of India's rape law.

⁹¹ Like South Africa, India has a high incidence of rape. According to Human Rights Watch, the National Crime Records Bureau documented 24,206 reported cases of rape in 2011 in India (HRW 2012). In contrast, during 2011, 47,069 cases of rape were reported to the South African police (SAPS 44). While South Africa has a higher incidence of reported rape, it is worth observing that rape statistics are notoriously inaccurate, as rape is a severely underreported crime. Indeed, rape reportage also reflects public perceptions of rape and rape victims. For instance, public stigma around rape may translate into a lower number of rapes reported to authorities. Similarly, societies with narrower definitions of rape may also depress rape reportage. South Africa's broader definition of rape that encompasses spousal rape may, in part, explain its higher rape statistics. Nevertheless, it is clear that both countries have a substantial problem with sexual violence against women.

failure of public feeling is related to an emergent sense of hopelessness and despair over the democratic project of the post-apartheid nation. Although I touched on the question of hopelessness in my discussion of Baby Tshepang, where the loss of hope was associated with the foreclosed futurity embodied by the figure of the raped infant, in this chapter I will be discussing how the interpretation of South Africa's inability to perform the right kind of affect was represented as a sign of failed political promise. My interpretation of the public circulation of Booyesen's rape will focus on a constellation of affective states, including hopelessness, despair, pessimism, and failure as they emerge in relation to a conversation around South African's seeming acceptance of gender violence.

Deborah Gould identifies what she calls "political despair" as the "feeling of political inefficacy and hopelessness, the sense that nothing will ever change, no matter what some imagined collective 'we' does to try to bring change" (95). In the case of Booyesen's rape, the rhetoric of rape was used to connect often divergent narratives of public and political failure, regularly focusing on the inefficacy of political action and public indifference to the plight of women. For the individual, in a heteronormative capitalist society, success is equated with "specific forms of reproductive maturity combined with wealth accumulation" (Halberstam 2), and failure is generally associated with the individual's inability to meet these normative parameters. For the nation-state, particularly the post-conflict nation, success is regularly identified as the ability to meet the norms of Western liberal democracies and engage in a global free market while securing the individual's ability to achieve success in the terms outlined above. It is, therefore, unsurprising that those reporting on Booyesen's rape tended to frame political failure in terms of government corruption, the problem of criminality, and the mistreatment of women. In their reportage on Booyesen's rape, the media employed a narrative of political and

social failure and, in so doing, communicated a sense of political inefficacy, waning hope, and political despair.

It is, perhaps, unsurprising that recent studies of hope and despair have focused on the question of neoliberalism in the West, particularly Europe and North America. Although the likes of Jodi Dean and Wendy Brown do not directly engage with the affective economies of despair and hope, these emotions remain an important subtext in their discussions of neoliberalism and democracy. Indeed, Dean opens *Democracy and other Neoliberal Fantasies* with a description of a historical moment saturated by political despair for the left—George W. Bush’s re-election in 2004—as she outlines the fantasies that sustain our attachments to neoliberalism (5).⁹² Rachel Reidner and Kevin Mahoney argue that “neoliberalism [...] posit[s] its naturalness,” thereby reducing the possibility of “resistance or hope for alternatives” (70). In this light, despair closes “off the ability to think or feel alternatives” (Reidner and Mahoney 70). As Brown has observed, neoliberalism is “emotionally and affectively appealing,” not in the sense that people are duped into systems of financialization, but rather because they may derive pleasure from these systems; they are “exciting and delicious” (Cruz and Brown 83). Accordingly, Comaroff and Comaroff in *Theory from the South* reflect on African’s own investments in narratives of progress associated with liberalism. They argue that, “[a]cknowledging the yearning for the illusive promise of “progress,” patently, does not preclude recognizing its destructive effects or challenging the

⁹² In *Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies*, Dean makes an argument about the fantasies of digital communication, what she calls “Communicative Capitalism,” and embarks on a critique of “rights discourse” which she argues shrinks the scope of “political claims” to individual victims (5). For Dean, therefore, the hope we might invest in political acts on social media platforms is a form of misrecognition that potentially precludes more effective political action. While I do not entirely agree with Dean’s pessimistic evaluation of *communicative capitalism*, her formulation reflects the understanding that hope often involves an investment of pleasure and desire that may not necessarily “promot[e] development and change” but instead results in fixations that “transform its aims” (Potamianou 1-2).

Eurocentric myth that there is only one authentic instance of it” (Comaroff and Comaroff, *Theory from the South* 11). In South Africa, public expressions of hope and despair reflect South Africans’ own diverse investments in the promise of progress, epitomized by the hopes tied to the newly democratic state and its ability to secure economic growth, gender equality, and meaningful work. At the same time, the ANC government’s commitment to narratives associated with market capitalism and its own brand of neoliberalism – its move to adopt neoliberal economic policies in the form of GEAR – also foreclosed other hopes, such as land reform and a systemic upheaval and decolonization of the education system. Both despair and hope, in this manner, can be enervating; neoliberal hope is often coupled with or underwritten by forms of despair.

In *Against Paranoid Nationalism*, Gassan Hage invites us to think about humans as “hoping subjects,” and about societies as “mechanisms for the generation and distribution of hopefulness” (9). For Gould, as well as Reidner and Mohoney, hope is seen as activating, as a necessary precursor to political action; however, as I have already suggested, hope’s future orientation may also allow us to endure our circumstances, despite their bleakness (Hage 11). Hope regularly secures our attachment to those structures of affective and political life that perpetuate the exhausting conditions of everyday routines under neoliberalism. As Hage argues, it is important to remember that “society not only distributes hope unequally; it also distributes different kinds of hope” (12). Social hope—hope convened through a particular nation or imagined community—is a fantasy that is sustained by the belief in a better future, “already potentially existing in the pregnancy of the present” that “is capable of overriding the determining powers of the inequalities experiences within this present” (Hage 12). For Hage, this understanding of hope clearly works well with the affective economies of capitalism where

hope is not only a “mechanism for national identification” but is an emotion that sustains the belief in “the possibility of upward mobility” (Hage 13). As I will show in more detail later on in this chapter, in the post-apartheid context, hope unevenly adhered to a series of promises that were associated with liberal and neoliberal notions of progress, particularly meaningful work, social mobility, racial equality, and gender equality. While not all of these hopes are pernicious in the sense implied by Lauren Berlant’s understanding of cruel optimism—where “the object that draws your attachment actively impedes the aim that brought you to it initially” and where what you desire “is actually an obstacle to your flourishing” (1)—they may be either activating, insofar as they facilitate the attachment to the gender and racial equality promised by the post-apartheid constitution or enervating, to the extent that they sustain our investments in the promises of individualist narratives of liberal progress, market capitalism, and self advancement. Despair in the reportage of Booysen’s rape reflects the prevailing mood that the present is no longer “pregnant” with the possibilities of a “better future.”

In tracking activists’ despair during the HIV/AIDS crisis in the United States in the late 1980s and 1990s, Gould describes “political despair” as the cumulative effect of so much lost hope—as a form of exhaustion in the face of multiple deaths (99). While Gould’s argument emerges from a very different context, where activists were faced with the perpetual deaths of members of the community they advocated for, and where “despair” was seen as a “breach of one’s proper role as an [...] activist” (Gould 104), her understanding of the relationship between despair and hope is useful for my analysis of the public feelings associated with Booysen’s death. While despair is understood to be hope’s converse, it is also an effect of the fantasies, such as progress or the good life, that are sustained by hope. Despair often emerges as a response to the failure of these narratives to support our attainment of the good life (for the individual) or

from the feeling that the promise of political or social change has eroded (for the collective). As was the case elsewhere in the world, by 2013, the fantasies that had long sustained the belief in upward mobility, economic security, and stable and meaningful work had begun to fray (Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* 3); however, in South Africa, this fraying of familiar optimisms occurred in the context of the political scandals of Thabo Mbeki's and Jacob Zuma's presidencies and the waning hopes associated with the image of the post-apartheid "rainbow nation."⁹³ What I am referring to as *political despair*, in this chapter, is a structure of feeling demarcated by the cumulative effect of the frayed or lost hopes that were becoming apparent two decades into democracy. This political despair, I argue, was articulated as a prevailing sense of political inefficacy in the press's coverage of Booysen's rape.

The first years of democracy were unsurprisingly associated with an incredible hope and optimism and the ANC held "widespread legitimacy" (Dawson 861). By 2013, this hope was under assault from multiple fronts (Dawson 861). While "violent crime and the transformation of the police represented significant security-related challenges" to the new state in the 1990s, the ANC, for the most part, did not have to contend with popular protest and political violence for their first decade in office (Kynoch 68). By the early 2000s, however, communal protest re-emerged in the form of "service delivery" demonstrations which responded to grievances over ineffective policing, "accusations of local government corruption," and the absence of sufficient housing and sanitation in poorer communities (Kynoch 68).⁹⁴ Importantly for my purposes here,

⁹³ Indeed, Zuma's ascendance to power in 2008 can be seen as a rejection of Mbeki's approach to governance and the promise that market capitalism would be an equalizer. Zuma's platform, where he presented himself as a 'man of the people' who would protect the rights of the majority, soon proved to be false as he was increasingly implicated in corruption scandals.

⁹⁴ In service delivery protests, now a common feature of the South African democracy, residents respond to the perceived failure of their local, provincial, or national authorities to meet their demands for basic

the period between 2009 and 2012 saw a “40 per cent increase in incidents of public unrest reported to the police” (Kynoch 68). The rising sense of disaffection that I associate with the discourse surrounding Booysen’s rape is exemplified by two events. The first is the xenophobic violence that came to a head in 2008 when African foreign nationals were attacked across the country. Critics have interpreted these xenophobic attacks as fuelled by mounting frustrations among the “poorer sections of South African society” (Kynoch 71); these attacks starkly highlighted the fragility of the idea of a harmonious multicultural “rainbow nation.” The second event is the massacre of strikers at Marikana on August 16, 2012, where police opened fire on protesting rock drill operators who were participating in a wildcat strike in the hopes of securing a substantial pay increase. These events are significant in that they reflect the erosion of a fantasy of a cohesive, multicultural post-apartheid state, and a benign government of the people. Although these events formed an important part of the national imaginary at the time of Booysen’s death, they were not necessarily interpreted uniformly across race and class. Indeed, the political despair and frustration that may have pre-empted the reactionary violence of service delivery protests is not commensurate with the articulation of political despair that circulated in the prestige press.⁹⁵ As Leon De Kock observes, South Africa remains a deeply divided society where “first world” urban centres abut informal settlements (276). Although, like hope, despair is unevenly distributed, during the press coverage of Booysen’s rape, it emerged as a common

services (Kynoch 68, Dawson 862). These protests often take the form of attacks against “local politicians and others deemed as undesirables (often foreign nationals),” and the burning of municipal buildings and blockading roads (Kynoch 68). Although these protests use symbols and slogans appropriated from the liberation struggle, they are not questioning the “legitimacy of the state” but are, instead, criticizing the performance of the ANC lead government (Kynoch 68).

⁹⁵ Broadly defined the prestige press refers to publications like the *Mail & Guardian*, that continue to invest in investigative journalism and foreground liberal values such as freedom of speech. Such publications direct themselves at an educated urban population.

idiom for interpreting the state of the post-apartheid democracy and reflected the belief that the potential for political and social change was becoming increasingly tenuous. As Helen Strauss has affirmed, the post-transitional and, particularly, the post-Polokwane periods “have witnessed a remarkable rise in public articulations of disaffection with the failure of the state to deliver on its promises of social and economic liberation” (477).⁹⁶

The very concept of despair has particular connotations when associated with South Africa and Africa more broadly. Indeed, in Afro-pessimist discourses, Africa has long been considered a site of despair and hopelessness. While Afro-pessimism has been taken up by the likes of Fred Moten, Jared Sexton, and Saidiya Hartman in order to engage in an ongoing conversation on the ontological conditions of blackness in a context where blackness comes to be equated with social suffering, I am using the term here to refer to those discourses that find their roots in colonialism and continue to figure Africa as a benighted continent, an ahistorical site of social suffering, resistant to the advancement promised by democracy, liberalism, and market capitalism. As Boulou Ebanda De B’béri and P. Eric Louw observe in their introduction to a special issue of *Critical Arts* focusing on the genealogy of Afro-pessimism, “Afro-pessimism is more than a discourse, it is also a state of mind: a naturalised worldview of African countries, African peoples, and the inner and outside knowledge of both the continent and its people” (337). This “worldview,” which was once used to justify colonial expansion and continues to be used to justify development discourses and structural adjustment strategies, is widely circulated in both the local and global media, and forms some of the context for the narratives of despair and failure that accumulate around the event of Booysen’s rape.

⁹⁶ In 2007, Jacob Zuma became the ANC president after a highly contested election at the annual ANC National Executive Committee meeting held in Polokwane.

While the transition to democracy was widely hailed as a “miracle” in both the local and international media, often at the expense of an acknowledgement of the continuities with the past, Afro-pessimism and Afro-optimism were modalities through which the successes and failures of the new democracy were conveyed (Wasserman and de Beer, “Afro-optimism/Afro-pessimism” 377-378). Journalists who were critical of the state of the new democracy tended to “link its problems with those of the continent as a whole. In other words, pessimism about South Africa often implied Afro-pessimism more generally” (378). Although British-educated Mbeki was initially treated with optimism in the press, by the time of his ousting as president of the ANC in 2007, his leadership had become mired in scandal, including his controversial position on HIV/AIDS and his policy of “quiet diplomacy” in Zimbabwe. Jacob Zuma’s 2009 election as president further fuelled Afro-pessimist narratives, as charges of “corruption” and “cronyism” as well as references to “tribalism” were deployed by analyses in the media (Wasserman and de Beer, “Afro-optimism/Afro-pessimism” 379). By the time of Booysen’s rape and murder, the optimism that accompanied media coverage in the 1990s had begun to fade. The sense that South Africa had entered a phase “beyond the miracle” had become apparent when, in 2008, the *Sunday Times* ran a headline exclaiming, “We are gatvol!”—We have had enough!”—followed by the subheading “Survey Finds South Africans Are Plunging into Despair” (Sparks qtd. in Wasserman and de Beer, “Afro-optimism/Afro-pessimism” 379). Afro-pessimism became one modality for expressing this despair in the media, particularly through familiar tropes of corruption, venality, and criminality.

Booyesen’s rape became an exemplary site for the articulation of despair and hopelessness through the incorporation of the single event of rape alongside scenes of economic abandonment into a language of crisis. To understand the circulation of this event in print media, it is necessary

to explore the relationship between the catastrophic event, in this case the gang-rape, mutilation, and murder of a teenage girl, and the “ordinary, chronic, and cruddy” circumstances or “quasi-events” of the impoverished context in which this scene of catastrophe unfolded (Povinelli, *Economies of Abandonment* 13). By navigating the relationship between what Berlant might describe as “endemic” or “dispersed suffering,” as Povinelli refers to it, and the punctal event of rape and murder, I seek to understand the intersections between political despair and the scenes of apathy, attrition, and exhaustion that emerge as the backdrop for this narrative.

Importantly, the exhaustion and attrition that informs conditions in rural settings such as Bredasdorp, where Booysen’s rape occurred, is not equivalent to the political despair that is expressed in the liberal press over the failure of the public to respond with sufficient outrage to gendered violence. Nevertheless, these two affective states resonate on similar wavelengths even as they fail to intersect, both reflecting the prevailing mood that the “miracle” of democracy has not delivered on its promises. Moreover, as was the case in newspaper reportage of Baby Tshepang’s rape, the media coverage of Booysen’s rape focused on environments defined by attenuated despair, exhaustion, and poverty, and incorporated them into the temporality of the event through crisis-laden language. So, the “chronic” conditions of ordinary misery that saturate places like Bredasdorp or Louisvale weg become a site of moral panic and are easily incorporated into Afro-pessimist discourses.

This chapter focuses on the relationship between the representation of the violent event and more “dispersed suffering,” to borrow Povinelli’s phrasing. For this chapter, I surveyed 55 articles (26 from the print media and 29 from digital publications) published during 2013 in the *Mail & Guardian*, *The Daily Maverick*, *The Sowetan*, *The Star*, *The Times* among others. I chose to focus on a diverse range of print media sources, including more prestigious news outlets such

as the *Mail & Guardian*, who address an educated urban middle class, in order to observe both the continuities and conflict that were evident across the representations of this event in the hopes that these conflicts might reflect some of the diversity of South Africa's fractured public sphere. Through my analysis, it became clear that many of the same themes and concerns resonated across these diverse publications. In this chapter, I identify three motifs which foreground apathy and despair. I begin by considering the media's obsessive focus on gruesome accounts of Booysen's

wounds, in order to show how her disordered body came to function as a symbol for moral and social failure, and of the state's inability to secure the nation against such failure. I go on to examine how the context of Booysen's rape is represented through a language of crisis, and I will argue that this language of crisis fascinates public demands for law and order, interpreting criminality as one index of pessimism over the state of the new democracy. Finally, I examine the representation of the public responses to this event as an inability for the South African public to express the appropriate affect. In particular, I will consider how narratives of public affect tended to frame rape as a moral and social rather than structural problem, deflecting attention away from a robust conversation about the socioeconomic circumstances, the cultural scaffolding, and the conditions of gender inequality that exacerbate violence against women.

The Eventfulness of the Wound

The coverage of Booysen's rape across the South African media, from elite broadsheets like the *Mail & Guardian* to the highly popular *Sunday Times*, focused on the conditions of Booysen's body when she was found. Repeatedly, reportage focused on Booysen's wounded and disembowelled corpse, with the effect of introducing an interpretation of her rape as

symptomatic of a broad set of social and moral ills. As I have already begun to show in previous chapters, crime and the discourses around criminality regularly become shorthand for anxieties over social change and the state of the post-apartheid nation. Here, the gruesome accounts of Booysen's injuries introduced a language of crisis into descriptions of her community of Bredasdorp, where the chronic conditions of poverty became incorporated into a fraught narrative of social decline.

As Comaroff and Comaroff observe, discourse around criminality in South Africa “measure[s] a wide range of insecurities in a world of changing power relations” (“Figuring Crime” 217). The South African public’s “obsession” with crime and lawlessness calls into question a trajectory of modernization defined as the expansion of the state’s capacity to “regulate everyday existence and routinely to enforce punishment” (Comaroff and Comaroff, “Criminal Obsessions” 276). Public discussion of crime allows for contemporary South Africans to demand that the state secure order; for certain parties this might mean securing privilege, while for others it might reflect anxiety over securing access to social stability and limited resources. While Comaroff and Comaroff tacitly suggest that it is primarily the largely white economic elite that exhibits a disproportionate anxiety over crime and desire for social order, Franco Barchiesi shows that conflicting desires for “order” also characterize the precariously employed classes.

Barchiesi contends that the post-1994 government’s focus on providing dignified work “emancipated from shame and violations of the past” as an avenue for “democratic nation building” came to characterize the process “through which the state could selectively incorporate, co-opt, marginalize, or disqualify specific social claims” (4). By associating work with citizenship, the ANC government, and the Mbeki administration in particular, came to

prioritize entrepreneurial initiative over public programs, configuring employment as the remedy to “unruly[ness]” and a way to produce modernity, discipline, and self-sufficiency (92).

Although the government’s discourse emphasized the market’s “socially equalizing role” in rewarding industry and hard work, the forms of work available to the majority continue to be low-paying and contingent (73). Barchiesi goes on to show how the hopes associated with dignified work began to fray as his respondents expressed “disenchantment with precarious employment” which was transposed “into a revanchist image of order and purity” (232). The loss of the hope associated with “decent” or dignified work, Barchiesi argues, results in a male working-class melancholia that translates into a desire to re-establish “ideal social orders” such as “age hierarchies” and gendered “domestic roles” (225, 232). In both the public obsession with crime described by Comaroff and Comaroff and the male working-class melancholia described by Barchiesi, crime is configured as a threat to social and moral order as well as progress, and the *tsotsi*—the young black urban gangster—is a figure of social panic who refuses gainful employment and preys on the “productive members of society” (Barchiesi 231). Criminality is therefore framed as an impediment to the hopes associated with the promises of the new dispensation to secure social stability.

In this light, it seems that public discourse around criminality transposes black working-class men’s anxieties over access to the promises of the new democracy, and the desire of a largely white economic elite to fortify its social position, into concerns over social and sexual disorder which are often projected onto women’s wounded bodies. Booyesen’s body, then, becomes a particularly charged site for an exploration of the failure of the “democratic state” to secure social order and deliver on the promises of the new dispensation. As mentioned in my introduction, *wound culture* alerts us to the manner in which publics “convene [...] around

scenes of violence” and individual suffering in the pathological public sphere (3). For Seltzer, this obsession with the public spectacle of “torn and opened persons” involves a “breakdown in the distinction” between “private and public registers” (3). In the pathological public sphere, the private and the public intersect in the spectacle of the torn or wounded body, which is simultaneously inside and outside itself (Seltzer 4). Seltzer’s understanding of a wound culture provides insight into the public fascination with Booyesen’s torn body, and how the preoccupation with this “opened” body became a conduit for public anxieties.

As I observed in my introduction, Seltzer’s model, though significant, cannot sufficiently account for the complex popular obsessions with violent crime in South African public culture (Comaroff and Comaroff, “Criminal Obsessions, After Foucault” 276). Cooppan’s description of the *security anecdote* exemplifies the tendency for South African publics to convene around narratives of violent crime that in turn reflect anxieties over order and progress:

The security anecdote relates and repeats (relates so as to repeat) an event of sudden violence: a robbery, a break in, a car-jacking, a rape, a shooting, that touches some person directly known by or a few degrees separated from the narrator. This is what happened, just last month, just last week, just yesterday, to my sister or my neighbour, to my sister’s neighbour’s sister. As an event both unexpected and expected, given widespread conviction that violence defines the postapartheid present, the security anecdote stages a problem of closure and makes a predictive claim about the truth and failure of a political system. In the security anecdote the system that fails is not apartheid but its aftermath, the democratic state that has failed to deliver on its promises, failed to redistribute and redevelop its resources, failed to keep safe and make better the lives of its citizens (Cooppan 60)

The security anecdote can be understood in relation to Bremner's discussion of criminality which I elaborated in the previous chapter, where she shows that criminality has not only affected the texture of the post-apartheid city scape, but is deeply implicated in diverse post-apartheid imaginaries and public cultures. Cooppan's description of the security anecdote is an example of what Comaroff and Comaroff call "crime talk," where rumor, gossip, and passing narratives of criminality become a conduit for the staging of claims about the "failure of a political system." As Cooppan observes, it is not the legacy of apartheid that is raised through these crime narratives, but the failure of the "democratic state" to "deliver its promises" and to secure its citizens. Evidently, debates around criminality bring to light concerns over the fragility of political stability and threat of impending disorder, and express disappointment over the ability of the new democratic state to meet the promises of its seemingly miraculous inception. In the media's representation of Booyesen's rape, these concerns are reflected through the gruesome preoccupation with her injured body, which became a cipher for the inversion of social order.

Relying on normative notions of the social good, rape narratives in the South African media tend to identify poor and young unemployed men with a threat to social order (Morris, "The Mute and the Unspeakable" 60), while at the same time doing little to disrupt those gender hierarchies that figure women's lives as less valuable. Like the constitutional changes that formally empower women in the public sphere but do little to threaten established gender dynamics in the private sphere, these public rejections of rape are less about women's rights to autonomy over their bodies than they are about a perceived threat to the coherence of the nation-state from within (as political corruption) and without (in the form of the criminal youth). As columnist Rebecca Davis notes, Booyesen remained "a cipher" throughout the coverage of this case, "a cautionary tale [,] a glimpse into the darkness at the margins and the centre of our

fractured society” (“Daily Maverick’s Person(s) of the Year 2013”). Sarah Murphy, drawing on Seltzer’s conceptualization of “wound culture,” argues that “the figure of the rape victim, particularly insofar as she can be represented as a “torn and exposed individual,” has become a principal figure of a sociality that can only be constituted as a wound” (76). As I will show, rather than as a “lively 17-year-old,” Booysen was identified through descriptions of her torn body, which were, in turn, used to figure the South African public as injured and “inured” to violence, as “wounded” by corruption and criminality.

Even some of the most nuanced articles published in the wake of Booysen’s murder, such as Eusebius Mckaiser’s “South Africa Rallies Against Fatal Gang Rape,” begin with a detailed description of the injuries sustained by the seventeen-year-old victim. In particular, these reports regularly dwelt upon her disembowelment, the glass fragments found in her vagina, and the distress experienced by the doctors and nurses who attended to her in hospital.⁹⁷ As was the case in reporting on Tshepang’s rape, the media gave lurid descriptions of bodily harm, genital injury, and made a spectacle of the victim’s torn and opened body. These gruesome accounts of Booysen’s corpse were often juxtaposed with descriptions of the conditions of the town of Bredasdorp, examples of South Africa’s high rape statistics, or the meager details of Booysen’s life. In interviews, Anene’s foster mother, Corlia Olivier, lamented that “[a]t night when it gets quiet and I am alone is when I will miss her the most. We always used to joke that we don’t need a TV, because we had each other. I think I may have to get one now” (“150 Rapes an Hour” 1).

⁹⁷ For examples of this preoccupation with Booysen’s injuries, see Ranjeni Munusamy, “The Agony of South Africa’s Daughter Anene Booysen. The Agony of South Africa,” “I’m Tired and Sore - Anene’s Last Words,” “Violent Crime Must be a ‘Wake-up Call’,” Nashira Davids “Raped Teen’s Last Words,” Jason Felix “I Told Anene Not to be Late,” and Yolisa Tswana “Outrage After ‘Despicable Sexual Crime’.”

Despite the horrific nature of the crime, Anene's foster mother describes her loss to reporters in a register of the ordinary, as the loss of a companion. Olivier recounts her daughter's absence in terms of a newly quiet home and the need to buy a television. Similarly, she repeatedly described her foster daughter as a "hard worker" who had dropped out of school to help support the household and buy food ("150 Rapes an Hour" 1). In interviews, Olivier could only articulate the extent and nature of her loss by describing the manner in which her daughter was intimately embedded in her everyday attempts at making-do in her economically marginalized community.

This ordinary register, however, is sharply contrasted with the description of the event given by Anene's aunt, Wilma Books, which produces a disconcerting image— "[t]hat which was supposed to be inside her body lay strewn across the scene where they found her" ("150 Rapes an Hour" 1). Brooks' statement suggests an inversion of the normal order of things. The preoccupation with Booyesen's disembowelment, that she had been "totally cut open" and that "[s]ome parts of her body were open on the ground," reflects the configuration of this event and its extreme violence as a reflection of social and moral disorder (Felix). This account produces a tension between the relatively ordinary ways that Oliver registers her loss, and the extreme violence communicated by the conditions of Booyesen's body. Through this juxtaposition, the reportage conveys anxiety over the disordered state of society, where the distinction between inside and outside is disrupted, as is the relationship between the ordinary and the catastrophic event.

Booyesen's "opened body" was regularly narrated alongside scenes of more quotidian suffering. Specifically, many articles used the spectacle of the injured body as a means to reframe the conditions of everyday poverty in Bredasdorp through a narrative of crisis, which, following Berlant, we might describe as "crisis ordinariness." As was the case in the

representation of Louisvale weg as a “town of shame” in the *Sunday Times*, Bredasdorp was figured as an abjected site of social abandonment in newspapers such as, the *Mail and Guardian*, *Pretoria News*, and *City Press*. Bredasdorp was described as a “community [. . .] fighting the scourge of drink, drugs and poverty” (Underhill), where “[s]uch horrific violence [was] commonplace” (“Anene’s Gang Rape Not Bredasdorp’s First”). Bredasdorp was represented as a place of fragmented families where fathers are “absent” and boys are not “socialized,” characterized by a “lethal cocktail” of “low esteem, hopelessness and helplessness” (Dawson 13). In her article for *The Times*, Nashira Davids observes that there are “no recreational facilities” and nowhere “respectable” to go in Bredasdorp. Throughout this reportage, Bredasdorp was framed as a place beset by social ills and abandoned by the state, with no “facilities” or “respectable pastimes,” where residents turn to drugs and alcohol as a means to cope with conditions of life that are diagnosed as “hopeless and helpless.”

By representing the town of Bredasdorp as a site of social abandonment, the media approached violence against women as a moral problem that needed to be addressed through the reconstitution of the family. Similarly, the ANC Women’s League claimed that violence against women should be tackled through “the restoration of family values” (Gouws, “Women’s Activism” 409). Moreover, Police Minister Nathan Mthethwa was widely quoted as saying, “Police do need assistance... from the family unit first and foremost, because if your under-age child is not at home at 20:00, at 22:00 or your child is busy on the cyberspace, you don't even know who your child is interacting with” (“Violent Crime Must Be a 'Wake-up Call’”). While Mthethwa’s victim-blaming statements were widely criticized for perpetuating rape culture, the underlying message that the “family unit” needs to be restored is repeated more subtly in other articles. When Celia Dawson reflects on the absence of fathers (tacitly coded as black) and the

insufficient “socialization” of black and brown boys in her article for the *Pretoria News* (a publication addressed to a largely white readership), she is displacing the problem of rape onto the black family. Although many articles sought to show that South Africa is indeed a rape culture—a culture whose social conditions support rape and protect rapists—a more nuanced analysis of the gender inequality was often displaced by anxiety over the state of social abandonment for which Bredasdorp became a symbol. By registering the problem of rape as a social or moral problem focused on the black family as a site of (failed) social reproduction, these articles problematically deflect an understanding of rape’s political valence (Gouws, “The Public Discourse on Rape” 74).

Indeed, through the media’s focus on the disordered condition of Booysen’s corpse alongside scenes of social abandonment and individual poverty, the problem of rape came to be registered as a moral problem rather than a political problem. The material conditions of Booysen’s death were used to displace her individuality, and her corpse became a means to introduce a narrative of social crisis similar to the moral panic that accompanied the media’s coverage of Tshepang’s rape. The quotidian conditions of poverty experienced by many South Africans were reframed through a language of crisis and interpreted as a failure of the state to produce an orderly society. While the spectacle of Booysen’s injuries was used to introduce questions over the state of South African society, it was not effective in opening up a conversation about rape as an inherently political problem. Rather, rape was figured as a moral problem that was facilitated by the poverty and social fragmentation of certain sectors of society. In publications addressing a largely white readership, the problems of poverty and social reproduction were not contextualized within the legacies of apartheid but were instead figured as an issue of contemporary governance exemplified through the pathologization of the black

family. Despite the fact that Booyesen's body was carelessly discarded, few asked about the conditions that would allow the body of a young black woman to be disposed of in this way.

The "Scourge" of Rape

During the press's coverage of Booyesen's rape, the focus on broad social and moral ills in economically marginalized areas deflected discussions away from a robust understanding of the social conditions that support rape. To understand this transference away from questions of how gender operates in society to those of social and political malaise more broadly conceived, it is useful to consider, in more detail, the emergent discourses of gender equality that developed after 1994 and particularly during the presidencies of Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma. Specifically, I will outline how discourses of "gender empowerment" came to supplant demands for a substantive change in social or cultural understanding of gender. Although gender equality came to be aligned with narratives of progress, how that equality came to be understood was largely associated with the empowerment of a few. While the media regularly took up the cause of gender equality within the context of its emerging tensions with the ANC government, it tended to align gender reform with liberal progress, and in so doing, deflected attention away from the social conditions that support rape to a critique of the ANC's ability to govern, or of the state of the nation more broadly.

The Women's Charter for Effective Equality (Feb.1994) has strongly influenced both the post-1994 constitution and the ANC government's approach to women's rights. Linzi Manicom observes that by appealing to universalizing conceptualizations of women's rights, the influence of the Woman's Charter has been to "elid[e] difference" and "mas[k] the ways in which struggles for realizing particular forms of citizenship for women privilege some women over others"

(24).⁹⁸ Similarly, the Women’s Charter’s legacy, with its articulated “nostalgia for the clear and unambiguous elements of the modernist, liberal, feminist project” (Manicom 21), has been the inclusion of a few privileged women into institutional hierarchies, without amending ingrained attitudes towards gender (Meintjes 112; Hassim, “Texts and Tests” 17). During Thabo Mbeki’s reign, a form of liberal feminism emerged that no longer upheld the Charter of 1954 and 1994’s more radical demands for substantive economic equality; instead, “[w]omen became the face of the modernist, national project of governing” (Hassim “Who’s Afraid of Feminism”).⁹⁹ While the liberal project of introducing more women into government and the workplace has been effective in South Africa—often associated with the modernization and democratization of the new nation—there has been less success in overturning the covert attitudes to women that were developed and reified under apartheid but are also rooted in indigenous patriarchies, what Sheila

⁹⁸ The first Women’s Charter was adopted at the 1954 conference of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW). During the period of constitution building in the 1990s, the Women’s National Coalition began to collect women’s concerns in order to develop the Women’s Charter for Effective Equality. As Hassim observes, the Charters were generally universalist in their tenor, emphasizing the rights of citizens within a “modernist vision of nation” (Hassim, “Texts and Tests” 8). Despite their universalist and liberal underpinnings, both Charters significantly acknowledged the importance of “economic inequalities” for women’s independence; the 1954 Charter insisted on “equal pay for equal work” and the 1994 Charter acknowledged the “impact of women’s unpaid labor on their access to labor markets” (Hassim, “Texts and Tests” 15). The effect of the Charters was not only to enshrine women’s legal and political equality in the constitution, but to assure the promise of reproductive rights and sexual freedoms (Hassim, “Texts and Tests” 16). The largest effects of the Charters remain increased political representation and legal equality, while deeply imbedded social norms and economic disparities have proven more difficult to dislodge.

⁹⁹ The ANC women’s league, despite regularly critiquing the patriarchal structures of South African society, still tends to reinforce an understanding of women’s empowerment that emphasizes the visibility of women in prominent political and economic roles rather than systemic social change. Indeed, the organization tends to uphold the split between the public and private that has been a dominant concern in women’s lives and the institution of normative gender identities. For example, in a letter to the *Sunday Independent* Mapula Mokaba-Phukwana, Member of the Executive Council for Transport stated, “Despite modernity, there are those core responsibilities of women towards their husbands, children and family that cannot change” (Qtd. in Gouws, “Women’s Activism” 408). Although women may be encouraged to take on leadership roles in the public sphere, assumptions persist that they should continue to uphold traditional roles in the private sphere.

Meintjies calls a “patchwork of [...] patriarchies” (114).¹⁰⁰ As Meintjies observes, the institutionalization of women’s empowerment after apartheid focused on “bringing women in” rather than reconfiguring how “both women and men thin[k] about gender” (112).

Unsurprisingly, violence against women is a “prime block to women enjoying personal and civil autonomy” (Meintjies 114); however, South African discourse tends to conflate “the experience of violence by women and children, with a prime focus on the idea of care” (Meintjies 113). During Jacob Zuma’s presidency, the national gender machinery that included the Office for the Status of Women and the Joint Monitoring Committee on the Quality of Life and Status of Women were dismantled in favour of a Ministry for Women, Youth and People with Disabilities in 2009 (Gouws, “The Public Discourse on Rape” 67).¹⁰¹ This maneuver operates on two levels. On the one hand, as Gouws has confirmed, lumping together women, youth, and people with disabilities into a single category causes women to be figured as weak, vulnerable, and in need of special treatment (87). In other words, gender violence is not seen as a form of violence that operates within, and because of, systems that support gender specific asymmetries of power; rather, it is seen as the persecution of vulnerable individuals. Furthermore, this restructuring of the government’s gender machinery reflects an overt distancing of the ANC from the support of female empowerment associated with Mbeki’s regime. It is no surprise that in a 2012 press conference, the ANC women’s league’s former president, while expressing

¹⁰⁰ Under apartheid, women were virtually absent from government, and the state was “hostile’ to women, particularly black women (Gouws, “Women’s Activism” 403). “State policy,” Amanda Gouws observes, “constructed women as objects of rule, reproducing certain political and social identities at the same time” (“Women’s Activism” 403). In contrast, in the first democratic parliament, the ANC-led government included a voluntary quota of 30 per cent female representatives (Gouws 404). The post-apartheid government has continued to include a substantial proportion of women in positions of power.

¹⁰¹ In 2014, a Ministry of Women in the Presidency replaced the Ministry for Women, Youth and People with Disabilities.

support for Zuma's presidential candidacy, claimed that the league is not a "feminist organization" "hostile" to male leaders (qtd. in Du Plessis). The media's treatment of Booysen's rape case occurred within a context where overt feminist claims to equality had been supplanted by a language of individual empowerment, on the one hand, and conservative notions of women's social and domestic roles, on the other. Furthermore, in their coverage of this case, the media tended to utilize discourses of liberal feminism as a means to situate women's rights as an indicator of social progress, while inadvertently diminishing a focus on the systemic nature of violence against women across South African society.

In the media's coverage of Booysen's rape and murder, her death was regularly contextualized through rape statistics and conversations with feminist academics, activists and community stakeholders. Conversations with these experts allowed reporters to posit gender equality as one axis on which progress and democratization could be tracked. As was the case with the coverage of Tshepang's rape, the conversation quickly turned to questions surrounding the state of South African masculinity. Violent masculinities, particularly when coded as black, were generally blamed on failed support networks, socialization, and fragmented families (Swart), rather than robustly contextualized through an analysis of gender relations in South African society more broadly. As a result, black men and particularly black male youth were represented as out of sync with the project of democratization and modernity.¹⁰² Moreover, the waning economic support for rape crisis centres and NGOs from both government and the public sector was incorporated into a particular narrative of the absence of care. While the experts

¹⁰² Gushwell Brooks makes a similar point in his opinion piece for the *Daily Maverick*, where he argues that it is insufficient to criticize fragmented families for men's violence. Instead, he argues that we should consider how women are structured in society as objects and possessions.

called upon in the media to interpret Booysen's rape often gave nuanced accounts for the causes of rape and the social conditions that perpetuate gender violence in South Africa, they were deployed in these articles in order to align the press with normative notions of progress that were articulated through the demands for gender equality.

The representation of gender violence in the press should be contextualized within the broader antagonistic relationship that had been emerging between the press and the ANC-led government from Mbeki's presidency onwards. "Freedom of expression," which is guaranteed in the post-apartheid constitution, "has often been understood in different ways" resulting in a number of conflicts between the government and the media (Wasserman and De Beer, "Which Public" 43). As I have already observed, the ANC government understood the media's role as acting in service of "national interests," while media spokespersons saw its role as acting in the "public interest," often in a watchdog capacity (Wasserman and De Beer, "Which Public" 4346);¹⁰³ however, as critics have noted, the concept of public interest tends to assume the "homogeneity of a public that is, in fact, divided along racial, ethnic and class lines" (Wasserman and De Beer, "Which Public" 43). Despite the "deracialization" of the structures of "media capital" after the end of apartheid, "the underlying commercial logic of the press remained the same" and news media audiences continue to be "largely racially segmented" (Wasserman 586). In the new democratic context, the media needed to reorient their "professional practices and occupational ideologies" toward democracy, as well as navigate the radical changes in the global news industry, including lower advertising and sales revenues (Wasserman 584).

¹⁰³ For a further discussion of this conflict, see Fourie 54.

After the fall of apartheid, during which time the state had heavily regulated and censored the press, the media now relied on its own regulation in the form of the Press Council, the Press Ombudsman and the Press Appeals Panel, and began to identify new normative models for its role in civil society. The normative framework that underpinned these processes of self-regulation “was based in the liberal consensus among news media institutions, grounded in individual rights, a free-market commercial environment and ethical codes largely taken over from the North” (Wasserman 586-587); the *Sowetan*’s “nation-building” approach described in the previous chapter was an exception. The liberal framework through which the media increasingly defined its role regularly conflicted with the government’s belief that the media should support national unity. By 2010, the press had come into direct conflict with the state. This conflict was epitomized by the proposals for *The Protection of State Information Bill* and the arrest of *Sunday Times* reporter Mzilikazi wa Africa (Daniels 4).¹⁰⁴ The media, particularly the prestige press such as the *Mail and Guardian*, covertly approach questions of democracy and freedom of expression through diverse public debates such as Zapiro’s representation of Jacob

¹⁰⁴ The Protection of State Information Bill describes its aims as follows: “To provide for the protection of sensitive state information; to provide for a system of classification, reclassification and declassification of state information; to provide for the protection of certain valuable state information against alteration, destruction or loss or unlawful disclosure; to regulate the manner in which state information may be protected” (1). This contentious bill was finally passed in April 2013, but had been central to the national debate on the press’s freedom since 2010. Many commentators in the media interpreted the bill as an attempt to curtail the press’s freedom. While its 2013 iteration included “public interest” provisions, members of the media continued to see it as a threat to constitutionally protected free speech. In an associated incident, journalist Mzilikazi wa Africa was arrested in 2010. The arrest occurred shortly after Wa Africa had written an article in the *Sunday Times* that was critical of the chief of police. National police commissioner General Bheki Cele publically denounced Wa Africa as a “very shady journalist” (qtd. in Grobler). In 2012, Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa admitted that Wa Africa’s arrest on fraud charges had been an error, and Wa Africa was paid damages to the sum of R100, 000. Both the debate of the so-called “secrecy bill” and Wa Africa’s arrest form part of the backdrop for an understanding of the antagonism between the media and the ANC-led government.

Zuma or Brett Murray's painting of *The Spear*.¹⁰⁵ The media's treatment of rape, therefore, often occurs under the auspices of its understanding of itself as a "watchdog" and a protector of public interests. The two conflicts over the representation of rape referenced in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, between Charlene Smith and Thabo Mbeki and between Jacob Zuma and Zapiro, respectively, reflect how rape's coverage can become tied to questions of the media's role in democracy and the ongoing debate over freedom of speech.

Perhaps the most glaring example of the intersection between the South African media's understanding of itself through liberal paradigms as serving the "public interest" and the (neo)liberalism of certain strands of South African (post)feminism is the work of LeadSA, who took a particular interest in Booysen's case. LeadSA was adopted in August 2010 and emerged as an initiative from Primemedia Broadcasting to use their "resources" and "platforms" to make a "positive difference" (Yusuf Abramjee qtd. in Wild). LeadSA quickly concentrated on problems in education, crime, and violence against women as the focus of their activism. In the case of Booysen's rape and murder, LeadSA launched a StopRape campaign that included Primemedia's four radio stations playing a chime every four minutes to indicate the frequency of rape in South Africa. Along with its media partners, LeadSA situated itself as filling in the absence left by government's ineffective response to the crisis of rape. While LeadSA's spokespeople may claim that the initiative is resolutely "non-commercial," it is slickly advertised on the Primemedia group's website and serves to promote a particular understanding of the corporate media's role in the South African public sphere. Importantly, LeadSA made an appeal to (particularly middle

¹⁰⁵ The media came under recurrent criticism that it privileged "white viewpoints and experiences" rather than supporting "national interests" (Wasserman 587). Indeed, as I mentioned in my introduction, many of the most overt conflicts between the ANC and the media around the question of free speech have also centred on race.

class) South Africans as citizens, citing their individual responsibility in combating rape. Initiatives like LeadSA not only frame gender equality as an unambiguous index of progress but reframe corporate media as an engine for the right kind of social change by focusing on individual choice and responsibility while subtly questioning the state's capacity to enact this change.

Following a similar trajectory, newspapers such as the *Sowetan* launched campaigns against gender violence. Under the headline "Enough is Enough," the *Sowetan* printed the following appeal: "[a]s South Africans we need to come together as a nation and declare enough is enough. The scourge of rape cannot be seen as a women's issue any longer but rather all South Africans of all creeds need to come together as a nation and take a stand against this vulgar and despicable act of sexual crime." The article goes on to describe sexual violence as a "national shame" and encourage South Africans to "assist authorities" by reporting rape ("Enough is Enough"). As is often the case in South African discourse, rape is represented as a "scourge" (like a plague or disease) rather than as a specific act of violence perpetrated largely by men against women (Gouws, "The Public Discourse on Rape," 69). The *Sowetan*'s "Say No to Rape" campaign, like LeadSA's "Stop Rape," despite addressing different publics, focuses on the individual citizen's responsibility who must "take a stand" against rape and "take responsibility" in assisting the police. While I am not rejecting the importance of these public initiatives, I am interested in how they use language that focuses on individual responsibility for rape prevention, rather than focusing on systemic inequality, while at the same time configuring rape as a shapeless "scourge" or social ill, instead of a clearly defined form of violence.

Similarly, while many voices in the South African media performed a commitment to ridding the nation of gender violence, they also expressed frustration at the lack of sufficient

public outrage about gender violence. This deficit of care was mapped in two ways: either through statements given by experts who reflect on the prevailing social problem of gender violence in South Africa, or through the comparison between Singh and Booysen's rapes. The media's use of expert voices served to identify South Africa's failure to secure gender equality as one axis upon which social advancement might be measured; this was achieved using statistics to identify the scope and scale of the problem of rape. At the same time, interviews with experts tended to be used to reinforce the narrative that rape is a moral problem or a symptom of a sick society. For example, Rachel Jewkes, the acting president on the Medical Research Council and a prominent researcher, is quoted as follows: "[i]t points to a fundamental kind of sickness in our society" (qtd. in Mapenzauswa 15). While Jewkes goes on to speak about the structural conditions of patriarchy in the same interview, it is the notion that South Africa is "sick" or "inured" to violence that is taken up more regularly in this reportage. Furthermore, the understanding of South Africa as a country that is "apathetic" to violence is amplified in those articles that consider Booysen's rape alongside the rape and murder of Singh (Mapenzauswa 15). Indeed, the narratives of pessimism and despair that emerge from the media's comparison of these two cases are closely aligned with an understanding of gender equality as one axis of social progress. Initiatives such as LeadSA, through their language of responsibility, suggest that it is up to individuals as citizens to advance social progress, just as they suggest that the state has failed to uphold this progress. Conversely, while corporate initiatives such as LeadSA express optimism in the individual's capacity to effect change, more commonly commentators bemoaned the inefficacy of political action. This discourse, often citing politicians' lip service or the short-lived political protests, was often Afro-pessimist in its tenor and reflected "political despair" in its scepticism over the possibility of change.

The “Country that Goes to Sleep When Rape Happens”

Numerous articles in the South African digital and print media suggested the Booysen and Singh’s rapes had become “inextricably linked” (Swart). In their public statement, COSATU demanded that South Africans “must show that [we] [are] no less angry [than India] at such crimes, and must make an equally loud statement of disgust” (qtd. in Tswana). While many reporters noted that there was some similarity in the public responses to the two crimes, it was generally agreed that in India “the public outcry became a high-pitched wail that spread across the region” (Swart). In contrast, South Africa’s reaction was diagnosed as “apa[thetic]” (Swart), “desensitized” (Ebrahim 16) and “indiffer[ent]” (Sehume 9). Reporters expressed concern that South Africans tend “to accept incidents like the death of Booysen as part of daily life” (Tswana), or that her death would “become another statistic” (Sehume 9). Across these articles in digital and print newspapers such as *The Star*, *The Mail and Guardian*, *The Cape Argus*, and *The Times*, the failure to respond appropriately to the problem of rape was understood to operate through two narratives: either as the individual’s failure to evoke sufficient outrage, or as the state’s failure to effectively secure its citizens’ safety.

When considering how the South African media juxtaposed the two cases, it is necessary to consider how the two women’s stories circulated rather differently despite the similarities of their injuries. Singh was an aspirational figure who had overcome the circumstances of her poor rural upbringing and was completing a professional degree that promised her a place among an emerging urban elite. In contrast, Booysen had dropped out of high school to help support her foster family and lived in the small rural community where she had recently been hired as a cleaner (Underhill). Booysen, unlike Singh, was seldom individuated in news reports other than

through the violence of her injuries or descriptions of her poverty. Glyniss Underhill describes her as living in a home where there was often only “a slice of bread and water.” With little chance of upward mobility, Booysen was a reminder of the attrition of poverty experienced by much of the rural black and coloured youth. Conversely, Singh’s story of class mobility made her an emblem “of a decidedly modern Indian woman” who was “professionally successful and consumer-oriented” and attractive to publics in both India and the West as an image of a modernizing India held back by violent masculinities (Roychowdhury 283). The social and economic differences between the women as well as the symbolic meanings that adhered to their representations in the media partially explains the large disparity in national responses to the two crimes. The differences between the two women were seldom cited in the coverage that compared their two rapes, which generally focused on their similarly injured bodies. The South African media also failed to acknowledge the substantially different discourses around gender violence in the two nations, and their very different histories of policing rape and formulating rape legislation. As a result, it was clear that local journalists presented an image of an appropriately enraged but decontextualized India in order to narrate particular concerns over South African’s relationship to violence.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Booysen’s rape was one instance of multiple rape scandals that had circulated in the South African public sphere. As I have consistently shown in this dissertation, rape was regularly at the centre of the conversation about the state of South African democracy. These scandals had also been accompanied by broad-reaching legislative reform beginning in 1997 to include: the Criminal Law Amendment Act [No.105 of 1997]; the Criminal Procedure Second Amendment Act [No. 85 of 1997]; the National Policy Guidelines for the Handling of Victims of Sexual Offences (1998); and the National Management Guidelines for Sexual Assault Care and the National Sexual Assault Policy (released by the Department of Health [2005]). These legislative changes included the introduction of mandatory minimum sentences for certain rapes, and tightened bail conditions for those charged with rape. As mentioned in my introduction, the most important of these changes was the 2007 Sexual Offences Act, which was the culmination of the amendments to South African rape law that broadened the definition of rape to include male victims, and to acknowledge spousal rape. While these legislative changes did not always translate into a criminal justice system that deals effectively with rape and rape survivors, it nevertheless reflects

The South African media regularly cited Singh's rape and murder in order to construct a narrative of a South African public inured to, and apathetic towards, violence. Ranjeni Munusamy, in the digital newspaper *The Daily Maverick*, articulated the contrast between the public responses in each nation as follows: "[h]orrified, India rose up to confront its hidden shame. South Africa knows its shame and yet does not rise up." Similarly, Zeenat Ebrahim of the *Daily News* asks, "[a]re we so desensitized to this violence that these incidents and the sheer number of rapes don't leave us reeling in utter disbelief?" (16). In both cases, Munusamy and Ebrahim suggest that South Africans have become "desensitized" and "accustomed" to sexual violence; rape is so frequent, it seems, that South Africans can no longer express the appropriate affect and express sufficient outrage. Munusamy's comment, however, is particularly interesting, in that it goes one step further to claim that South Africans are too "accustomed to the daily violation of the weak by those more powerful." In this statement, Munusamy untethers Booyesen's rape from its particularly gendered dimensions. Women, it seems, are simply one example of "the weak" who are "violated" by those in power. Accordingly, Munusamy suggests that South Africans have not only become inured to rape, but to inequality more broadly.

the longstanding importance of rape in national conversations and legislative reform. While both India and South Africa have substantial systemic problems with violence against women, rape has regularly been on the South African public agenda since the mid-1990s. However, while rape is common in India, the coverage of sexual violence in the media has been historically limited (Shakutala 155). The legislative changes that followed the 2013 protests, particularly the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, no. 13, enforced more stringent sentences for rape, including the death penalty, while continuing to withhold recognition for "victims of marital rape, sex workers, and homosexuals" (Kapur 11). Despite having similarly high rates of rape, and a long history of suppressing rape, the South African and Indian approaches to rape in their public spheres and legislation remain quite different. In particular, while Singh's assault seemed to spark an unprecedented public conversation about violence against women in India, in South Africa rape has regularly emerged as a public concern and site of debate.

Munusamy is not alone in her diagnosis of South Africa as a context that has become desensitized to the suffering of others, to political scandal, and to widespread violence.

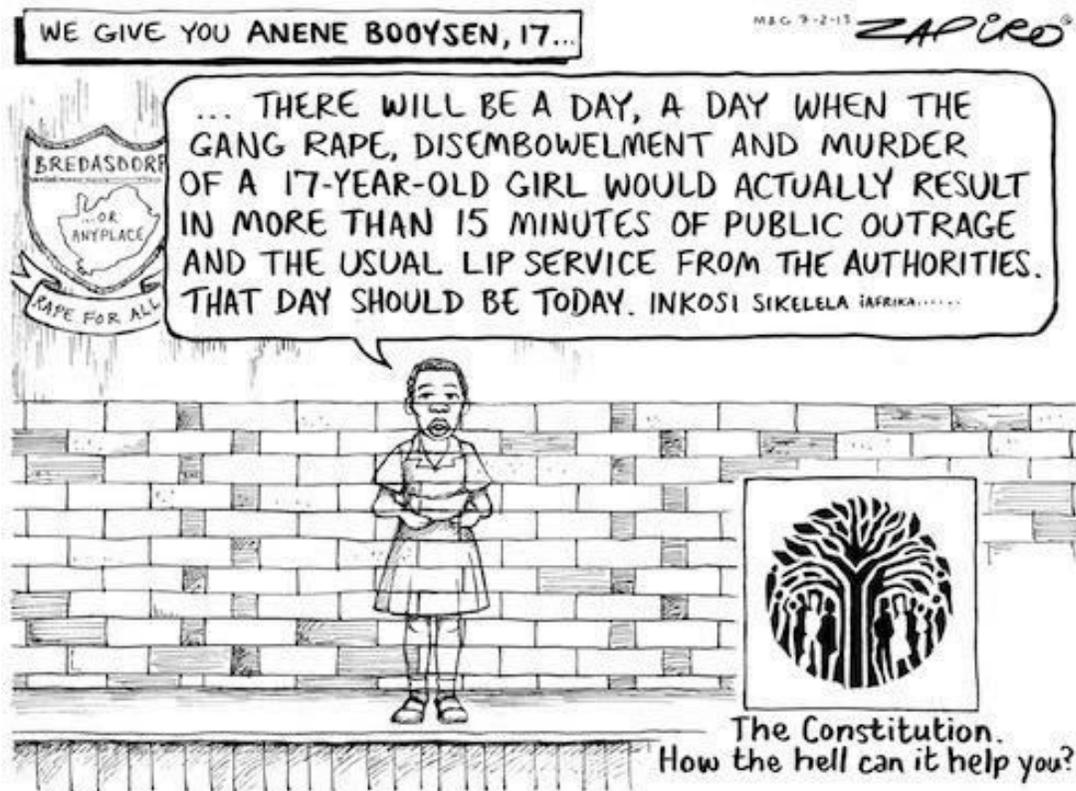


Fig. 1 Zapiro. "Gang Rape and Murder of 17-Year-Old Anene Booysen." *Mail and Guardian*, 13 Feb. 2013.

Indeed, many articles repeatedly used Booysen's narrative to posit an image not only of contemporary South Africans as apathetic to violence and social deprivation, but of an increasing national hopelessness and political despair. Zapiro (Jonathan Shapiro) released a cartoon in the aftermath of Booysen's death (fig. 1). At the centre of the image stands the ghost of a girl in school uniform alongside a speech bubble which reads, "...there will be a day, a day when the gang rape, disembowelment and murder of a 17-year-old girl would actually result in more than 15 minutes of public outrage and the usual lip service from authorities. That day should be today. Inkosi Sikelela iAfrica..." In this cartoon, Zapiro diagnoses the public responses to Booysen's murder as "the usual lip service" and interprets the rape within a broader context of political

decline signalled by the ironic question: “The constitution. How the hell can it help you?” The cartoon interprets the nation’s failure to react appropriately to this crime in two significant ways. Firstly, by appending the national anthem to the end of her statement, Zapiro references both histories of the struggle against apartheid—*Inkosi Sikelela* was a protest song—and the hope associated with the new dispensation. The anthem trails off, allowing the ellipsis to reflect the incomplete project of liberation that continues to exclude women. Secondly, by referencing the constitution, the cartoon ironically highlights the failure of the post-apartheid nation-state to meet the aspirational promise of its constitution, often lauded for its inclusivity. In the cartoon, the constitution and the national anthem reference the cluster of hopes attached to the new democracy. By cutting the anthem short and reframing the constitution’s promise to help citizens with irony, Zapiro subverts the hope of these two symbols and introduces despair.

While Booysen is literally at the centre of Zapiro’s image, it was far more common for these narratives to use the black woman’s body as a vehicle for concerns over the state of the nation itself. Munusamy’s article, “The Agony of South Africa’s Daughter Anene Booysen,” lists a series of governmental misdeeds and failures, such as poor service delivery, alongside Booysen’s death. Munusamy suggests that South Africans suffer from “scandal fatigue,” adding that: “South Africa seems to be reacting to rape in the same way as other forms of exploitation [...] We are pounded daily with the rape of the public purse and the political elite using their positions to feather their own nests.” In Munusamy’s statement, the nation is rendered feminine and passive in the face of gender violence, corruption, and social insecurity; it is also vulnerable to a kleptocratic state’s phallic plundering. As in the international media’s representation of the rape, Booysen herself is displaced. This displacement allows for the reading public to imagine itself as violated. Here, Munusamy uses rape to figure society as corrupted from within by an

elite who pillage the nation for individual gains. Published in what might be considered the elite press,¹⁰⁷ Munusamy's and Zapiro's responses to Booyesen's rape register the concern outlined by Comaroff and Comaroff with failed governance and disorder, so as to make a plea to a neoliberal state to re-establish social stability. Furthermore, both Zapiro's reference to the authorities' response to rape as "lip service" and Munusamy's frustration with "scandal fatigue" reflect a concern with a public and a state that is inured to sexual violence.

Similarly, in an article entitled "How Much of You Really Care?" David Moseley asks: "Are we really doing anything to make sure another Nkandla isn't built, another labour massacre doesn't take place or that another teenager isn't cut in half and left for dead." Like Munusamy, Moseley draws together some of the most striking controversies of Zuma's presidency—the massacre at Marikana and the costly upgrades to his homestead in Nkandla—with the brutalization of Booyesen's body. Moseley, too, is troubled by South African's passivity, asking: "what are we doing?" Unlike Munusamy's concern over "scandal fatigue," however, where the nation is the feminized victim of the plundering of an ineffective kleptocratic leadership, Moseley focuses on the failure of the national public to experience the correct form of political affect. He asks, "When the anger and outrage dies down, then what?" finally bemoaning, "[h]ow much do you really care?" Rather than placing the blame concretely on those in governance, Moseley articulates a concern over the absence of "care" that he configures as a broader social problem. Moseley is not the only reporter to accuse the South African public of insufficient "care." Radio personality Redi Tlhabi described South Africa as "the only country that goes to

¹⁰⁷ The *Mail & Guardian* and the *Daily Maverick* both situate themselves as targeting an educated, urban, and middle-class readership. The *Daily Maverick*, however, is a smaller, more progressive publication, aimed at a younger more racially diverse demographic.

sleep when a rape happens” (qtd. in Mapenzauswa 15) and Dawson demands that South Africans rid themselves of “complacency” (13).

The lack of outrage and care over Booysen’s murder is interpreted by the press in relation not only to political failure, as described above, but economic and social malaise. Dawson suggests that South Africa’s “social fabric is characterized by social deprivation [...] hopelessness and helplessness” (13). Similarly, an editorial in the *Cape Argus* diagnoses South Africa as a “brutalized society,” a “toxic cauldron” of “inequality, poverty, unemployment, and [...] under-education” (14). As we have seen, the media tended to identify rape as a social and moral problem, while simultaneously aligning it with the disappointments of the post-apartheid era, widespread inequality, political corruption, and the epidemic of crime. Consequently, the media came to represent the South African public as increasingly inured to these examples of social suffering or political failure. This public, it seems – unlike India – was unable to perform the appropriate affect, which was in turn represented through an idiom of despair and hopelessness that not only focused on the proliferation of gender violence, but also the state of the nineteen-year-old democracy. By representing the South African public as apathetic to violence and social injustice, the media repeatedly presented a pessimistic narrative of political despair, where the possibility of change is impeded not only by governmental inefficiency and corruption but by an “indifferent” and “desensitized” national public (Gasa 16).

Political Despair and South African Feminism

The media’s conceptualization of South African as “inured” and passive to violence was reinforced in feminist responses to Booysen’s murder in the press. Sisonke Msimang’s article, “As Long as We Exist We Will be Raped,” articulated a sense of what I have called “political

despair.” The title itself betrays hopelessness that is reaffirmed in the following passage:

I read an article on Thursday morning. It said: “The victim had been sliced open from her stomach to her genitals and dumped.” The radio is full of this story. Full of politicians and posers trying to outdo one another. Like funeral criers. But it will end, the show. And there will be marches and petitions. There will be statements and rage. But it will happen again. Until we are inured to shock. It will happen again. Until our bones are worn into dust and our teeth crushed into the sand. It will happen and happen. (Msimang, “As Long As We Exist, We Will Be Raped.”)

As in Munusamy’s article, Msimang is quick to link Booysen’s death to political malaise—“politician and posers” using the rape and mutilation of a young black woman as a political opportunity, as an avenue to put on a “show.” Here, Msimang is likely referring to statements released by President Zuma and the ANC women’s league in the wake of Booysen’s murder. In this passage, Msimang also expresses despair over the efficacy of political action; despite “marches,” “petitions,” and “rage,” she observes, “it will happen again.” The hope that might activate political action is soon converted to despair. Rape, for Msimang, is an act of erasure, whereby black women’s bodies are reduced to “dust.” Her description of “bones worn to dust” and “teeth crushed to sand” does not suggest the shock of the event of rape, but rather refers to a slow wearing down of the individual body, as well as the collective will. Her language evokes the slow decay of a corpse over time, while simultaneously providing a powerful metaphor for “political despair” as the outcome of eroded hope. Unlike Munusamy’s presentation of a public pathologically inured to violence, Msimang puts forward a narrative of political despair, where protest is short-lived and ineffective, and sexual violence continues irrespectively.

Similarly, in 2015, when reformulating an essay written for the 2006 Ruth First Memorial

Lecture, Pumla Dineo Gqola admits to being “more optimistic in 2006” (63). In this lecture-turned-book-chapter, Gqola expresses her skepticism about how South Africans speak about gender, criticizing how the talk of the “empowerment of women” rests on the tacit acceptance that allowing a few women access to corporate offices and government positions is sufficient “gender-progressive work for our society” (Gqola 63). She goes on to assert that true “empowerment” would mean women living without the fear of “violent intrusions into their spaces, their psyche’s and their bodies” (Gqola 65). “The grip of violence,” she claims, “is tightening around our collective necks” (Gqola 66). What are we to make of this statement of pessimism, hopelessness, and despair by such a resolute activist and scholar? Although this statement of pessimism does not last for long – Gqola quickly moves on to demand that South Africans shake themselves out of the complacency that makes them complicit in gender violence – I am interested in dwelling on this moment where she briefly acknowledges that the “grip” of such violence is suffocating. I find an echo of this pessimism, when she reminds us of the “very hard work” of activism (70), or where, nearing the end of her book *Rape: A South African Nightmare*, she recalls realizing that rape was not the work of a small minority of men but was endemic to South African society and supported by cultural practices that are upheld by both men and women. She describes this experience as “painful,” yet imagines future “joy” (178). While Gqola’s work is energized by her desire to invigorate a “mass-based feminist movement,” she also encounters the enervating pressure of a “backlash that threatens to swallow [feminists] whole” (179). Unlike Msimang, who admits to the inevitable wearing-down associated with the seemingly endless violence enacted on women’s bodies, Gqola seems to hold despair and hope in suspension. Widespread gender violence might “suffocate” or “swallow” women, but, she suggests, feminist coalitions remain energizing sites of hope.

At the end of her pessimistic account of political despair, Gould argues that, “[w]hile it is certainly true that despair sometimes flattens political possibilities, exacerbating a sense of inefficacy and hopelessness and generating political withdrawal, it also sometimes works to open new political horizons, alternative visions of what is to be done and how to do it” (Gould 107). For Gould, for bad feelings to become political, they need to be acknowledged rather than disavowed (110). While Gqola’s treatise on rape in South Africa does not provide concrete solutions, it does imagine “joy” emerging in the wake of despair, through feminist coalitions that move beyond the empowerment discourse that has come to dominate post-apartheid talk of gender. In the last chapter of this dissertation, I will illuminate similar maneuvers towards a more hopeful register emanating from sites of despair through a close examination of the work of Zanele Muholi and Lady Skollie. Both artists document violence against black women, while simultaneously celebrating their scenes of intimacy and queer desire, potentially navigating a path from despair to hope

Chapter 4: From Despair to Hope? Queer Optimism in the Work of Zanele Muholi and Lady Skollie.

Scene One: A Die-in

On the 23rd of October 2012, the city of Johannesburg hosted its 23rd annual LGBT Pride parade.¹⁰⁸ The parade included a march through the affluent suburb of Rosebank followed by an open party at Zoo-Lake, a large city park. The 2012 parade's theme was "Protect Our Rights." The parade mirrored the dynamics of Pride parades worldwide, including 20,000 marchers accompanying floats hired by a variety of enterprises (Milani, "Sexual Citizenship" 432). The jubilant atmosphere of the march was interrupted by a "die-in" protest staged by members of the feminist collective, the One in Nine Campaign. The group of mainly black women intersected the parade and lay flat on the road with mannequins they had carried with them, creating an obstruction of human and mannequin bodies. Their intention was to force the parade to stop their progress and hold a minute of silence for the black lesbian women and gender non-conforming individuals that had been killed in South Africa. Behind the prone bodies, protesters held black signs with white or red lettering proclaiming, "No Cause for Celebration" and "Dying for Justice."

The Pride participants met this obstruction—made up of largely black women's bodies and inanimate mannequins—with open hostility. As Tommaso Milani describes, "a Pride participant aggressively urged the demonstrators to "go back to the lokshinis [townships]"; a parade marshal head-butted a protesting woman; Jenni Green – the Joburg Pride board member responsible for the logistics of the event – yelled from her golden Mercedes: "This is my route" ("Sexual

¹⁰⁸ The first Johannesburg Gay and Lesbian Pride parade was held in 1990, the year Nelson Mandela was released from prison and the ANC was unbanned.

Cityzenship”⁴³²). These violent expressions of anger immediately communicated that many of the marchers felt that pride, and the Pride parade, only belonged to certain members of the LGBTQTI community. Statements such as “go back to the lokshini [township]” or “[t]his is my route” designate who each speaker thinks should have access to certain spaces (such as an affluent Johannesburg suburb) and identities. The juxtaposition between these differing sectors of the South African queer community is reminiscent of Jasbir Puar’s description of homonationalism in the United States, where she argues that the assumption that “[q]ueerness” is “automatically and inherently transgressive enacts specific forms of disciplining and control, erecting celebratory queer liberal subjects folded into life (queerness as subject) against the pathological and deviant populations targeted for death (queerness as population)” (Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages* 24). Of course, the context of Puar’s comments is distinct from the conflicts described above, yet she shows how certain queer subjects can be “folded into life” in service of national or economic interests, while other queer populations might be “targeted for death” or excluded from the life supporting capacities of the state. This dynamic was exemplified by images of rainbow-flag waving white South Africans cavalierly stepping over the prone black women and protesters, whose postures simulated their own deaths, or dancing in front of the sign holders while making offensive gestures. These gestures confirm the right to life of certain bodies, while rejecting the protestors’ demands that the queer community mourn the death of black lesbians who are regularly excluded from the state’s protections. The juxtaposition between flamboyantly clad, gyrating white participants and the carpet of largely black bodies became a striking image of the very different experiences of queer South Africans, as well as for the racial and class distinctions that fracture LGBTQTI politics in South Africa. With signs like “No Cause for Celebration,” the campaigners sought to interrupt the commercial pleasures of

Pride with mourning, which they attempted to embody through obstruction and impasse; in so doing, they became what Sarah Ahmed might refer to as killjoys—an “affect alien” who disrupts the promise that happiness can be found in certain norms and ideals (22, 49, 46).¹⁰⁹

If you search “Johannesburg Pride Parade 2012” on *YouTube*, at the top of your results list you will find two sharply contrasting videos. The first, produced by *South African Tourism*, shows a montage of images of glamorously dressed marchers, queer folk in drag, and a sea of pink umbrellas against a soundtrack of toe-tapping techno music. Other than the obligatory image of a dreadlocked black woman wearing a Soweto Pride t-shirt, most of the marchers in the video are white. The video clearly seeks to position South Africa as a pink tourist destination and depicts Pride as a celebration of same-sex desire, as an identity, by sleek affluent often-white gay and lesbian folk.¹¹⁰ The second video, produced by the One in Nine Campaign, documents their disruption of Pride 2012, and goes on to criticize the depoliticization of Joburg Pride as a neoliberal endeavour that addresses the LGBTQ community as consumers. Recalling the 1990 Pride parade that had at its helm black gay and lesbian activists such as Simon Nkoli and Beverly

¹⁰⁹ Happiness, for Ahmed, is not only an “affect” or an “intention”; it is an “evaluation or judgment”: “to be happy about something makes something good” (*The Promise of Happiness* 22). The “promise of happiness,” in this sense, orients us towards social norms and ideals as the guarantors of happiness (11). The *killjoy*, for Ahmed, is an “affect alien” who “converts good feelings into bad” (49). By creating disruptions or disturbances, the killjoy “disturb[s] the very fantasy that happiness can be found in certain places” (66). While queer folk in general are often seen as “unhappiness-causes,” in certain contexts, homonormativity may provide the promise of happiness through orientation towards certain social and economic forms, such as marriage. In this case, the One in Nine campaign became an obstruction to happiness; its protest highlighted the “fantasy” of inclusion by reminding South African queers that black queers, particularly black lesbians, are not sustained or protected by the promises of the equality clause in the constitution. Pride, in this context, becomes a good feeling that only certain South African LGBTQI folk may access, and race and class mediate this access.

¹¹⁰ This video, made by South African Tourism, is an example of the manner in which certain queer bodies are “folded into life” by the state. Here, the state supports activities that “actively stake a claim to a cosmopolitan identity (based on racial and sexual diversity) in order to attract tourists and leading industries” (Puar, “Introduction” 3)

Palesa Ditsie—who overtly connected the struggle for racial justice to the struggle for equal rights irrespective of sexual orientation—the video denounces the contemporary configuration of Pride as an example of what Lisa Duggan has called “homonormativity” (179).¹¹¹ As the contrast between these videos suggests, One in Nine’s intervention into Joburg Pride became a “seismographic indication of deeper frictions between a wealthy, white, politically lethargic, gay and lesbian constituency, on the one hand, and a more radical, mainly black group of activist women, on the other” (Milani, “Sexual Cityzenship” 432). The image of white marchers navigating around or stepping across the obstruction created by the One in Nine Campaign works as a powerful visual metaphor for differing power relationships and experiences of queer identity that are either marked by relative ease of movement, economic affluence, social support, and individual choice, or as the experience of impasse, obstruction, and often death.

Scene Two: “Immoral, Offensive [and] Against Nation-building”¹¹²

In 2009, former Arts and Culture Minister Lulu Xingwana walked out of the *Innovative Women* exhibition at Constitutional Hill where she was due to speak. Xingwana’s ire was evoked by photographs by Zanele Muholi, a self-proclaimed “visual activist,” who documents the lives of black South African lesbians. As part of the *Innovative Women* exhibition, Muholi’s *Being*

¹¹¹ Lisa Duggan coined the term *homonormativity* in order to interpret the rise of the Independent Gay Forum and their incorporation into the new conservative politics of the early millennium. The term has been taken up more generally to refer to the manner in which “gay equality rhetoric” and lobbying for certain policies such as marriage “work within the framework of neoliberal politics” (Duggan 179). Duggan usefully defines *homonormativity* as “a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions but upholds and sustains them while promising the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption” (Duggan 179). In this context, gay equality is redefined as “access to the institutions of domestic privacy, [and] the “free” market” (Duggan 179).

¹¹² Lulu Xingwana as qtd. in Bissonauth 240.

series—depicting intimate portraits of black lesbian sexuality—was shown alongside work by Nandipha Mntambo and painter Bongzi Bengu, among others. Xingwana, however, singled out Muholi’s and Mntambo’s work as “immoral, [and] offensive” (qtd. in Bissonauth 240). Going on to proclaim that, the exhibition opposed the ministry’s “mandate [...] to promote social cohesion and nation-building” (qtd. Smith). Xingwana not only described Muholi’s work as a threat to “social cohesion,” but likened it to pornography, arguing that, “[t]hose particular works of art stereotyped black women.” In a later statement, it became clear that the Minister was also directing her comments at Mntambo’s “The Rape of Europa” (2009), which she misidentified as “self-rape.”¹¹³

Xingwana’s statements inevitably provoke the question: In what way does Muholi and Mntambo’s work disrupt “social cohesion” and “nation building”? Mntambo’s mythic image is set against a backdrop of verdant tropical foliage; a nude black woman lies prone at its centre, while a figure with horns—neither overtly male nor female—hovers over her. The image references Pablo Picasso’s “Minotaur Caressing the Hand of a Sleeping Girl with his Face” and the myth of Europa’s abduction by Zeus. By taking on the position of both Europa and Zeus disguised as a bull, Mntambo disrupts binary “identity formations” including race, gender, and humanity (Sanger 67). Rather than reproducing stereotypes of black womanhood as Xingwana suggests, this image disrupts our expectations not only around womanhood, but also around the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, the victim and the perpetrator (Sanger 68). As a result of the “newfound visibility of sex and sexuality that marks the post-apartheid landscape,” this incident reflects how quickly public “sex talk” elides into politics (Posel,

¹¹³ For a more detailed discussion of Xingwana’s reaction, see Matebeni, “Intimacy, Queerness, and Race” 405.

“Getting the Nation Talking about Sex” 133). While metaphors of “family, body and kinship” might provide means for the “healthy containment of sexuality within the community of the nation,” Mntambo’s disruption of stable binaries also destabilized the means through which black women’s sexuality could be comfortably deployed in the service of the nation through family and reproduction (Posel, “Getting the Nation Talking about Sex,” 139).

This incident is often cited as an example of the gap between the constitutional and legislative protections promised to the LGBTQTI community in South Africa and the public hostility towards homosexuality. More importantly, it highlights a series of concerns about the intersections between the visual representation of black women’s sexuality and “social cohesion” or “nation-building.” To a certain extent Xingwana is right; both Mntambo and Muholi engage with a visual repertoire that historically represented black women as hypersexualized, excessively embodied, and less than human. As Deborah Wills and Carla Williams observe, in Western art the representation of black women’s bodies is determined by “prevailing attitudes toward race, gender, and sexuality” (ix). One of the main categories used to represent black women is the “naked black female,” usually captured by the Western photographer: “The black female was a sexual metaphor or an ethnographic specimen, her nudity acceptable because it displayed an exotic or animal nature” (49). Ethnographic photography presented women as “classifiable objects” or types, rather than as individuals (Willis and Williams 28). When speaking of the objectification and display of black women within an ethnographic aesthetic in South Africa, it is impossible to avoid mentioning Sarah Baartman, who circulated the imperial world as an icon of black female deviance, pathology, and hypersexuality (Samueleson 87-91). The emergence of photography was closely linked to the growing interest in the natural sciences and the “related disciplines of ethnology and anthropology” in the 19th century (Wills and

Williams 1); it is, therefore, difficult to separate the history of the camera itself from the violent ethnographic gaze that sought to taxonomize colonized bodies in relation to Western types so as to confirm their presumed inferiority (2). For this reason, it is unsurprising that Xingwana might be sceptical of photographs that represent nude black women, or black women in overtly sexualized poses. Like many of the political scandals that I have cited throughout this dissertation, historical representations of black sexuality colour how representations of sexuality or sexual violence are interpreted in the post-apartheid context.

Rather than trafficking in stereotypes, Muholi and Mntambo disrupt colonizing visual regimes. While Xingwana's scepticism may, indeed, be justified by a historical ethnographic gaze that used photography to confirm the "presumed inferiority" of colonial subjects, her public denouncement of these images also becomes a rejection of "queer intimacy" that is interpreted as "that which works against the good feelings of national pride" (Slevick 447). The overtly sexual and gender non-conforming bodies in these images are threatening to national cohesion, in part, because they disrupt the reproductive futurity of black women's bodies in service of the nation-state. They represent, instead, black women's exploration of their own desires, and/or their own bodies as sites of self-sufficiency, plentitude, self-interrogation, and reflection.

Scene 3: "I Invoke Their Names"

I invoke their names:

Desire Ntombana

Mandisa Mbambo

Phumeza Nkolonzi

Thapelo Makutle

Neil Daniels

Sanna Supa

Sasha Lee Gordon

Hendrietta Morifi

Nokuthula Radebe

Noxolo Nogwaza

Nqobile Khumalo

Ntsiki Tyatyeka

Tshuku Ncobo

Milicent Gaika survives

But the list lingers

A cascade of lives lived and loved

Plump fruits crushed

on the barren bough of hate

Their lives thumb my prayer beads (Azuah 1-20)

Nigerian poet Unoma Azuah opens her poem *The Choke of Grief* with a list of names of victims of hate crimes in South Africa. Published on the LGBTQTI blog *Inkanyiso*, Azuah's poem performs an act of pan-African mourning as she lists the names of victims whose lives she describes as "prayer beads." She calls the victims her "family" or "clan," thereby evoking a community of queer African belonging instigated, in part, through mutual precariousness. The poem produces a litany of names that, through their repetition, become a simultaneous "prayer" and cry for "justice". The second list of names, inserted into the latter part of the poem, begins with "Girly Nkosi" and "Eudy Simelane," who were murdered in 2009 and 2008, respectively. Despite the fact that the courts ruled out her sexual orientation as the motive for her murder, Eudy Simelane is regularly understood to be the most famous victim of what is problematically referred to as "curative" or "corrective" rape in South Africa—the rape of openly lesbian women. Thirty-one-year-old Simelane was a footballer who played for the South African women's team *Banyana Banyana* and worked as a coach and referee. She lived openly as a lesbian in KwaThemba township. In 2009, she was found abandoned close to a stream; she had

been robbed, gang-raped, and stabbed twelve times. The brutality of Simelane’s murder is mirrored in the murder of Girly Nkosi, who was also stabbed multiple times, and activist Noxolo Nogwaza, who was found in a drainage ditch where she had been stabbed with broken glass and beaten with chunks of concrete (Bryson “Only a Matter of Time”). The brutality of these deaths suggests the desire to obliterate and humiliate these women. Their murders remind us that while white queer folk are relatively insulated by their economic security and are “folded into life” through their access to marriage, adoption, and insurance, black queer folk, particularly cis- and trans- women, are often publicly rejected by government officials, like Lulu Xingwana and Jacob Zuma, or primed for death. In this context, Azuah’s memorial act of solidarity comes into focus; by archiving the names of the victims of homophobic violence in South Africa, she affirms their existence—their lives, which she describes as “plump fruit”—in the face of brutal erasure. Azuah ends hopefully: “I choke in my grief / And watch their spirits / roll off the slabs of the slain / And rise / like a burst of butterflies/ into the horizon” (48-53). While Azuah affirms her “grief” at the loss of so many queer lives, the poem ends with an optimistic image of resilience. The murdered men and women she mourns escape erasure by “roll[ing] off the slabs of slain” and flying into the horizon.

The above scenes highlight the nexus of tensions that surround what it means to be black and queer in South Africa, and particularly what it means to be a black queer woman or woman-identified person. They reflect the fractures within the South African LGBTQI community itself, where white homonormativity contends with the physical and economic precarity of black lesbians and gender non-conforming individuals. Furthermore, Xingwana’s public statements suggest that black lesbians are seen as potentially dangerous to “social cohesion,” as they fail to accept the confines of heteronormativity as it works in service of the

nation state. Unable to be co-opted as figures of reproductive futurity, the black lesbian is seen as potentially dangerous or expendable and risks being subject to brutal violence. If she is an activist or an artist, if she wishes to represent queer lives in public, she is figured as a threat to pride and a killer of joy. Nevertheless, each of these scenes shows evidence of black activists, artists, and poets, who, building on political despair, imagine new hope through images of intimacy and belonging. While these women are seen to be obstructions to joy or pride, they expend their limited energy on activist or artistic projects that show forms of provisional hope emerging from political despair. In this chapter, I will explore these expressions of hope through the work of “visual activist” Zanele Muholi and artist Lady Skollie.

Locating Queer South Africa

Thus far, I have articulated how sexual violence, particularly rape, becomes public in the post-apartheid context and emerges as a vehicle through which public feelings over the conditions of the new democracy are mediated. Brenna Munro and Neville Hoad argue that sexuality and homosexuality entered into a similar affective and symbolic economy in post-apartheid public culture. As Munro observes, “[s]exual violence, sexual contagion, and (homo)sexual liberation have become competing [...] and interlinked signs for the ‘state of the nation’ after apartheid” (Munro xiii). Just as women’s liberation was often cited as one axis against which progress and modernity could be measured, so too the rights of gay and lesbian folk were figured as an indicator of social progress, at least for certain periods of the nascent democracy. Munro claims that, in some sectors, gay identity came to be re-signified as “a symbol of a much-desired progressive future” and accepting this identity allowed South Africans to “feel modern” (xxiii, vviv). As Hoad confirms, “[l]esbian and gay rights circulate transnationally and

appear as an extremely unstable placeholder for a set of desires, anxieties, and claims, and counterclaims around modernity and cultural authenticity in the discourses of postcolonial nationalisms” (*Intimacies* 69). Discourses around homosexuality are, therefore, caught up with the desire to “feel modern,” while remaining implicated in claims around cultural authenticity.

To understand how homosexuality is deployed in post-apartheid era discourses, it is necessary to track its circulation in apartheid-era discourses of belonging and national identity. Importantly, under apartheid, the “problem” of homosexuality was regularly conceived of as white and male (Elder 55-56). The apartheid state constructed homosexuality as pathological, sinful and as an “impediment to white reproduction” (Munro xxiii). The amendment to the Immorality Act in 1969—that extended existing laws banning “crimes against nature” and criminalized “any male person who commits with another male person at a party any act which is calculated to stimulate sexual passion or sexual gratification”—was largely fuelled by a moral panic over white male homosexuality (qtd. in Munro xxiii). Homosexuality was, therefore, policed under the same laws that sought to prevent miscegenation, thereby linking the threat of homosexuality to the perceived threat of miscegenation to white reproduction and white nationalism. At the same time, Munro argues that anti-apartheid writers deployed homosexuality as a “sign of the perversity of white rule and its disruption of (what were imagined to be) heterosexual African traditions” (Munro xxiii). White male homosexuality dominated the early discourses on homosexuality in South Africa, whereas black homosexuality was generally read as situational, emerging from enforced same-sex living arrangements on the mines, in migrant hostels, or prisons (Elder 50-1).¹¹⁴ For both the apartheid state and anti-apartheid activists, then,

¹¹⁴ As Amanda Swarr has observed, the colonial and later the apartheid state’s acceptance of gender liminality and same-sex sexuality in the form of so-called “mine marriages” was a “lesser known” means

homosexuality was conceived of as a white problem. While the apartheid state may have not only accepted but fostered same-sex relations among black men in mining compounds, for the most part (and this has been the case across the continent), black Africans were considered to be almost exclusively heterosexual.

Although certain discourses of LGBTQTI equality allowed South Africans to “feel modern” and beneficent during the transition to democracy, it is important to remember, as Hoad suggests, that the “public character” of sexuality, desire, and trauma is “deeply affected by the set of economic and discursive relations that pertain under imperialism in its shifting temporalities from the scramble for Africa in the 1880s through the colonial and decolonizing periods of the 20th century to current-day globalization” (Hoad xxxii). In South Africa, the public nature of sexuality cannot be separated from the historical representation of Africans as hypersexual, and, as a result, post-apartheid administrations have regularly struggled with “publicly representing African sexuality” (Hoad 95). Public debates around homosexuality have been underscored by “the rhetorics of race, sex, and respectability” (Hoad xiv). Indeed, at certain points in the post-apartheid era, “authentic” versions of African identity were often shored up through homophobic and xenophobic comments.¹¹⁵ A “Western-style gay identity” is regularly equated with “capitalism” and “cosmopolitan modernity” (Munro ix); as a result, the rejection of homosexual identities can often be presented as a refusal of Western decadence and

of “maintaining low wages and managing black labor” (13). These same-sex intimacies in mining hostels were temporarily accepted and tacitly condoned, as they helped to facilitate the state’s hostility to black labourers settling permanently in urban areas with their families. These relationships were tacitly accepted inasmuch as they served to bolster the migrant labor system, making “gender liminality [...] temporarily acceptable within the broader contexts of labor [...] and state interests” (Swarr 14). For a more detailed account of so-called “mine marriages,” see Elder 53-54.

¹¹⁵ For discussions of homophobia in Africa more broadly, see Hoad xi-xxxii, Epprecht “Sexuality and Social Justice” 47, and Gunkel 26-27.

neocolonialism. The most commonly cited example of this phenomenon is Jacob Zuma's comment that "[w]hen I was growing up an *ungqingili* (a gay) would not have stood in front of me. I would knock him out" ("Zuma Provokes Ire of Homosexuals"). Zuma—who regularly performs his “authentic” Zulu identity—used these personal comments to secure his hyper-masculine image for his constituents at a time when homosexual marriage was under debate. As Munro argues, Zuma's stylized performance of “traditional” Zulu identity “taps into a matrix of homophobia, patriarchy, and populism that has emerged in opposition to the neoliberal, technocratic Mbeki and his faction's (uneven) support of gay rights and gender equality alongside global capitalism” (xviii). While Zuma later retracted this “personal” position in favour of the ANC's public support of the LGBTQTI community's right to equality, his public expression of homophobia aligned him with a more conservative populous. Zuma's statements may be seen as capitalizing on what Franco Barchiesi understood as a form of worker's melancholia, where the “contradiction between the dignity of employment as imagined by the state and its material realities” results in the “psychic projections of ideal social orders” through fantasies of reasserting “age hierarchies and domestic roles” (225, 231). The rejection of LGBTQTI South Africans can serve to secure “moral aspirations of respectability,” and reflects a melancholic longing for order “premised on conservative families, hierarchical communities, and a nation rewarding masculinity and age” (Barchiesi 231, 245).

As has been the case with women's rights, there is a tension in South Africa between the rights afforded to LGBTQTI people by the equality clause in the constitution, and the realities of queer lives. In the interim constitution of 1993, ratified in 1996, South Africa became the first nation to enshrine the rights to equality irrespective of sexual orientation, and in October 1998, the constitutional court declared all remaining anti-sodomy laws to be unconstitutional (Hoad

86).¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, enshrining the right to sexual orientation in the constitution has not lead to uniform social acceptance or protection for LGBTQTI folk. While people of the same sex can legally marry and adopt children, homosexuality is regularly figured as “un-African” and gender non-conforming individuals are often victims of violence, such as “corrective’ or “curative” rape.¹¹⁷ Gunkel convincingly argues that contemporary claims that homosexuality is un-African should be understood as invested in “securing” normative gender roles as defined through “normative heterosexuality” and “its political institution, the family” (*The Cultural Politics* 46).

The fight for LGBTQTI rights and the presence of queer folk in the national conversation has tended to foreground white affluent men. Gunkel observes that that the “mainstreaming” of the (white) gay community in South Africa” is a site for the “production of homonormativity” and functions to reinforce hetero/homo binaries and to ignore more complex and diverse sexualities and sexual identities (*The Cultural Politics* 15). Indeed, the apartheid government constructed homosexuality as a “white problem,” whereas in post-apartheid South Africa,

¹¹⁶ Since the 1969 amendments to the Immorality act were largely aimed at policing white men, the politicization of the homosexual community in South Africa generally failed to understand homophobia as a “necessary consequence of apartheid’s race regime,” thereby preventing the white homosexual community from linking their struggle to the broader humanitarian crisis of apartheid (57). From the establishment of GASA (the Gay Association of South Africa) in 1982 to NCGLE (The National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality) in 1994, lesbian and gay politics in South Africa have regularly supported “assimilation and normalization” (Gunkel 73). The primary exception to this trend was the establishment of GLOW by Simon Nkoli in 1988. GLOW explicitly sought to connect the struggle against apartheid with the rights of gay and lesbian South Africans and the quest for gender equality. With few exceptions, therefore, LGBTQTI activism has focused on securing rights for individuals, particularly marriage and adoption, rather than engaging in intersectional struggles against structural inequalities.

¹¹⁷ In “The Making of African Sexuality” Mark Epperecht historicizes “heterosexual nationalism” in Africa. He gives a historical account of the notion that homosexuality is “Un-African,” arguing that in the 19th century, homosexuality came to be associated with “decadence and civilization (as well as its downfall)” and was, therefore, not ascribed to Africans (61). Both Epperecht and Gunkel note the perils of projecting homophobia onto spaces in the global South as a form of homonationalism that ignores the historical construction of Africa as heterosexual in Western discourses and the ongoing effects of colonialism and neocolonialism.

homophobia is generally understood as a black problem (Gunkel 54). This construction serves to fold discourses of homosexuality into rights-based discourses of modernity and progress, while homophobia is generally coded as “black” and regressive, particularly in the prestige press.¹¹⁸ At the same time, as the tensions at the Joburg 2012 Pride parade attest, only certain kinds of queer subjects are included and accepted into emerging homonormative communities. Until recently, black women, and black lesbians, have been largely excluded from this national conversation. When black women’s sexual orientation does enter the public sphere, it is typically through narratives of victimization or through public scrutiny of their performance and embodiment of gender, as was the case with Caster Semenya—a South African Olympic athlete whose naturally high testosterone levels submitted her to humiliating testing and both international and local speculation. Black lesbians are regularly represented as passive victims of spectacular violence, or as objects of curiosity whose gender performance is open to public speculation, while the complexities of their experiences are seldom acknowledged.

Traditionally, queer studies have been dominated by North American academics. The study of sexuality, and homosexuality in Africa in particular, has remained relatively small and has generally focused on homophobia rather than the diversity of same-sex sexualities. Similarly, studies of African sexualities have tended to focus on violence towards women, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and transactional sex, often with the effect of ignoring the connection between sex, intimacy, and emotion in African communities. A number of recent studies have started to ameliorate these blind spots and to demarcate the concerns and tensions in this emerging field, including Sylvia Tamale’s *African Sexualities: A Reader* (2011), Mark Epprecht’s *Sexuality and*

¹¹⁸ In a different context, Puar observes how acceptance of homosexuality becomes connected to modernity through discourses of “queer human rights” (“Circuit of Queer Mobility” 125).

Social Justice in Africa (2013), Neville Hoad's *African Intimacies* (2007), S.N. Nyeck and Marc Epprecht's *Sexual Diversity in Africa* (2013) and Theo Sandfort et al's *Boldly Queer* (2015).¹¹⁹ South Africa has been the focus of a number of these studies and collections, including Brenna Munro's *South Africa and the Dream of Love to Come* (2012), Henriette Gunkel's *The Cultural Politics of Female Sexuality* (2010), and Zethu Matebeni's collection *Reclaiming Afrikan* (2014). These texts, while engaging with the Western (largely North American) discipline of queer studies, acknowledge the limitations of its applicability. As a number of scholars have noted, homosexuality as an identity category is relatively new to Africa. This is not to deny the presence of diverse same-sex sexual practices in pre-colonial Africa, but rather to suggest that these sexual practices may accrue different meaning when placed under the rubric of homosexuality as an identity. This does not support the homophobic claim that homosexuality is un-African but is instead intended to signal the care that must be taken when using terminology and theories derived from North American queer studies to describe African contexts.¹²⁰

As a result of this debate, it seems necessary to pause and discuss my own use of terminology. Some scholars in African studies have expressed a preference for terms such as gay and lesbian, or for broader acronyms such as LGBTI (Epprecht, *Sexuality and Social Justice* 22-23) or LGBTQTI, while others refer to men who have sex with men (MSM) and women who have sex with women (WSW) in order to acknowledge the variety of men and women who engage in same-sex sexual practices but do not identify as homosexual. Recently, South African

¹¹⁹ A significant precursor to this body of work is John C. Hawley's edited collection, *Post-Colonial Queer* (2001).

¹²⁰ For an outline of the debate around the applicability of North American queer studies to African contexts, see Baderoon 392, McEwen and Milani 6-7, Milani, "Querying the Queer from Africa" 76-77, and Osinubi xii-xiii.

scholars have suggested re-appropriating the IsiZulu word *isitabane* in order to refer to “gender non-conformance and same-sex desire” (Milani, “Querying the queer from Africa” 78). I have chosen to use *queer* as both a noun and a verb, and LGBTQI as an acronym, as I believe these terms, despite their problems, broadly identify a range of non-normative sexualities rather than simply reaffirming the hetero/homo binary. Indeed, despite the concern that “[u]sing queer and LGBT in the African context can be seen as an unfortunate adoption of Western constructions and labels,” the term has been embraced in collections such as *Boldly Queer* and *Queering Afrikan* to refer to the disruption of normative sexual identities and binaries (Sandford et al 2). In a special issue of *Research in African Literatures*, Taiw Osinubi goes so far as to claim that “[q]ueer appears expressly appropriate for the sexual antinomies of colonial modernity as it serves as shorthand for practices that cannot be fully subsumed into identitarian labels of lesbian, gay, transgender, bisexual, or those that cannot be adequately translated into European languages” (xv). Following Osinubi, I will generally use the term *queer* as a noun to suggest non-normative gender identities and same-sex desires and as a verb to refer to the disruption of normative binaries and categories; however, when necessary, I will also refer to lesbians, especially when considering Zanele Muholi’s work, as she has repeatedly used the term to reaffirm her political identity and because many of her subjects overtly refer to themselves in this manner.

In this chapter, I will focus on Zanele Muholi and Lady Skollie, whose work responds to the silence around black female sexuality in South Africa by undermining those discourses that either pathologize or repress back female sexuality or represent black women as passive victims of sexual violence. Their work reflects an understanding of intimacy’s paradoxical ability to “build worlds” while remaining haunted by a “constant latent vulnerability” (“Intimacy: a

Special Issue” 2). Intimacy, as Shaka McGlotten reminds us,

describes: a feeling of connection or a sense of belonging; embodied and carnal sensuality, that is, sex; and that which is most inward and inmost to one’s personhood. Intimacy is also a vast assemblage of ideologies, institutional sites, and diverse sets of material and semiotic practices that exert normative pressures on large and small bodies, lives, and worlds. (McGlotten 1).

Intimacy, then, refers both to the world-building potentials of desire and care, and the ideologies that contain the excess of desire within structures such as the couple form or the heteronormative family. Muholi’s work acknowledges these paradoxes of intimacy and desire by highlighting the aftermath of sexual violence alongside the quotidian expressions of black lesbian sexuality. In South Africa, where “blackness continues to cohere around heteronormativity,” depictions of queer black intimacy acts as interventions into regimes of visibility (Livermon 301). In what follows, I intend to develop a richer account of intimacy in order to make sense of Zanele Muholi’s prioritization of visual logics of intimacy and desire as a means to destabilize our gaze and mobilize a new means of looking.

Moving beyond Muholi’s work, I consider two images by emerging artist, Lady Skollie, entitled, “On the Subject of Consent: ‘Don’t worry about it; around here RED MEANS GO!’” (2016) and “Cut-Cut, kill-kill, stab-stab: a South African Love Story” (2016). Like Muholi, Lady Skollie responds to the historical representation of black women’s bodies; her mixed-media artworks humorously subvert sexual stereotypes with images of tropical fruit, bananas, and stylized representations of black women’s bodies. Drawing on the South African colloquial references to vaginas in terms of fruit (guava and pawpaw), Lady Skollie plays with both the violent and pleasurable connotations of consumption, as sexuality becomes a fruit to be eaten but

also sliced. I chose to focus on Muholi and Lady Skollie in particular because their work celebrates intimacy and sexuality while acknowledging the perils that haunt sexual encounters of black and brown women in South Africa. By acknowledging perils and the potentials of pleasure, both artists move beyond the political despair and hopelessness to imagine provisionally hopeful futures dislodged from normative promises of the couple form and the nation.

Difficult Love: Intimacy and Vulnerability in the Work of Zanele Muholi



Fig. 2 Zanele Muholi, *Caitlin and I*. 2009. C-Print. 33 x 49.5 cm each. Michael Stevenson Gallery. <http://archive.stevenson.info/exhibitions/muholi/caitlin.htm>

The gaze in the photograph apprehends me, it lacerates me, it creates what Roland Barthes would call a *punctum*— “this element that rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces me” (26)— and what Kathleen Stewart has elaborated on as “the wounding, and personally touching detail that establishes a direct contact” (6). In “Caitlin and I” (2009), Muholi, the artist and in this case the subject of this image, and Caitlin look towards the viewer, inviting them into the strange intimacy of the scene (see fig. 2). Muholi lies facedown, naked; a white woman is draped across her as they lie back to back. There is almost no space between the two bodies: they look as though they are melded together, “suggesting a moment of completeness and adequacy” (Matebeni, “Intimacy, Queerness and Race” 407). The sense of “completeness” created by the scene both excludes the viewer and confronts them. Caitlin’s face is relaxed, post-coital perhaps, while Muholi looks directly at the viewer. Her look makes a

demand that implicates me—a white South African—in this tender scene of intimacy, which is also, because of the orientation of their bodies, a scene of oppression.

Muholi's early work responds directly to the conditions of black lesbian lives. Despite the protections offered by the equality clause in the constitution, Muholi observes that "black lesbian women are still refused entry into the nation's most public spaces and are punished for their same-sex desires and relationships" ("Thinking through Lesbian Rape" 117). As I have shown, although queer folk in South Africa have access to considerable legislative freedom and protection, the LGBTQTI community has also been subjected to overtly homophobic comments by prominent political figures, and black queer folk are often vulnerable to violence. Muholi's work is painfully aware that lesbian "visibility" entails vulnerability. Muholi's visual activism documents the lives of the black queer community in South Africa, Africa, and, more recently, in Canada and the USA, with the intention of making overt interventions into how this community is seen. Muholi often likens her project to Du Bois's *Paris Photo Album* where he commissioned photographers to record the lives of African Americans (Muholi, "An Interview" 23). Muholi, who trained as a photographer at the Market Photo Workshop in Johannesburg from 2001 to 2003, is clearly influenced by photographers such as Ernest Cole, David Goldblatt, Peter Magubane, Alf Kumalo and Jurgen Schadeberg who documented life under apartheid in order to unmask its violence. By recording the lives and experiences of her subjects, Muholi's photographs become works of intimacy—intimacy between bodies and lovers, and between the photographer and the photographed. In *Difficult Love* (2011)—her short documentary with Peter Goldsmith—Muholi notes that the people she photographs are collaborators in the construction of the image, rather than objects of the camera's potentially violent gaze. In projects such as *Only Half the Picture* (2006), *Faces and Phases* (2006-2016), *Mo(u)rning* (2012), and *Of Love*

and Loss (2014), Muholi documents black queer South African lives as they are lived, both through experiences of suffering and joy. As a result, when she grapples with “curative” rape in her work, it is to present it as “an experience, rather than merely as an allegorically freighted symbol” (Munro 198).

Perhaps her most famous project has been her ongoing *Faces and Phases* series, where she captures portraits of black queers, dressed in their best attire, defiantly facing the camera. Regularly exhibited in a grid of portraits, this series reflects Muholi’s attempt to archive the diversity of black queer experience. Works such as *Faces and Phases* are projects of activism that draw directly on the politics of visibility and implicitly make rights-based claims for the queer persons depicted. While these interventions are clearly important, as black and brown queer folk struggle to be protected by the state and accepted in their communities, I am more interested in the moments in Muholi’s oeuvre where documenting intimacy is shot through by ambivalence, where scenes of love also become scenes of loss, depletion, and disappointment. In particular, I will consider Muholi’s autobiographical documentary *Difficult Love* and photographs from *Only Half the Picture* (2006) and the *Being* series. In these works, Muholi lovingly depicts of queer intimacy, while simultaneously indexing histories of oppression and the immanent threat against women’s bodies in South Africa. As Rachel Lewis asserts, Muholi’s work “challenge[s] the cultural narratives of victimization that underwrite dominant representations of Black queer women in South Africa,” and “explores how Black lesbian bodies perform resistance through the mobilization of erotic vulnerability and precarity” (Lewis 207). Muholi’s films and images do more than document lesbian South African experience; they invite the viewer into an intimate world based on the viewer’s willingness to witness the vulnerability of the erotic body. In so doing, Muholi’s photographs make an affective and ethical demand upon

the viewer. By using intimacy and love as her theme, Muholi reorients her viewer's approach to images, which, as Xingwana's statements showed, might illicit responses of anger and disgust in the South African public sphere.

Returning to "Caitlin and I," it becomes clear that in capturing scenes of intimacy, Muholi is able to subtly catalogue histories of violence. In the triptych, none of the composite parts quite fit together, even as the placing of the triptych gives the illusion that Muholi's body remains relatively whole and complete; the solidity of her body reaffirms the assertion of her gaze. Caitlin's body, however, is more clearly fragmented by the arrangement of the triptych: her shoulder and bicep do not quite match up, her left leg is strangely doubled, and her right leg appears almost severed. The juxtaposition between the seeming coherence of the two bodies that are virtually melded together, and their fragmentation through the arrangement of the triptych, signifies fracture as well as intimacy. The effortless merging of the two bodies suggests their attachment, as well as the adequacy and sufficiency of their coupling. Nevertheless, the disjuncture created by the fragmentation of the two bodies in the triptych disrupts a simple reading of the work as a clear affirmation of the couple's love or desire. Furthermore, Caitlin's body is draped in such a manner so as to convey leisure and relaxation. The fragmentation of Caitlin's body disrupts the image of white relaxation and plentitude, which is figured as supported by the subjugation of the black body. The correlation between white and black bodies in this image reflects structures of power, yet also interrupts familiar formulations through the suggestion of intimacy and pleasure for both bodies. It refuses the viewer full or easy identification; it punctures her *Stadium* (to borrow again from Barthes), and it disallows, in Barthes's words, "a vague, slippery, irresponsible interest" or half-interest (27).

Before moving on with my analysis, it is important to reflect upon the circuit of looks and

gazes prompted by this image. As I have already noted, the orientation of bodies in the photograph subtly reflects not only the intimacy of the two lovers, but also the intimacy between the colonizer and the colonized.¹²¹ It is a scene of pleasure as well as of structural violence. As is often the case in Muholi's work, this photograph both provokes and responds to the visual regimes that generally circumscribe black women's bodies. In both feminist and postcolonial thought, the camera and its operation have been closely tied to the operation of power (Gunkel, "Through the Post Colonial Eyes" 83). Through Lacanian and Foucauldian analyses, feminist film critics identified the differential structure of looks, whereby the gaze is constructed as male and women are the objects of this gaze. This scopic relation is evidently complicated by the ethnographic aesthetic described earlier in this chapter, wherein colonial photography became an instrument for taxonomizing racial types and reaffirming the availability of black women's bodies for white consumption. Drawing on Frederic Jameson's comment that the photographic image is "essentially pornographic," Rey Chow argues that "[w]atching is theoretically defined as the primary agency of violence, an act that pierces the other, who inhabits the place of the passive victim on display" (28). Chow not only identifies the violence of ethnographic images of the "native," but questions the "enterpri[se]" of "investigating the 'subjectivity' of the other-as-oppressed-victim" (29). While Chow is primarily skeptical of the "reinvention of subjectivity" that seeks to undermine the violent politics of the image, she also highlights the "enterpri[se]" of cultural theorists who are interested in the authenticity of the "other-as-oppressed-victim" (29). In response, Chow acknowledges the colonized's status as "as indifferent defiled image" but

¹²¹ Muholi further explores this dynamic in her *Massa and Mina(h)* (2008) series, where she queerly documents her mother's history as a domestic worker. In this series, Muholi poses as a domestic worker alongside her partner, who poses as the "Madam". The scenes become increasingly erotic, bringing "the question of domestic work into dialogue with that of queer desire" (Bystrom 107).

simultaneously theorizes the “native’s gaze” that precedes the image and looks back: “This gaze, which is neither a threat nor a retaliation, makes the colonizer “conscious” of himself, leading to his need to turn this gaze around and look at himself, henceforth “reflected” in the native-object” (51). Similarly, bell hooks identifies the look as an expression of “rebellious desire, and oppositional gaze” (116). While Chow would likely be skeptical of hook’s affirmation of the “ability to manipulate one’s gaze in the face of structures of domination” as a site of potential agency, both theorists consider the valence of the returned look, or the “oppositional gaze” (116). Muholi is aware of the potential violence of the image, yet “Caitlin and I” performatively responds to and redirects our gaze, making the viewer “conscious” of themselves in their role as viewer. While the orientation of the two bodies in “Caitlin and I” reflects oppression, it simultaneously plays with notions of exposure and the power of opacity. Caitlin’s body is exposed in the familiar reclining posture of a nude. Muholi is simultaneously likened to an object as the support for Caitlin’s lounging body, yet her position also refuses the exposure Caitlin’s body is subjected to. The image, then, neither simply disrupts the oppressive structures it evokes, nor reaffirms them; instead, it confronts the viewer with a series of paradoxes that make the viewer conscious of his or her implication in the scene.

As Kylie Thomas notes, Muholi’s first monograph *Only Half the Picture* “carefully works with the aesthetics of the body, a complex holding of traumatic histories encoded in skin together with a celebration of lesbian desire and the promise of pleasure” (428). The series simultaneously includes photographs that “carry resonances of image[s] of back female bodies drawn from a long history of racist iconography and which map the continuities of black female oppression over time” (Thomas 428). As Pumla Gqola observes, black lesbian bodies are “highly visible” as manifestations of “undesirable” sexuality in South Africa (84), yet there is a paucity

of positive images of black lesbians. Gqola interprets Muholi's work as "engaging with the regimes that have used these women's hyper-visibility as a way to violate them" (Gqola 84). Muholi not only disrupts "dominant visual logics," as scholars such as Natasha Bissonauth suggest, but also draws on an extensive visual repertoire that is both familiar and disconcerting (244). Similar to other artists such as Mntambo, Mary Sibande, and Tracy Rose, whose work responds to and counters the visual representation of black women as figures of pathological sexuality or as happy domestic workers, Muholi's work documents the lives of black lesbian women as they are lived, interrupting modes of representation that might seek to reduce them to passive victims or sexual objects.

In Muholi's work, intimacy is both performative and provisional. Her work makes an affective demand on its audience by inviting them to bear witness to scenes of intimacy, while forcing them to reconsider their own approach to and implication in these scenes. The discomfort produced by "Caitlin and I" demands that these photographs be read, not from an assumed position of knowledge or understanding, but rather from the compromised position of discomfort. As Matebeni argues, Muholi's interactions with the gaze undo "conventional ways of viewing" ("Intimacy, Queerness, and Race" 407). Muholi's manipulation of the gaze is not only observable in the "oppositional looks" evident in "Caitlin and I" and her *Faces and Phases* series, but also in the way she limits the frame of her images in *Only Half the Picture*, reflecting the right to opacity of the women she photographs. Bissonauth interprets Muholi's practices as an "affective appeal to act, which moves her audience to see—where seeing the photographed in and of itself acts toward political restoration" (240). Muholi's work does, indeed, make an "affective appeal to act," often through a positivist project of "political restoration" and through a politics of visibility; however, Muholi's work is most provocative when it focuses on the

interplay between opacity and exposure in order to implicate the viewer in an uncomfortable encounter with the image that forces her to acknowledge the precarity and vulnerability entailed in scenes of intimacy.

One of the questions raised by Muholi's work is, "[is it] possible to read black lesbian desire outside the violence of both the past and the present?" (Thomas 428). Near the end of Muholi and Goldsmith's documentary *Difficult Love*, Muholi turns to the camera and states: "why why why why do I have to be killed because of loving someone. I've said this thing before [...] So I've decided to take a different approach in the work that I do, I'm just capturing love." The use of the first-person pronoun in this phrase is particularly telling. By saying "why do *I* have to be killed," Muholi connects the precarity of her community with her own fear of violence. Exhausted with the threat of violence, Muholi proposes "capturing love" as a response to the physical danger that same-sex desire places her in. Ahmed notes that "[t]he negative affects of 'not quite' living in the norms show us how loving loves that are not 'normative' involves being subject to such norms precisely in the costs and damage that are incurred when not following them" (*The Cultural Politics* 146). The strain and exhaustion reflected not only in Muholi's face, but in the tone and texture of her voice, is juxtaposed against a series of scenes which represent a world of lesbian intimacy and family — a lesbian soccer team, a butch lesbian who describes being loved and accepted by her parents, and a lesbian *sangoma* (traditional healer). These images and scenes of black queer belonging oppose homophobic voices or claims that homosexuality is "un-African."

In an earlier scene, after seeing some of Muholi's images, a township man proclaims that, "I am a Christian, I am telling you that everywhere there is one woman for one man" (*Difficult Love*). Here the voice of heterosexist hatred is reflected in Muholi's exhaustion when she claims

“[I’m sick of it].” Her exhaustion, however, is mediated by her proclamation to represent “love” in all its forms rather than documenting the effects of violence. In this moment, it becomes clear that making love visible cannot be sufficiently removed from the threat of violence that haunts queer intimacy in contemporary South Africa, or the exhaustion entailed in responding to and combatting that violence. In this instance of the film, we see that Muholi responds to political despair— “[I’m sick of it]”— with hope in the form of love, desire, and collective modes of lesbian belonging; this optimistic response, however, cannot be fully freed from the threat of violence or the emotional economy of despair.

In *Difficult Love*, the multiple acts of world building that Muholi documents, the joys of winning soccer games, of making love, and trying to make families, are inevitably also scenes of attrition, exhaustion, violence, rejection, and loss. As Berlant suggests,

[n]ow when I write about the conditions of attachment to the normal, it’s about the attrition of the subject, economies of exhaustion, desires for homeostasis, and the variety of ways that the normal seems like a resting place from the contradictions and impossibilities that threaten the continuity of the scene of the labour of reproducing life (“Starved” 82)

Berlant goes on to observe that living in the world produces “varied strategies of wearing out people, especially the ones who don’t have lots of congealed privilege” (“Starved” 82). In *Difficult Love*, Muholi’s conversations map the exhaustion of not only trying to live in the world, but also the toll it takes to live differently, to orient oneself, to use Ahmed’s phrasing, towards queer objects. In *Difficult Love*, Muholi interviews Viola May about her desire to undergo artificial insemination alone, without a partner. Here, Viola May’s orientation away not only from men, but also from the reproductive aspects of heterosex and the couple forms of homonormativity entails a kind of exhaustion. She describes the process as “financially,

physically and emotionally draining” (*Difficult Love*). For Viola, the rejection of the couple form in favour of a new type of family, instigated by herself and her future child, does not mean being unhindered by the couple form’s promise. She acknowledges the significance of building her own kind of family, while living with the exhaustion of refusing the optimism that the couple form entails; thus, even in scenes that celebrate lesbian autonomy and the modes in which black South African lesbian women negotiate new and powerful ways of making space for themselves in contemporary South Africa, Muholi inevitably seeks to map the interplay between despair and hope in this moment of world building.

Accordingly, in her *Being* series, Muholi represents quotidian moments of black lesbian intimacy and, in so doing, she does more than “re-present traumatic evidence” (Bissonauth 244). By depicting scenes of domestic intimacy, her work provokes oppositional looks that invite the viewer to interrogate their own attachments to normativity. As Gabeba Baderoon reminds us, “Being” “is a gerund, a noun of perpetual becoming” (405). The series not only documents a history or archive of black lesbian life, it allows Muholi to “envisage a future” (Baderoon 403). The *Being* series goes beyond simply celebrating scenes of everyday intimacy, to subtly index vulnerability and the pressures of economic precarity. The series documents scenes of sexual intimacy, as in “Zinzi and Tozama I, Mowbray, Cape Town, 2010” and “Zinzi and Tozama III, Mowbray, Cape Town, 2010” which depict naked lovers embracing, and quotidian domestic acts such as bathing in a metal tub, sitting together, and embracing. In each title, Muholi documents the names of the women photographed as well as the location of the photograph, thereby emphasizing her subject’s relation to place, whether it is the interior of a ladies’ hostel or the small brick homes of Sasolburg. By titling the series “Being,” Muholi optimistically suggests that these small acts of intimacy and world-building will continue, even in these spaces that seem

potentially hostile to the women's very presence.



Fig. 3 Zanele Muholi. “Katlego Mashiloane and Nosipho Lavuta, Ext. 2, Lakeside, Johannesburg 2007.” 2009. Lambda Print. 76.5 x 76.5cm. Michael Stevenson Gallery. <http://archive.stevenson.info/exhibitions/muholi/being6.htm>

While intimacy, as noted in Berlant’s work, can involve a feeling of sentimentality, in Muholi’s photography, it is “a measure of closeness — sometimes uncomfortable closeness — that comes from the knowledge that lives (even the lives of strangers) are bound together by the very structures and closures of society” (Bystrom and Nuttall 324). In her *Being* series, Muholi’s documentation of lesbian intimacy in its quotidian detail reflects the trust between the photographer and the photographed (Baderoon 405, Bissonauth 242, 244). In “Katlego

Mashiloane and Nosipho Lavuta II, Ext. 2, Lakeside, Johannesburg, 2007” the photographer and the viewer are positioned as spectators of a minor scene of domestic affection. The low angle of the shot emphasizes the significance of the two women and their prominence in the picture.

There is a subtle juxtaposition with the spare nature of the setting and the deference of the camera angle. Muholi forces us to see these women as important. At the same time, the embracing women are uncomfortably squeezed between the large stove in the foreground and the fridge in the background. These objects of domesticity, rusted and faded with age, physically impinge on them and constrain their bodies. As a result, this scene both monumentalizes love and emphasizes constraint. In this photograph, optimism works in two ways: the scene celebrates the survival of intimacy in contexts where it is squeezed by economic and physical constraint, at the same time, the rusted icons of domesticity reflect the painful attachments to the promises of normativity that corrode and break down even as intimacy might survive this breaking down.

The admixture of violence and intimacy that I have mapped in Muholi’s work is evident even in scenes where reference to violence is more overt. “Aftermath” (2004), taken from her monograph *Only Half the Picture*, documents the aftermath of a so-called “curative” rape, yet simultaneously details a painful intimacy and a subtle invitation. Of all of Muholi’s photographs, “Aftermath” continues to receive the most attention from critics (see fig. 3). The long scar highly visible in the foreground of the image often fascinates scholars. Van der Vlies notes how this faded scar reminds us of an orifice into the body as well as a scar of past injury (144). Makhubu interprets the scar on the subject’s thigh as rendering her body “abhorrent, impure, contaminated and spoiled” (509). While the scar clearly reflects a history of harm permanently written on the body, any interpretation of this scar as evidence of impurity or contamination is interrupted by the beautiful contained poise of the subject’s body. The shadows that crowd from the corners of

the image suggest potential danger that is never overtly referenced in the image itself. Similar to “Katlego Mashiloane and Nosipho Lavuta II,” the female body is constrained by an impinging frame; however, the narrow frame that pictures only the subject’s lower torso and thighs also allows her anonymity. The darkness of the image and its framing draws our attention to the two hands protectively covering the woman’s crotch, and our eyes are drawn to the light skin of her palm. Her hand is tilted slightly outwards, towards us, and her finger is gently angled away from her body towards the viewer. This tilted hand is the subtlest of invitations, producing a sharp contrast to the contained pose of her body and the encroaching darkness of the image. The tension between the image’s painful archiving of violence —both present and past— and its subtle invitation to intimacy is also an invitation to see differently, provoking an understanding of the poised body that exceeds a narrative of victimization.

The tight framing of “Aftermath” is a common feature of the images included in *Only Half the Picture* (see fig. 4). This early attempt to document hate crimes against lesbians juxtaposes images of sexuality, desire, and menstruation against photographs of hate crime survivors, thereby suggesting that to represent lesbian lives purely in terms of their victimization is “only half the picture.” The method of tightly cropping images in this series allows “the subject portrayed in the image a certain element of protection from the gaze of the observer” (Gunkel, “Through the Postcolonial Eyes” 84). Lewis observes that in *Only Half the Picture*, “Muholi reflects upon the concept of Black lesbian visibility as a source of erotic power and as a site of potential vulnerability to violation” (214). In drawing out the close proximity between the “promise of pleasure” and the “possibility of violence,” Muholi evokes an ethos characterized by “corporeal and erotic vulnerability” (Lewis 214). Unlike Makhubu who reads “Aftermath” as an image that reflects lost innocence, when read in the context of the series as a whole, “Aftermath”

reflects one experience among many: Muholi's work refuses to represent rape and hate crimes without contextualizing them alongside more optimistic images of love, and thereby gestures towards a life that will not be solely defined by the event of violence.



Fig. 4 Zanele Muholi. *Aftermath* 2004, Michael Stevenson Gallery. *Only Half the Picture*. Edited by Sophie Perryer. Michael Stevenson, 2006, p. 20.

To conclude, Bissonauth is correct in suggesting that, “[i]n Muholi’s work, to see is to be moved to act, and to act is to see differently, to envision queer and trans lives beyond deviance or

victimhood and rather as desirable and intimate beings” (242); however, as Desiree Lewis has observed, rather than only reorienting the viewer’s gaze and documenting lesbian lives outside the frames of sexual deviance or passive oppression, Muholi suggests the latent vulnerability inherent in all scenes of intimacy. Lewis goes on to argue that by representing lesbian desire in terms of “mutuality and reciprocity” Muholi advances the importance of the “desiring touch [...] which takes one out of oneself and toward the other” (Lewis 219). Muholi, therefore, does more than instigate oppositional looks that force the reader to re-evaluate their own position; instead, by inviting her viewers to witness scenes of intimacy, she also encourages them to bear witness to the manner in which bodies are “bound” and “unbound” by desire (Lewis 220), while reminding us that desire does not simply transcend material conditions, that only certain subjects have the privilege of “protected vulnerability” (Lewis 224). Muholi nevertheless celebrates the complexity and diversity of lesbian lives thereby disrupting the liberal fetishism of choice and sexual autonomy by highlighting how “choices” are impinged upon by economic and physical precarity.

Taboo Subjects: Love, Pink Dicks, and Pussy Prints

Always paint a picture that lesbians, particularly Black ones, are from poor townships, are victims of rape and murder, and your writing and the money you will raise, will save them.
(Matebeni 57)

The epigraph to this section, from Zethu Matebeni’s “How ~~Not~~ to Write about Queer South Africa,” is an ironic reminder of the predictable formulations through which Western scholars approach black South African lesbian lives. Matebeni’s critique suggests that this scholarship tends to ossify the complexity of black lesbian experience through a myopic focus on their deaths. Matebeni’s ironic essay intentionally mirrors Binyavanga Wainaina’s “How to

Write About Africa,” where he declares: “Taboo subjects: ordinary domestic scenes, love between Africans (unless a death is involved).” Similarly, Matebeni ironically criticizes the reduction of black African intimacy to spectacular violence or abjection. Matebeni goes on to highlight the asymmetrical power relationship between the Western scholar and the poor black lesbian who becomes an object of study to be “sav[ed].” Like Wainaina, she questions the tropes through which African lives are represented, thereby reminding us of an economy of academic production and circulation that relies on black suffering. While Muholi’s work in part disrupts this understanding of black lesbians as passive victims by foregrounding their relationships to one another and interrupting the regime of gazes that traditionally frame black women’s bodies, her work has also become a staple in North American and European publications. As Matebeni acidly notes, Muholi has become the “only highly celebrated black queer artist” (59). Her work is, perhaps, particularly attractive to Western scholars, museums, and institutions because it can be easily interpreted as engaging with a familiar politics of visibility and integrated into rights-based discourses that focus on individual identity. While I argue that Muholi’s manipulation of the gaze partially disrupts such readings, encouraging viewers to feel implicated in the scenes they bear witness to, her work conveys a clear ethical demand to acknowledge ordinary black lesbian lives. Lady Skollie’s interventions into the representation of black female sexuality are far more difficult to read than simply making black female eroticism visible; with their confrontational use of parody, they forcefully resist appropriation into liberal politics of identity and individual choice.

Building on my discussion of Muholi’s celebration of same-sex intimacy, in this section I consider how the emerging artist, Lady Skollie, uses images that foreground pleasure, desire, and eroticism to respond to the fact that, as she says, sex in South Africa is “risky business.” Helen

Strauss has observed the transition from “liberation euphoria” towards “an emotional culture in which expressions of disappointment seem to have become the order of the day” (“Spectacles of Promise” 474). While the “spectacle of the promise” can be recognized “in a range of post-apartheid nation-building ventures and symbols,” this optimism has been overtaken by public expression of pessimism and despair (Strauss 475). As I argued in the previous chapter, this idiom of political despair often found its expression through narratives of sexual violence, which are then transposed into concerns over moral and sexual disorder. Black women’s sexuality, therefore, generally entered into the public sphere as a site of spectacular victimization and moral concern, or of expressions of political despair over a nation seemingly inured to violence and violation. It is important to observe that “[i]n the context of sharp social inequalities and HIV, sex in Africa has been examined to the exclusion of affect” and public health and development research continues to “dissec[t] [...] sexuality from emotion” (Bhana 4). By examining South African sexuality purely as a “problem,” we risk framing sexuality as dangerous and in crisis, “pitt[ing] rampant African masculinity” against “painfully female sexuality” (Bhana 4). Like Zanele Muholi, Lady Skollie’s work emphasizes black women’s desire and pleasure while exploring the politics of sexual violence. In moving to prioritize desire, Lady Skollie refuses to detach the dangers of sexuality from its pleasures.

Lady Skollie is the moniker or alias used by young artist Laura Windvogel. The word *skollie* refers to a small-time crook, someone slightly shady who might, in Windvogel’s words, “slic[e] your bag open and tak[e] your shit” (qtd. Bowler). Lady Skollie, an Art History graduate from the University of Cape Town’s Michaelis School of Fine Art, is acutely aware of the necessity of promoting not just her art but also her image in a digital age. Resolutely sceptical of the traditional art establishment in South Africa, she remains an independent artist who

self-promotes via Instagram and her sex-positive podcast, *Kiss & Tell*. Concurrently, playing with images derived from hip hop, assertions of greed, and the desire to get paid, Lady Skollie's public persona performs and disrupts the culture of quick accumulation associated with the small-time criminal of her name. Unwary of overtly engaging with the economics of the art world, she quotes Warhol, "The only art is making money" (qtd. Bowler para. 25). Lady Skollie, therefore, does not shy away from the material elements of sexuality or of her art. As Posel observes, in post-apartheid South Africa, "the urge to consume has become the fulcrum of intersecting political interests, economic imperatives, cultural aspirations and notions of selfhood" ("Getting the Nation Talking about Sex" 133). For metropolitan black youth, "consumption is closely coupled with sex, making for overt sexualization of style status and power" (Posel, "Getting the Nation Talking about Sex" 133). Posel goes on to argue, "[s]ex is consumed, at the same time as consumption is sexualized — in ways that mark the engagement of popular culture in South Africa with more global cultural repertoires of sex" (133). Lady Skollie, who regularly refers to herself alongside international hip hop stars such as Kanye West, self-consciously engages with the relationship between sexuality and consumption, and links the materiality of her art as commodity to the reproduction of sexuality as commodified. Her ubiquitous linocut print of a vagina highlights this relationship, as disembodied genitalia are reproduced again and again to form a pattern. While the sheer number of vaginas might suggest a sexual or erotic plenitude, they also connect this plenitude to the mechanical reproduction of the print for purchase.

In a recent photograph on Instagram, Lady Skollie presents herself squatting, archly looking over her shoulder, while painting a mural entitled "Khoisan Kween" at her recent exhibit at the Tyburn Gallery, London. In the photograph, her posture is intended to reference the image

that accompanied the release of Nicki Minaj's single *Anaconda* (2014), where Minaj squats, scantily clad, emphasizing her bottom. The song and Minaj's overtly sexualized self-styling became the centre of a debate around sexuality, black women's self-representation, and respectability politics.¹²² In the photograph, Lady Skollie imitates Minaj's posture while positioning herself between the open legs of the "Khoisan Kween" in her mural. The unfinished mural will depict a joyful image of a woman with her arms stretched upwards with a skirt of bananas. While "Khoisan Kween" is celebratory, it covertly reminds us of the regimes of visibility that subjected Khoisan women, such as Sarah Baartman, to Western gazes as objects both of titillation and disgust. In this ethnographic gaze, it was the woman's buttocks and genitalia that were regularly the focal point; in its allusion to this gaze, Lady Skollie's photograph suggests a multilayered examination of the multiple discourses and regimes of visibility that surround black women's bodies. Similarly to Minaj's own image, Lady Skollie subverts the ethnographic and objectifying gaze by celebrating and re-appropriating the sexualization of her own body, yet the reference to the past, through the unfinished image of "Khoisan Kween," complicates this playful enjoyment of sexuality by reminding the viewer of the violent ways in which black women's bodies were historically displayed. It is, of course, no coincidence that she takes this photograph on the eve of her first exhibition in London where her images exploring sexuality will be displayed for British museumgoers. By bringing together this

¹²² For discussions that interpret Minaj's performance of her sexuality as a positive example of black feminism, see Vigderman "My Anaconda Don't" and Lam "Nicki Minaj's Unapologetic Sexuality is Not a Crisis." For interpretations that focus on Minaj's "Anaconda" as a response to the objectification of women in hip hop, see Clifton "Nicki Minaj's Anaconda is the Fiercest Take on Female Sexuality of the Year." For a discussion of the criticisms of Minaj within the frame of respectability politics, see Rios "Nicki Minaj's Feminism Isn't About Your Comfort Zone: On 'Anaconda' and Respectability Politics." For a critique of the single's music video, see Kleeman "Nicki Minaj's New 'Anaconda' Video Is Here — And It's a Huge Letdown."

series of references to the performance of black sexuality and its commodification—either through the circulation of ethnographic images of Khoisan women, or through the circulation of Minaj’s self representation—Lady Skollie foregrounds how black women’s images and artistic production may become fungible in global circuits of capital.

In Lady Skollie’s recent exhibition entitled *Lust Politics* (2017) at the Tyburn Gallery London, she plays with a repertoire of images referencing “suggestive” fruit, genitalia, and iconography from Khoisan rock paintings. Lady Skollie works with a mixture of linocuts, crayon, watercolour, and gold leaf to create playful images that engage with questions of sex, gender roles, and sexual violence. Through titles such as “Pink Dick: Sometimes I reluctantly reflect on all the times I allowed my pussy to be colonized” and “Vroeg rip, vroeg vrot: in various stages of ripening, being ripe, being ready, being consumed, and nothingness,” Lady Skollie humorously approaches the perils of sexual desire and vulnerability: being “ripe” and “ready” may lead to being “consumed” or worse, “nothingness”; similarly, a pink “dick” might be inherently “coloniz[ing].” Here, her work acknowledges that “love is a trope that binds people into relations of inequalities” (Bhana 7). Intimacy, Lady Skollie suggests, is always ideological, and traverses relationships that cannot be freed from gendered or racial inequalities or from the commodification of sexuality.

It is unsurprising, then, that her work both celebrates the power of erotics and questions that way in which sex-positivist feminism is often reduced to the liberal promise of individual choice, as one title asks: “I’m not a possession if I want it, right?” While Lady Skollie is overtly interested in the politics of heterosexual sex in a context plagued by sexual violence, her work can be said to queer heterosexuality in its disruption of our expectations of what constitutes heterosexual eroticism. Her titles often refer to the perils of being a woman who has sex with

men; however, her images seldom bring male and female “fruit” or genitalia into contact. Rather, a single image will include a large pile of bananas with the occasional pink penis peeking through, while another canvas will bear the repeated vagina print that has become synonymous with her work. Crudely detached from their bodies, and humorously refigured as ripe fruit, the bananas and paw paws, the penises and vaginas in Lady Skollie’s images become queer expressions of desire, as well as parodies of the tropes of romance and sexuality. Rather than presenting sexuality and heterosexual sex as a private site of intimacy and social reproduction, Lady Skollie acknowledges that sex in South Africa is inherently public and over-determined by the past (by both personal and national histories).



Fig. 5 Lady Skollie. "Cut-cut, kill-kill, stab-stab: a South African Love Story," *The Tyburn Gallery*, 2016.

In consonance with Muholi, Lady Skollie is concerned with the stakes of expressing sexual desire in a context where sexual violence is rife. Two images from her *Lust Politics*

exhibition, “On the Subject of Consent: ‘Don’t worry about it; around here RED MEANS GO!’” and “Cut-cut, Kill-kill, Stab-stab: A South African Love Story” represent the paradoxes of sexuality in the South African context. “Cut-cut, Kill-kill, Stab-stab: A South African Love Story” depicts a richly coloured halved pawpaw in the centre of the canvas against a black background. The pawpaw—depicted in a warm orange—is surrounded by a circle of folding knives that orient towards the fruit with their pointed tips. For the interior of a fruit to be exposed, a cut or a slice must be made to make its vaginal interior visible; its very exposure therefore suggests vulnerability, just as the pointed knives intimate potential harm. The title of the image further communicates an interplay between vulnerability, injury, and intimacy. The first phrase, “Cut-cut, Kill-kill, Stab-stab” reflects repeated violence and violation; this opening phrase is juxtaposed with the description following the colon, “A South African Love Story.” The repetitive verbs “Cut-cut, Kill-kill, Stab-stab” come to describe the ongoing conditions of the “South African Love Story” which both the title and painting suggest is fraught with potential danger. The exposed interior of the pawpaw is the focal point of the image reflecting the spectacle of sexual violence, while at the same time the vibrantly coloured metaphorical vagina preoccupies our gaze and saturates our attention.

Similarly, in “On the Subject of Consent: ‘Don’t worry about it; around here RED MEANS GO!’” the foreground of the image is filled with a cascade of bright red apples, a few of which have been halved to reveal delicate pink labia instead of seeds. The apple is richly evocative of myth and fantasy as it relates to female sexuality. It is often an apple that an evil stepmother hands to her rival in fairy stories, and the apple is also often associated in Western imagery with the fruit of original sin eaten by Adam and Eve. Here, the apple references female sexuality saturated with the heteronormative values that these myths convey. Furthermore, the

red of the apples reflect the red in the title: while red is generally understood as a signal of danger, or a command that a vehicle stops, the title suggests that in South Africa “RED MEANS GO” and in a similar formulation “no” might be interpreted as “yes.” Although the title implies an exploration of the “Subject of Consent” the qualifying phrase after the colon is a reminder that consent is regularly ignored, or trivialized, as conveyed by the phrase “Don’t worry about it.” The background of the piece is a dark green forest of leaves that morph into eyes in the centre. All the eyes focus on the red fruit and exposed labia. The image, therefore, is not simply an exploration of consent, desire, and danger, but also of spectacle. The “subject of consent” is not merely a private matter, as many would like to suggest, but is a public concern. Indeed, as I have repeatedly shown in this dissertation, questions of sexual violence quickly morph in public into debates over morality and the security and stability of the new nation. In this image, Lady Skollie acknowledges the public nature of sexuality, while considering who is subjected to this public spectacle. The interplay between the image and its title, not only suggests how women’s bodies are exposed through the public debates on sexual violence, but how male violence is neutralized by phrases such as “don’t worry.”

While the image clearly suggests that it is men that do not “worry” about the “subject of consent,” it is also significant that, as was the case in “Cut-cut, Kill-kill, Stab-stab,” female sexuality is at the centre of the image. The large pile of apples in the foreground seems to suggest plentitude and desire, as well as exposure and danger. Lady Skollie’s artwork plays consciously with the dynamics of spectacle as it relates to black female sexuality—seldom simply celebrating or critiquing this dynamic of exposure, display, and scrutiny. The lush and vibrant colours that she uses to depict her genital-like fruit exceed the overt content of the image. By focusing her viewer’s attention on these colourful vaginas, she suggests that the vagina may

be a site of harm, or colonial spectacle (as was the case with Baartman), but it can also be a locus for women's own expressions of desire. In "On the Subject of Consent" the cascade of apples suggests their plentitude through their innumerable number, seeming to overflow the image. This representation of excess suggests that "[l]oss, mourning, vulnerability and death are not mutually exclusive to desire, sex and pleasure" (Matebeni and Msibi 4).

Both Muholi's and Lady Skollie's work reflects an awareness that sex and sexuality in South Africa are often explicitly public and political. Sexual violence in the South African public sphere regularly becomes an affectively charged node for debates around the vexed nature of the emergent democracy. Indeed, sexual violence is often represented alongside anxiety around the stability and morality not only of the nation but also its master signifier, the family. The public focus on rape as a national problem of sexuality tends to represent black female sexuality as inevitably painful. As was the case in public representations of Booyesen's rape, the harm to the individual body was quickly displaced by concerns over a society inured to violence and political scandal. Public narratives of "curative" rape further reinforce a regime of representation that depicts black lesbians as victims or as objects of public speculation. Although their work is very different, both Muholi and Lady Skollie interrupt public representations of black women's sexuality by focusing on the potential for desire even in contexts where sexual violence is pervasive. There is, thus, something implicitly optimistic about this attempt to celebrate the diversity of black women's sexuality in the face of widespread violence.

In the previous chapter, I argued that hope was implicitly caught up in neoliberal logics. Hope, I suggested, was both unevenly distributed, and secured our attachments to those promises that might "impede our flourishing" (as in cruel optimism) or secure our relationship to normativity. Similarly, when speaking about the rape of Baby Tshepang, I evoked Edelman's

understanding of the figural child as a figure of reproductive futurity, in order to interpret how the injured child comes to stand in for a thwarted relationship to that futurity. Edelman's aptly titled polemic *No Future* further argues that queers should "embrace" the "ascription of negativity" and in so doing might "dispossess the social order of the ground on which it rests" (4, 6). Following Ahmed, however, I cannot help wondering whether "all forms of political hope, all forms of optimism as well as utopianism, all dreams of 'some more perfect order,' can be described as performing the logics of futurism, which in turn would require negativity to be located in those who cannot inherit the future" (*The Promise of Happiness* 161). For critics of the antirelational or antisocial turn in queer theory, associated with Leo Bersani and Edelman, these theories distance queerness from "contamination by race and gender" and "reproduce a crypto-universal white gay subject that is weirdly atemporal" (Muñoz, "Thinking Beyond Antirelationality" 825).¹²³ While Jose Muñoz resolutely rejects reproductive futurity, he is simultaneously sceptical of Edelman's ethics of negation, wherein the queer subject embraces their "abjection within the symbolic" and disrupts social order (*Cruising Utopia* 92-93). Muñoz asserts that "[i]t is important not to hand over futurity to white reproductive futurity," and goes on to argue that "willfully idealistic practices" resist "heteronormative pragmatism" particularly for those subjects who are not "the sovereign princes of futurity" (95-96). While Muholi and Lady Skollie certainly do not reproduce the "spectacles of promise" that Strauss associates with performances of rainbow nationalism in the South African public sphere, both artists' projects seem to take the promise and potential of joy and eroticism seriously, and, in so doing, provoke us to make sense of this optimism even as it seems to emerge from sites of violence and political

¹²³ Such criticisms can be found in Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia* 10-11, Dean 123-8, Bliss 84-86, and Caserio et al 819-828.

despair.

Optimism, as Ahmed observes, is not an affect but an orientation towards or an interpretation of an object. For instance, Ahmed uses the familiar idiom of a glass that is either seen as half empty or half full and observes that it is our perception of the glass that designates optimism or pessimism. As Michael Snediker suggests, optimism is regularly understood in queer theory as either a “tease, a seduction” to be exposed, or as a form of investment that lulls liberals into “complacency” (“Queer Optimism”). Optimism in the antirelational turn in queer theory is regularly understood as “cruel.” Citing happiness as a “regulatory norm,” Edelman argues that to burden sex with “optimism” and happiness is to invest in an image that “seeks to stabilize or mortify precisely what make it living and relational in the first place” (Berlant and Edelman 8, 18).

If many of the texts I have cited seem to be invested in a reparative reading of bad feelings, and ask, as Ann Cvetcovich does, whether “feeling bad might, in fact, be the ground for transformation” (3), then it seems important to consider whether “feeling bad,” experiencing despair, or fear, might not be the grounds for an emergent form of optimism that is as Muñoz suggests “willfully idealistic.” Furthermore, this requires us to ask whether optimism is inevitably reifying in the manner that Edelman suggests. Berlant partially responds to this question when she observes that she is “interested in optimism as a mode of attachment to life” (Berlant and Edelman 5). While she has shown elsewhere that this attachment may be to precisely those objects that impede our flourishing, here she seems to suggest that those attachments might be directed elsewhere. Similarly, in his polemic “Queer Optimism,” Snediker argues for an understanding of optimism that is not necessarily attached to futurity: “[q]ueer optimism [...] is not promissory. It doesn’t ask that some future time make good on its own

hopes. [...] Queer optimism’s interest—its capacity to be interesting, to hold out attention—depends on its emphatic responsiveness to and solicitation of rigorous thinking” (“Queer Optimism”). Although I am very sceptical of what comes across as a nostalgia for coherence (and the coherence of the subject) in Snediker’s writing, I find his contention that queer optimism may not be inevitably promissory or invested in reproductive futurity in the manner in which Edelman asserts compelling. Queer optimism, then, might suggest a “mode of attachment to life” and an orientation towards the future that simultaneously questions the promise of reproductive futurity and emerges out of/or in spite of political despair.

While Muholi’s work might celebrate and monumentalize the fantasy of the couple form in representing lesbian attachment in terms of self-sufficiency and plentitude, she simultaneously implies that lesbian intimacy might be squeezed or contained by the illusory promises of the “good life”: it may be subtended by the threat of violence or worn down by the inaccessibility of the very forms of attachment it celebrates. As the scenes of *Difficult Love* reaffirm, loving often accompanies exhaustion and rejection from the life-sustaining capacities of the community or the state; however, Muholi’s emphasizes that which endures in the face of violence, exhaustion, and rejection. By titling her series *Being*, she highlights the ongoing life sustaining capacities of the women she photographs. In *Only Half the Picture*, she emphasizes intimacy and eroticism in the face of hate crimes, and through her images of menstruation places this eroticism as a rejection of reproductive futurity. If Muholi’s work can be interpreted as conveying a *queer optimism*, it is through her focus on black lesbian women’s attachment to various forms of world-building in the present, while simultaneously acknowledging the vulnerability and precarity of these attachments.

In “Soft Centres, Wet Folds” (2016), Lady Skollie presents an amalgamation of subtly

pink flesh against a stark black background; penises merge with vaginas and vaginas bleed into penises in soft pink watercolour. In this unmistakably erotic image, the boundaries between sexes, between body and thing, melt away, just as watercolour diffuses on wet paper. At first this seems to celebrate sex's capacity to act as an encounter "that exceeds and undoes the subject's fantasmatic sovereignty" that is associated with theorists such as Bersani (Berlant and Edelman 2); however, when taken in the context of her work, this image of shattered subjectivity cannot be untethered from her broader acknowledgement of the histories of colonization and the threat of violence that haunt sexual encounters for black and brown women. As Deborah Gould suggests, although despair may "flatten political possibilities," it may also "work to open new political horizons, alternative visions of what is to be done and how to do it" (107). By anchoring their explorations of sexuality in the perils of embodiment, Muholi and Lady Skollie present a hope or optimism that is tethered to on-going survival in the present, what Muñoz might speak of as a "queer feeling of hope" in the face of "hopeless heteronormative maps" (28).

Conclusion



Fig. 6 Zapiro. "She's All Yours, Boss!" The Daily Maverick, 11 Apr. 2017, www.dailymaverick.co.za/zapirocartoon/shes-all-yours-boss/

In March 2017, while I was writing the final chapter of this dissertation, the news from South Africa was filled with anxiety over Jacob Zuma's dead-of-night cabinet reshuffle during which Pravin Gordin was ousted from his position as finance minister. The cabinet reshuffle and Gordin's removal were taken by many to be the final evidence of what has commonly become known as the "state of capture," which Mark Swilling et al describe as the systematic process of "repurposing" state institutions (specifically State Owned Enterprises (SOE)) to benefit a "constellation of rent-seeking networks" (2). During this time, rape metaphors circulated widely as people sought to come to grips with the frustration and despair associated with the tail end of Zuma's presidency. After the "Save SA" march on April 7, 2017, an image of a white woman holding a sign reading, "Did you shower after you fucked us?"—referencing Zuma's claim to

have showered after allegedly raping Khwezi as a preventative measure against contracting HIV—circulated widely on social media. Indeed, metaphors abounded linking Zuma’s sexual misconduct with the venality of his tenure as president. While despair and frustration with the Zuma-led ANC government circulated across multiple publics, the #SaveSA and #ZumaMustGo movements came to be associated with public expressions of white middle-class outrage. Although earlier social movements such as #Feesmustfall and #Rhodesmustfall (which I will return to shortly) addressed questions of systemic racism and structural inequality, social commentators criticized #SaveSA and #ZumaMustGo for their focus on and vilification of a single individual without acknowledging the historical burdens of apartheid or the effects of neoliberal economic policies on the poor black majority. Moreover, these critics took issue with the #ZumaMustFall organizers and participants (largely white and middle-class) for appropriating discourses from social struggles, such as those for accessible university education, the delivery of services and labour equality, that they had not participated in or supported. In this context, it is perhaps unsurprising that rape circulated as a metaphor for political venality and as a vehicle for public (but particularly) white anxiety, because it refigured systemic problems through familiar tropes of individual injury, through the appropriation of black women’s suffering, which was recast as the “rape” of the nation.

The most controversial of these metaphors was found in Zapiro’s cartoon titled “She’s All Yours, Boss!” published in the *Daily Maverick* on April 11, 2017. The cartoon shows South Africa problematically depicted as a black woman being held down by Minister David Mahlobo representing the “State Organs,” Minister Bathabile Dlamini representing “Cronies Inc.,” and editor Moegsien Williams representing the captured media, while Zuma walks away buckling his pants and addresses Atul Gupta with the phrase, “She’s all yours boss!” This image might recall

the cartoon I discussed in the introduction, depicting Zuma readying himself to rape Lady Justice. The previous iteration of this cartoon, which appeared in 2008, landed Zapiro before the Human Rights Commission where he had been accused of violating Zuma's right to dignity. The earlier image represents Lady Justice as a black woman about to be raped, and in the 2017 version, South Africa as a whole is figured as a feminized rape victim. This new figuration is particularly problematic, as it partakes in discursive economy that conflates the black woman's body with land to be conquered (through rape). As I have argued throughout this dissertation, rape in South Africa becomes a potent vehicle for divergent public feelings over the state of the nation, as the rape of an individual quickly elides into debates over the vexed state of democracy. Zapiro's image both partakes in and capitalizes on this dynamic, drawing on colonial metaphors that conflate land and nation with the black female body to be raped, subdued, and conquered, and further suggesting that it is individual venality rather than structural inequality that is at the heart of the struggles that beset the nation.¹²⁴

As William Bird noted in a press release, the metaphor is not particularly apt or successful. South Africans are not the passive victims of four corrupt individuals or interest groups. The ANC was democratically elected, and despite the scandal, Zuma was elected for a second term. Zapiro's image, therefore, provides a fantasy that ignores the people's complicity in their choice of governance by depicting South Africa as a passive victim of rape. At the same time, Zapiro came under fire not only for the weakness of his metaphor, but also for his cartoon's perpetuation of "rape culture" (The Daily Vox "Zapiro Needs to take a Hard Look in the

¹²⁴ Mark Swilling et al argue in *Betrayal of the Promise* that popular discourse on corruption ignores or masks the systemic nature of "state capture as the political project of a well-organized network that strives to manage what [they] call the symbiotic relationship between constitutional state and the shadow state" (3).

Mirror”). On Twitter, @MsPerrett called him out for yet again representing black women as without "agency" and as "a site of violence." Barbara Bosswell argued that the cartoon reflected “a form of white entitlement to feel perfectly OK representing black bodies without a modicum of reflexivity and acknowledgement of white privilege” (qtd. in The Daily Vox "Zapiro Needs to take a Hard Look in the Mirror”); such comments foreground Zapiro’s appropriation of black suffering in order to express his criticism of black governance. Others defended his cartoon as "protest art" while one tweet asked: "If SA isn't being raped, I don't know what's happening then" ("Latest #Zapiro 'Rape' Cartoon"). Defending his cartoon, Zapiro commented that, “[e]veryone is saying it and everyone is using metaphors like this” (qtd. in The Daily Vox "Zapiro Needs to take a Hard Look in the Mirror”). While Zapiro’s statement is a poor excuse for his blithely insensitive caricature that draws on multiple racial stereotypes, it is illuminating in its acknowledgement that, as I have shown throughout this dissertation, these metaphors proliferate in the South African public. Indeed, the cartoon condensed several motifs that accompany the representation of rape in South Africa more broadly. In particular, kleptocratic leadership, corruption, and cronyism are regularly aligned with Africa and black governance, in particular, as impediments to progress and democracy. Similarly, rape is regularly represented as a failure of progress and as a sign of social malaise, while at the same time appropriating or displacing black suffering.

As Comaroff and Comaroff argue, in South Africa discourses around criminality perpetually slide into anxieties over social progress that are attached to a *telos* of Western modernity. The economy of rights-based discourses that pervade the South African public sphere associates gender “empowerment” with social progress in such a way that fails to question the structural conditions of gender inequality or its intersections with histories of racial violence. At

a moment that has been increasingly identified with the *Betrayal of the Promise*, as is suggested by the title of Swilling et al's report on the "State of Capture," rape again became a convenient container for anxieties over social progress and personal safety. In particular, the nation as rape victim might be particularly attractive for white publics who can adopt a discourse of individual injury as a means to jettison collective responsibility and appropriate black suffering. In previous examples, rape narratives were diverted towards concerns over the nation state in ways that elided the systemic inequalities of race and gender that uphold and normalize gender violence. In Zapiro's cartoon, the rape metaphor became a vehicle around which the disappointments and frustrations associated with Zuma's presidency could accrue for certain publics (white, middle-class): not only decontextualizing the pervasive problem of rape in South Africa, but also decontextualizing the "state of capture" itself by treating corruption as a "moral or cultural pathology," thereby masking its systemic nature (Swilling et al 5).

In this dissertation, I have tried to track the changing emotional economies that circulate alongside South African rape narratives. In the case studies I drew from the media, the injured or dead woman or girl's body was a site of lurid fascination and a conduit for narratives of national instability and disappointment. The vexed state of the South African polity regularly displaced more nuanced questions regarding the systems that support gender violence and the social conditions that facilitate this violence. Literature and art responding to the perceived crisis of rape in South Africa used discourses of rape to question the conditions of the new democracy, either by deploying motifs that sediment affect around familiar, well-worn tropes of race, gender, and modernity, or, by focusing on the quotidian experiences of black life, intimacy, and desire. Artists and authors such as Zanele Muholi, Lady Skollie, and Kagiso Lesego Molohe disrupted representations of rape that elided the victims and/or rejected representations of black women as

passive victims. By charting the changing economies of affect that are associated with rape narratives in South African publics I observed a movement through anxiety, shame, despair and hope that mirrored the changing emotional economy of the nation from the promise and optimism associated with the first years of the transition to democracy, through to the mounting frustration and despair associated with Zuma's presidency.

As I write this conclusion, however, a seismic shift seems to be occurring in the public conversation around gender violence, with social media playing an important role in this reorientation. While I am of course sceptical of claims that might romanticize the potential of new publics convened through platforms such as Twitter and Facebook, I am equally sceptical of those who see the activism occurring on these platforms as a form of false consciousness or mis-recognition—what Dean might call “communicative capitalism.” Dean defines *communicative capitalism* as the “materialization of ideals of inclusion and participation in information, entertainment, and communication technologies in ways that capture resistance and intensify global capitalism” (3). Although Dean is rightly concerned with the “individualization of politics” where people might treat their “contribution to circulating content as communicative action” (11, 31), I think it would be a mistake to dismiss the affective publics that form around certain hashtags as they circulate on Twitter, or to entirely disregard the potential for such online mobilization to provide the conditions that might support real world interventions.

Zizi Papacharissi explores the mechanisms through which publics are “networked together, through affectively charged discourse” (7). Unlike Dean, who diagnoses the feeling of engagement as a form of fantasy or misrecognition, Papacharissi argues that this fantasy of connection or “feeling” engaged “activ[ates] latent ties that may be crucial to the mobilization of networked publics” (Papacharissi 8). Online activism in South Africa has been most notably

associated with the #Rhodesmustfall and #Feesmustfall movements beginning in 2015, which sparked national conversations around institutionalized racism in universities, decolonizing the curriculum, and universal free education.¹²⁵ These movements and the widespread protests that they are associated with were accompanied by ongoing commentary and organization on social media networks. While the assumption of “causal links between the use of social media and subsequent uprisings” is based on an understanding of “direct and somewhat linear media effects, which, as a little more than a century of media research informs us, do not exist,” the viral circulation of hashtags like #Rhodesmustfall and #Feesmustfall suggests that media along with other historical and socio-economic factors contributes to the conditions that might make such social revolt possible (Papacharissi 31).

While the political unrest that swept through the Middle East and North Africa in 2011 has provoked scholars to focus on the potential for hashtags and online activism to translate into direct political action, others have asked how platforms such as Twitter become a site for counterpublics to be networked together often around a particular hashtag. Yamir Bonilla and Jonathan Rosa observe that social media platforms "offer sites for collectively constructing counternarratives and reimagining group identities," especially for those groups whose representation in the media is traditionally "overdetermined, stereotyped, or tokenized" (6). Similarly, Sherri Williams suggest that hashtags provide a means to respond to “mainstream media” (342), and Rosemary Clark argues that the “hashtag’s narrative logic” allows it to “produce and connect individual stories” (789). Bonilla and Rosa observe that the "hashtag serves as an indexing system in both the clerical sense and the semiotic sense”: the hashtag

¹²⁵ For a further discussion of the #Rhodesmustfall movement, see Bosch 221-223. For a summary of the concerns of the Fees Must Fall movement, see Makhulu 257-258.

“allows the ordering and quick retrieval of information about a specific topic” and locates an utterance within a “particular conversation” (5). Hashtags, therefore, provide an indexing system through which short narratives and comments can be located in a particular conversation, while at the same time providing a nodal point for connecting around an experience, position, or identity. Papacharissi suggests that “as our experiences increasingly become partially or entirely mediated, in one form or another, media converge, reproduce, and become a part of the sociocultural habitus that we reference in defining ourselves” (31). Given that mobile phones are the most effective means to access the Internet in South Africa, and that, in 2016, Twitter had grown to 7.4 million users, the importance of identifying and interpreting its role in creating solidarity around gender violence is immediately apparent. In South Africa, the circulation of hashtags such as #rememberkhwezi, #rememberanene, #stoprape, #taxirape, and #menaretrash have given South African women the opportunity to respond to media representations of gender violence by highlighting narratives that are often ignored by the media, or by using expressions of emotions such as rage, fear, grief, and exhaustion to momentarily connect to other users through networked publics.

In 2017, the hashtag #menaretrash circulated widely after the death of 22-year-old Karabo Mokoena at the hands of her partner, who helped her parents look for her after he had doused her body in acid and petrol, burned it and buried it in a shallow grave. Although the #menaretrash hashtag predates Karabo’s murder—circulating in 2016 to call out the physical and emotional abuse South African women reported experiencing within their own relationships—it regained traction after Karabo’s murder and was used by women to share their own experiences of abuse at the hands of men. Perhaps because she was a beautiful, charming, light-skinned young woman, Karabo’s death caused outrage on Twitter, where South African women

recounted their own experiences of violence at the hands of intimate partners, family members, and strangers. At least momentarily, South African women, particularly black South African women, collectively asserted their rage, frustration, and exhaustion. The #menaretrash hashtag came to function as what Tara Conley, in a different context, has described as “counterpubli[c] networks of crowdsourcing, storytelling, and reporting” (24), and allowed a public to convene around shared narratives of gender violence and through the collective acknowledgements of the affective and embodied experiences of South African women.

As some commentators observed, the hashtag rejected the “respectability politics” that polices how women should appropriately express their anger (Samanga). Rather than focusing on the condition of the victim's body or her past, the statement "men are trash" provocatively places blame not with individual men but with a broader toxic masculinity. Each narrative, though often focused on individual private experience, is aggregated through the hashtag as a collective commentary on the conditions of violence experienced by South African women. Furthermore, these narratives of 140 characters publicly rejected the tacit prohibitions about speaking about intraracial and intra-communal violence in public. One Twitter user, Sadie Torquato (@SadieWiggles), observed in a much-retweeted thread that the hashtag disrupted men's sense of "propriety" over what can and should be aired in public, in order to criticize "patriarchal capitalism." Unsurprisingly, many responded to #menaretrash with hashtags such as #notallmen or #womenaretrash. One angry Twitter user responded as follows: “@T_Mothotoane we must not generalize on this #MenAreTrash issue, it's violating our rights of feeling free as men since it paints all of us” (@JerryTaba). Such responses not only missed the hashtag’s aggregated criticism of patriarchy as a structure that its users diagnosed as “trash,” but reproduced a defensive narrative of victimization that often accompanies rape narratives in South Africa,

where calling out “rape culture” or systemic gender violence is interpreted as an assault on individual men’s, particularly black men’s, dignity.

Unlike the rape narratives in the press that I have considered across this dissertation, the narratives of gender violence that were aggregated through #menaretrash hashtag foregrounded individual experiences of harm to directly criticize the systemic problem of gender violence in South Africa. These hashtags also partook in the transnational phenomenon of hashtag feminism that produced hashtags such as #WhyIStayed, #YouOKSis, and #RememberRenisha as a means for black women to counter media representations of black victims of violence and to discuss street harassment and individual experiences of gender violence. While hashtag feminism’s relationship to the global South is not always simple – as Sheila Khoja-Moolji has observed, it may participate in colonial logics, “enacting a liberal feminist salvation narrative that has long been critiqued for being a handmaiden of imperial expansions and interventions in the global south” (347-348) – South African users of the “Men are Trash” hashtag borrow from transnational feminist activism on Twitter in order to express local grievances. Although a more comprehensive analysis of hashtag feminisms in South Africa needs to be conducted both through quantitative analyses and discursive analysis of discrete tweets, I highlight the #menaretrash movement to acknowledge that the circulation of rape narratives is changing as social media forums allow for these narratives to be told outside the mainstream media. Rather than connecting rape to the nation or to the state of democracy, such narratives focus on every day experiences of sexual assault.

Throughout this dissertation, building on the work of Samuelson and L. Graham, I have asked how public representations of rape, particularly intraracial rape, are related to social imaginaries of the new democracy and its affective economies. My focus has been on how

discourses of gender violence get transfigured in public representations and print cultures in manners which convey anxiety over both the present and future of the nation and its relation to ideas like progress and modernity. The new aggregation of narratives through social media, as well as the new discourse of gender emerging from the students' movements of 2016, suggests that more work needs to be done on how South African women, particularly black South African women, are narrating experiences of violence in these networked publics. In a recent essay criticizing the rhetoric of youth protests, Achille Mbembe bemoans that "bonds of pain and bonds of suffering—more than lived material contradictions are becoming the real stuff of political inter-subjectivity." He goes on to argue that "[i]n the bloody miasma of the Zuma years, the discourse of black power, self-affirmation and worldliness of the early 1990s is in danger of being replaced by the discourse of fracture, injury and victimization – identity politics and the resentment that always is its corollary." Here Mbembe seems to echo Wendy Brown's arguments in *States of Injury* where she claims that "[d]eveloping a righteous critique of power from the perspective of the injured [...] delimits a specific site of blame for suffering by constituting sovereign subjects and events as responsible for the 'injury' of social subordination" (Brown 27). While Mbembe is not necessarily describing the politics of *ressentiment* outlined by Brown, he certainly echoes her concern that "developing a righteous critique of power from the perspective of [...] injur[y]" partakes in liberal narratives of sovereign subjectivity and reduces political action to discourses of victimization. In so doing, Mbembe suggests that the recourse to "raw affect, raw emotions and raw feelings" such as "rage, anger and eventually muted grief" is an example of a self-indulgent discourse that has replaced "structural analysis." Although studies such as Barchiesi's *Precarious Liberation* suggest how working-class melancholia and suffering may be transfigured into "resentment" and reformulated through demands for the restoration of

age and gender hierarchies and nostalgic imaginaries of familial norms, Mbembe's dismissal of "affect," "emotion," and the "personal" reproduces hierarchies that denigrate emotional and personal experience as apolitical. At first, it may seem easy to dismiss public expressions of rage, such as #menaretrash, as overly emotional expressions of "resentment" that displace "structural analysis"; however, even a preliminary assessment of the circulation of this hashtag suggests something more complex, where it is precisely through expressions of rage, frustration, and grief that the beginnings of a structural analysis of gender violence occurs.

The deployment of rape metaphors in Zapiro's 2017 cartoon and in the #ZumaMustFall protests reconfigured political networks of patronage and corruption into a narrative of individual harm through an appropriation of languages of victimization by relatively privileged members of society. The nation was refigured as a passive victim, and the complex histories of apartheid, neoliberalism, and the "state of capture" were displaced onto a single figure, Jacob Zuma, who became a placeholder for Afro-pessimist visions of the failed African state. This dynamic mirrors much of the rhetoric of rape I have tracked throughout this dissertation, where narratives of rape are transfigured into narratives of social crisis where the nation is figured as victimized. Events such as the #menaretrash, however, provoke new questions about how rape is represented in the South African public sphere and how personal injury may be deployed to foreground collective pressures and structural conditions by collating quotidian narratives of gender violence.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

“150 Rapes an Hour.” *The Star*, 8 Feb. 2013, pp. 1.

“ANC Submission to the Human Rights Commission on Racism in the Media.”

African National Congress, 5 Apr. 2000, www.anc.org.za/content/anc-submission-human-rights-commission-hearings-racism-media.

“Anene’s Gang Rape not Bredasdorp’s First.” *City Press* 2 Oct. 2013. *News24*, www.news24.com/Archives/City-Press/Anenes-gang-rape-not-Bredasdorps-first-20150429

“Anene Never Had a Chance’.” *News 24*, 27 Feb. 2013. *News 24*, www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Anene-never-had-a-chance-20130227

Azuah, Unoma. “2013 Jan. 1: The Choke of Grief.” *Inkanyiso*, 24 Feb. 2013, <https://inkanyiso.org/2013/02/24/2013-jan-1-the-choke-of-grief/>.

Bauer, Nickolaus. “SA: A Rape Crisis, but No Funds or Will to Fight.” *Mail & Guardian*, 12 Feb. 2013, www.mg.co.za/article/2013-02-12-f.

Bhengu, Charity. “Anti-AIDS Drugs for Baby Rape Victim.” *Sowetan*, 4 Dec. 2001, pp. 2.

—. “Baby Violated in Vicious Attack.” *Sowetan*, 3 Dec. 2001, pp. 1.

—. “Call on Men and Boys to Fight Against Child Abuse.” *Sowetan*, 30 Nov. 2001, pp. 9.

—. “Child Rape Cases Cause for Alarm.” *Sowetan*, 14 Dec. 2001, pp. 6.

—. “Child Rights in the Spotlight.” *Sowetan*, 23 Nov. 2001, pp. 10.

—. “Clamping Down on Child Abuse.” *Sowetan*, 31 Oct. 2001, pp. 9.

- . “Increase of Abuse Throughout Country.” *Sowetan*, 3 Dec. 2001, pp. 2.
 - . “Keeping Safe Below Belt.” *Sowetan*, 14 Dec. 2001, pp. 7.
 - . “Mixed Feelings over Chastity Belt.” *Sowetan*, 14 Dec. 2001, pp. 7.
 - . “More Child Rape Cases Reported.” *Sowetan*, 3 Dec. 2001, pp. 2.
 - . “Officials Condemn ‘Horrible’ Rape of Baby.” *Sowetan*, 3 Dec. 2001, pp. 2.
 - . “Raped Children at Risk of HIV.” *Sowetan*, 5 Nov. 2001, pp. 5.
 - . “System Fails Child Sex Abuse Victims.” *Sowetan*, 5 Nov. 2001, pp. 13.
- “Bill B-6: Protection of State Information Bill.” *Government Gazette No. 32999*, 5 Mar. 2010,
www.parliament.gov.za/live/commonrepository/Processed/20140411/2061912.pdf
- Benjamin, Peter. "If Men Don't like Hearing #MenAreTrash, Change South Africa, Not the Hashtag." *Daily Maverick*, 1 Jun. 2017,
www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2017-06-01-if-men-dont-like-hearing-menaretrash-change-south-africa-not-the-hashtag/#.WZtZ8BPYu8V
- Bloom, Jack. “Urgent Need to Provide AZT to Rape Victims.” *Sowetan*, 7 Dec. 2001, pp. 19.
- Bowler, Danielle. “Lady Skollie Takes the Art World Beyond the White Cube.” *Mail & Guardian*, 10 Mar. 2016, www.mg.co.za/article/2016-03-10-lady-skollie-goes-beyond-the-white-cube.
- Brink, Dianne. “Rapists Live Godless Lives.” *Sowetan*, 11 Nov. 2001, pp. 12.

Brooks, Gushwell. "The Inefficacy of the Rape Debate." *Daily Maverick*, 8 Feb. 2013, www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2013-02-08-the-inefficacy-of-the-rape-debate/#.WJ3--hIrIdV

Bryson, Donna. "Only a Matter of Time Before Next 'Corrective Rape'." *Mail & Guardian*, 11 May 2011, www.mg.co.za/article/2011-05-11-only-a-matter-of-time-before-next-corrective-rape.

Coetzee, J. M. *Disgrace*. Vintage, 1999.

Dangor, Achmat. *Bitter Fruit*. Kwela Books, 2001.

Davids, Nashira. "Anene's Burial Place a Town without Hope." *The Times*, 11 Feb. 2013, *Factiva*, https://global-factiva-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/ha/default.aspx#./!/?&_suid=150682566421101069445850557107.

—. "Raped Teen's Last Words." *The Times*, 8 Feb. 2013. *The Times Live*, www.timeslive.co.za/thetimes/2013/02/08/Raped-teens-last-words.

Davis, Rebecca. "Analysis: The Outrage over Exam 'Baby Rape' Questions Justified." *Daily Maverick*, 29 Nov. 2013, www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-11-29-analysis-the-outrage-over-exam-baby-rape-question-is-justified/.

—. "Analysis: What Can South Africa Learn from India's Response to Sexual Violence?" *Daily Maverick*, 10 Jul. 2014. www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-07-10-analysis-what-can-south-africa-learn-from-indias-response-to-sexual-violence/#.WHZwDLYrKqD

- . “Anene Booysen: Why India and SA Responded Differently to Two Brutal Rapes.” *Daily Maverick*, 14 Nov. 2013, www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-11-15-anene-booyesen-why-india-and-sa-responded-differently-to-two-brutal-rapes/#.WHZsS7YrKqB.
- . “Daily Maverick’s SA Person(s) of the Year 2013: Anene Booysen and Reeva Steenkamp.” *Daily Maverick*, 13 Dec. 2013, www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-12-13-daily-mavericks-sa-persons-of-the-year-2013-anene-booyesen-and-reeva-steenkamp/#.WHZyF7YrKqB.
- . “Johannesburg Gay Pride Parade Pits Politics Against Partying.” *The Guardian*, 9 Oct. 2012, www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/09/joburg-gay-pride-clash.
- Dawson, Celia. “Are We Angry Enough to Take Action?” *Pretoria News*, 11 Feb. 2013, pp. 13.
- Du Plessis, Carien. “ANC Women: We Are Not Feminists.” *News 24*, 27 Nov. 2012, www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/ANC-women-were-not-feminists-20121127-2.
- Ebrahim, Zeenat. “Why Aren't We Reeling in Utter Disbelief?” *Daily News*, 12 Feb. 2013, pp. 16. *Factiva*, www.global-factiva-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/ha/default.aspx#.!/?&_suid=150682617325608709001138381227.
- “Editorial: Our Rape Crisis.” *Cape Times*, 11 Feb. 2013, pp. 10.
- “Enough is Enough!” *Sowetan*, 6 Feb. 2013. *SowetanLive*, www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/say-no-to-rape/2013/02/06/enough-is-enough

Felix, Jason. "I Told Anene Not to be Late." *IOL*, 8 Feb. 2013,

www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/i-told-anene-not-to-be-late-1466437#.URSXrFHPXcs.

"Gang-rape Killer of Lesbian Footballer Gets Life," *Mail & Guardian*, 23 Sept. 2009, www.mg.co.za/article/2009-09-23-gangrape-killer-of-lesbian-footballer-gets-life.

Gasa, Nomboniso. "Anene Booyesen: A Mirror of Our Society," *Sunday Independent*, 10 Feb. 2013, pp.16. *Factiva*, www.global-factiva-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/ha/default.aspx#.!?&_suid=150682627931807911128546116428.

Grobler, Fienie. "Media Freedom Under Spotlight as Reporter Arrested." *Mail & Guardian*, 4 Aug. 2010, www.mg.co.za/article/2010-08-04-media-freedom-under-spotlight-as-reporter-arrested.

Haupt, Adam. "#ZumaMustFall: Whose Hashtag is it Anyway?" *Mail & Guardian*, 17 Dec 2017, www.thoughtleader.co.za/adamhaupt/2015/12/17/zumamustfall-whose-is-it-anyway/.

"I'm Tired and Sore-Anene's Last Words." *News 24*, 8 Feb. 2013. *News 24*, www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Im-tired-and-sore-Anenes-last-words-20130208

"Joburg Pride 2012" uploaded by South African Tourism, 8 Oct. 2012, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tloz53pwIoc.

Koorts, Hermène. "Something Must be Done About These Rapists." *Sowetan*, 7 Dec. 2001, pp. 19.

Kweza, Noxolo and Lebo Thinane. "Child Abuser 'Can Get Life'." *Sowetan*, 7 Dec. 2001.

Kweza, Noxolo. "Rape Turns 10-year-old Girl's Life Upside Down." *Sowetan*, 11 Dec. 2001, pp. 9.

"Latest #Zapiro 'Rape' Cartoon Creates Storm on Social Media." *IOL News*, 11 Apr. 2017. *IOL*, www.iol.co.za/news/politics/latest-zapiro-rape-cartoon-creates-storm-on-social-media-8620542

"Let's Talk About #MenAreTrash: Starting with These Terrifying Stats."

Cosmopolitan, 17 May 2017, www.cosmopolitan.co.za/news/lets-talk-about-menaretrash

"LGBT Activists Disrupt Joburg Gay Parade 2012" uploaded by Carrie Shelver, 6 Oct. 2012, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hnxip-T_Hnw.

Mabuza-Suttle, Felicia. "Duty to End Rape Horror." *Sowetan*, 13 Nov. 2001, pp. 11.

Mafata, Mongadi. "Child Abuse Offenders Getting Younger." *Sowetan*, 16 Nov. 2001, pp. 21.

Makhado, Khangale. "'Putting Things Right' for Kids." *Sowetan* 30 Nov. 2001, pp. 11.

Makhafola, Gertrude. "Mixed Reaction to Dress Attack." *Sowetan*. February 19, 2008, pp. 8.

—. "'They Pulled and Tore Her Skirt.'" *Sowetan*, 19 Feb. 2008, pp. 8.

Mangole, Hans R. "How do we Punish Rape Monsters?" *Sowetan*, 15 Nov. 2001, pp. 18.

- Mapenzauswa, Stella. "Why Are We Still Silent? The Facts." *The Star*. 11 Feb. 2013, pp. 15. *Factiva*, www.global-factiva-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/ha/default.aspx#./!/?&_suid=1506826754479045953111880333686.
- Mapumulo, Zinhle. "Love in the Face of Hate." *City Press*, 8 Apr. 2016, www.citypress.news24.com/News/love-in-the-face-of-hate-20160402.
- Masweneng, Kgagelo. "#MenAreTrash: Karabo Mokoena's Death Sparks Harrowing Tales of Abuse." *Sunday World*, 13 May 2017, www.sundayworld.co.za/news/2017/05/13/menaretrash-karabo.-mokoenas-death-sparks-harrowing-tales-of-abuse.
- Matheolane, Mpho Moshe. "Opinion: On Rape and 'Being a Man'." *Mail & Guardian*, 13 Feb. 2013, www.mg.co.za/article/2013-02-13-on-being-a-man.html.
- Mazimbuko, Faith. "Women Should Fight for Rights." *Sowetan*, 21 Feb. 2008.
- Mckaiser, Eusebius. "South Africa Rallies Against Fatal Gang Rape." *The Daily Beast*, 10 Feb. 2013, www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/02/10/south-africa-rallies-against-fatal-gang-rape.html
- Mazibuko, Lucky. "Replace Fear with Love." *Sowetan*, 13 Nov. 2001, pp. 11.
- Molope, Kagiso Lesego. *This Book Betrays My Brother*. Oxford UP, 2012.
- More, Chris. "What About Rapes for Little Victims of Rape?" *Sowetan*, 9 Nov. 2001, pp. 7.

- Moseley, David. "How much do You Really Care?" *News 24*. 20 Feb. 2013, www.news24.com/Columnists/DavidMoseley/How-much-do-you-really-care-20130220
- Mntambo, Nandipha. "The Rape of Europa." 2009. *Stevenson Gallery*, www.archive.stevenson.info/exhibitions/muholi/love_loss/duduzile_zozo_funeral8.html.
- Muholi, Zanele. *Faces and Phases*. Presel, 2010.
- . Interviewed by Íde Corley, "An Interview with Zanele Muholi." *Wasafiri*, vol. 31, no.1, 2016, pp. 22-29, doi: 10.1080/02690055.2016.1112570.
- . *Only Half the Picture*, edited by Sophie Perryer. Michael Stevenson and STE Publishers, 2006.
- Muholi, Zanele and Peter Goldsmith, dir. *Difficult Love*. South Africa, 2011.
- Munusamy, Ranjeni. "The Agony of South Africa's Daughter Anene Booysen. The Agony of South Africa." *Daily Maverick*, 8 Feb. 2013, www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-02-08-the-agony-of-south-africas-daughter-anene-booyesen-the-agony-of-south-africa/#.WHZjJrYrKqB.
- Mquqo, Hiela and Phindile Chauke. "Change Law on Rape—Winnie." *Sowetan*, 5 Dec. 2001, pp. 2.
- Mquqo, Hiela and Lebo Thinane. "Protest in 5-Month-Old Baby Case." *Sowetan*, 12 Dec. 2001, pp. 2.
- Msimang, Sisonke. "As Long as We Exist, We Will be Raped." *Mail & Guardian*, 7 Feb. 2013, www.mg.co.za/article/2013-02-07-as-long-as-we-exist-we-will-be-raped.

@MsPerrett, "The black woman once again has no agency and is a site of violence - she is a tool used for the satirist to make his point. #Zapiro." *Twitter*, 11 Apr. 2017.

Naidoo, Jay. "An Open Letter to My Fellow South Africans: I Am Ready. Are You?" *Mail & Guardian*, 8 Feb. 2013, www.mg.co.za/article/2013-02-08-an-open-letter-to-my-fellow-south-africans-i-am-ready-are-you.

Ndlovu, Lawrence Mduduzi. "#Menaretrash: I Get It." *Daily Maverick*, 12 May 2017, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2017-05-12-menaretrash-i-get-it/#.WZ9U9xPyu8V>.

Ndlovu, Vusi. "Crowd Attacks Mother of Baby Who Was Raped." *Sowetan*, 5 Dec. 2001, pp. 4.

—. "Take a Stand Against Rapists, Residents Told." *Sowetan*, 23 Nov. 2001, pp. 12.

Ngwenya, Oupa. "Mourn Every Life That is Lost." *Sowetan*, 12 Mar. 2013, pp. 9.

Nicholson, F. "Give PEP to all Victims of Rape." *Sowetan* 14 Dec. 2001, pp. 19.

Pithouse, Richard. "From Delhi to Bredasdorp." *Daily Dispatch*, 15 Feb. 2013. *The South African Civil Society Information Service*, <http://sacsis.org.za/s/story.php?s=1569>.

Polgreen, Lydia. "Rape and Murder Stirs Fury in South Africa," *New York Times*, 8 Jun. 2013, www.nytimes.com/2013/06/09/world/africa/rape-and-murder-stirs-fury-in-south-africa.html.

Price, Max and Guy Lamb. "The State of the Violent Nation." *Mail & Guardian*, 12 Feb. 2013, www.mg.co.za/article/2013-02-12-the-state-of-the-violent-nation.

- Rajab, Devi. "Too Divided to Unite Against Rape." *The Star*, 17 July 2013. *Factiva*, www.global-factiva-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/ha/default.aspx#!?&_suid=150682823404505014576071069179.
- Ramaphakela, Mamiki. "Child Rape Shames Us All." *Sowetan*, 14 Dec. 2001, pp. 19.
- Rapitso, Shadi. "Growing Outrage Over Child Rapes." *Sowetan* 9 Nov. 2001, pp. 2.
- Redelinghuys, Marius. "#StopRape Alone Won't Stop Rape." *Mail & Guardian*, 11 Feb. 2013, [@Sadiewiggles](http://www.thoughtleader.co.za/mariusredelinghuys/2013/02/11/stoprape-alone-wont-stop-rape/&gws_rd=cr&ei=Inh2WLzYHZiojwOopbLgDg). "Because of patriarchal capitalism based also on propriety." *Twitter*, 10 Oct. 2016.
- Samanga, Rufaro. "The Real Story Behind #menaretrash, South Africa's Response to Domestic Violence." *Okay Africa*, 15 May 2017, www.okayafrica.com/op-ed-2/real-story-behind-menaretrash-south-africas-viral-hashtag/.
- Sapa. "Baby Rape Exam Question 'Valid and Fair'." *News 24*, 27 Nov. 2013, www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Baby-rape-exam-question-valid-and-fair-20131127.
- . "Baby Rape Six Case Postponed." *Sowetan*, 14 Nov. 2001, pp. 5.
- . "Castrate Child Rapists - MEC." *Sowetan*, 7 Dec. 2001, pp. 4.
- . "Child Abuse: Action Calls Grow." *Sowetan*, 28 Nov. 2001, pp. 4.
- . "Child Abuse Disgusts Mbeki." *Sowetan*, 27 Nov. 2001, pp. 2.

- “Child Rape ‘Rooted Deep in SA’.” *Sowetan*, 19 Nov. 2001, pp. 3.
- “Government Wants Stricter Sentences.” *Sowetan*, 5 Nov. 2001, pp. 5.
- “Minister Rails Against Sex with Virgin Myth”. *Sowetan*, 7 Dec. 2001, pp. 3.
- “More Baby Rapes: 8-month-old Raped and Abandoned.” *Sowetan*, 26 Nov. 2001, pp. 1.
- “Raped 9-Month-Old Baby off Critical List.” *Sowetan*, 1 Nov. 2001, pp. 5.
- “Raped Baby ‘Recovering’.” *Sowetan*, 7 Nov. 2001, pp. 2.
- “SA Media Speak Out About Gang Rape of Booysen.” *Mail & Guardian*, 8 Feb. 2013, www.mg.co.za/article/2013-02-08-sa-media-angered-by-gang-rape-and-murder-of-booysen.
- “Scourge of Child Abuse Shocks SA.” *Sowetan*, 27 Nov. 2001, pp. 10.
- “Shake-up in Rape Law is Coming – Ngcuka.” *Sowetan*, 12 Dec. 2001, pp. 2.
- “Shocking Statistics on Crimes against Children Unveiled.” *The Star*, 1 Nov. 2001, pp. 6.
- “Six Men Up for Gang Rape of Nine-Month-Old Baby.” *Sowetan*, 30 Oct. 2001, pp. 4.
- “Terrible Myth About AIDS ‘Cure’.” *Sowetan*, 19 Dec. 2001, pp. 11.
- Sapa and Charity Bhengu. “58 Children Raped in SA Everyday.” *Sowetan*, 13 Dec. 2001, pp. 8.
- “SA’s India Moment is Upon Us.” *The Independent on Sunday*, 9 Feb. 2013, pp. 6.
- Schmidt, Michael. “Baby Tshepang Town Still Confronts Devils.” *Cape Times*, 18 Dec. 2004. *IOL news*, www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/baby-tshepang-town-still-confronts-devils-229875.

- . "Where the Horror Never Ends." *Sunday Times*, 24 Mar. 2002, pp.13.
- Sehume, Jeffrey. "Let's see Women in a New Light." *The Star*, 17 July 2013, pp. 9.
- Sekhonyane, Makubetse. "Dear Editor: Deal with Crime Now—Before it's too Late." *Sowetan*, 5 Dec. 2001, pp. 15.
- Singh, Niyanta. "Anger Over Matric Baby Rape Question." *The Witness*, 27 Nov. 2013. *News 24*, www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Anger-over-matric-baby-rape-question-20131127
- Smith, David. "Life for Man in Rape and Killing of Lesbian South African Footballer," *The Guardian*, 22 Dec. 2009.
www.theguardian.com/world/2009/sep/22/eudy-simelane-gangrape-and-murder
- Somniso, Vicky. "Reasons Child Rapists Get Away." *Sowetan*, 16 Nov. 2001, pp. 21.
- . "Mob Stoning Shows Rape Anger." *Sowetan*, 10 Dec. 2001, pp. 4.
- . "Mob Threatens to Castrate 'Child-Rapist'." *Sowetan*, 13 Dec. 2001, pp. 8.
- "South Africa Mourns Gang Rape Victim," *Aljazeera*, 9 Feb. 2013,
www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/02/201328171132262482.html.
- South Africa, South African Police Service. "Annual Crime Report 2015/2016," 31 Aug. 2016. www.saps.gov.za/services/c_thumbnail.php?id=282.
- "Sowetan Comment: Moral Society Dares not fail its Children." *Sowetan*, 20 Nov. 2001, pp. 10.
- Statistics South Africa. "Gender Statistics in South Africa, 2011." Statistics South Africa, 2012. www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-10-05/Report-03-10-052011.pdf.

- . "Income and Expenditure of Households 2010/2011 Statistical Release P0100." Statistics South Africa, 2012.
www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0100/P01002011.pdf.
- Swart, Heidi. "Will Anene Booysen's Brutal Rape and Murder Shake the Nation into Action?" *Mail & Guardian*, 15 Feb. 2013, www.mg.co.za/article/2013-02-15-00-will-anene-booyens-brutal-rape-and-murder-shake-the-nation-into-action.
- The Daily Vox, "Zapiro Needs to Take a Hard Look in the Mirror." *Mail & Guardian*, 13 Apr. 2017. <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-04-13-zapiro-needs-to-take-a-hard-look-in-the-mirror>
- Tlhabi, Redi. *Endings and Beginnings: A Story of Healing*. Jacana Media, 2012.
- "To Love, Protect and Molest." *Sowetan*, 15 Nov. 2001, pp.19.
- Tswana, Yolisa. "Outrage After 'Despicable Sexual Crime'." *Cape Argus*, 7 Feb. 2013. *IOL*, www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/outrage-after-despicable-sexual-crime-1465622.
- Underhill, Glyniss. "Anene Booysen: Flowers and rage in Bredasdorp." *Mail & Guardian*, 1 Mar. 2013, www.mg.co.za/article/2013-02-28-gender-violence-flowers-in-bredasdorp-and-rage.
- Van Hoorn, Imke. "Zapiro in Zuma Cartoon Uproar." *Mail & Guardian*, 8 Sept. 2008. <https://mg.co.za/article/2008-09-08-zapiro-in-zuma-cartoon-uproar>.
- "Violent crime must be a 'wake-up call'." *News 24*, 12 Feb. 2013. *News 24*, www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Violent-crime-must-be-a-wake-up-call-Mthethwa-20130212.

- Wainaina, Binyavanga. "How to Write About Africa." *Granta: The Magazine of New Writing*, vol. 92, *The View From Africa; Essays & Memoir*, 19 Jan. 2006, www.granta.com/how-to-write-about-africa/.
- Warby, Vivian. "A Road to Nowhere in a Town of Shame." *The Star*, 9 Nov. 2001, pp. 15.
- . "Tshepang was Raped Here." *The Star*, 9 Nov. 2001, pp. 1.
- "We are Outraged" *Cape Argus*, 8 Feb. 2013, pp. 14.
- Wild, Sarah. "Desire for Change Unites Post-Apartheid Activism." *Mail & Guardian*, 21 Feb. 2014, www.mg.co.za/article/2014-02-20-post-apartheid-activism-united-by-a-desire-for-change.
- "Why do Men Rape?" *Saturday Star*, 9 Feb. 2013, pp. 14.
- Xingwana, Lulu. "Statement by the Minister of Arts and Culture, Ms Lulu Xingwana, on Media Reports Around the Innovative Art Exhibition." *South African Government*, 4 Mar. 2010. <http://www.gov.za/statement-minister-arts-and-culture-ms-lulu-xingwana-media-reports-around-innovative-art-exhibition>.
- "Xingwana Walked Out for 'Women's Dignity'." *South African Government News Agency*, 5 Mar. 2010. www.sanews.gov.za/features/xingwana-walked-out-womens-dignity.
- Zapiro. "Gang Rape and Murder of 17-Year-Old Anene Booysen." *Mail & Guardian* 7 Feb. 2013. www.zapiro.com/cartoons/130207mg.
- . "She's All Yours, Boss!" *Daily Maverick*, 11 Apr. 2017, www.dailymaverick.co.za/zapirocartoon/shes-all-yours-boss/.

“Zuma: No One Should be Raped in SA.” *News 24*, 28 Feb. 2013.

<http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Zuma-No-one-should-be-raped-in-SA-20130228>.

“Zuma Provokes Ire of Homosexuals.” *IOL*, 26 Sept. 2006.

<http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/zuma-provokes-ire-of-homosexuals-295239>.

Secondary Sources

Abel, Marco. *Violent Affect: Literature, Cinema, and Critique After Representation*.

U of Nebraska P, 2007.

Ahmed, Sarah. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Routledge, 2004.

—. *The Promise of Happiness*. Duke UP, 2014.

Akpome, Aghogho. “Ominous Inevitabilities: Reflecting on South Africa’s Post-

Transition Aporia in Achmat Dangor’s *Bitter Fruit*.” *Africa Spectrum*, vol. 2,

2013, pp. 3-24. *JSTOR*,

www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/24589094.

Alcoff, Linda and Laura Gray. “Survivor Discourse: Transgression or

Recuperation?” *Signs*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1993, pp. 260-290. *JSTOR*,

www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/3174976.

Anderson, Ben. *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions*. Ashgate

Publishing, 2014.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. U of

Minnesota P, 1996.

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 1983.
- Attridge, Derek. "Age of Bronze, State of Grace: Music and Dogs in Coetzee's Disgrace." *Novel: a Forum in Fiction*, vol. 34, no.1, 2000, pp. 98-121. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/1346141.
- . *J. M. Coetzee and the Ethics of Reading: Literature in the Event*. U of Chicago P, 2004.
- Attwell, David. "J. M. Coetzee and South Africa: Thoughts on the Social Life of Fiction." *English Academy Review*, vol. 21, no. 1, Dec. 2004, pp. 105-117. *Tandfonline*, doi: 10.1080/10131750485310111a.
- . "Race in Disgrace." *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2002, pp. 331 -341, doi: 10.1080/1369801022000013761.
- Baderoon, Gabeba. "'Gender within Gender': Zanele Muholi's Images of Trans Being and Becoming." *Feminist Studies*, vol. 37, no. 2, Summer 2011, pp. 390 - 416. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/23069910.
- Ball, Karyn. *Disciplining the Holocaust*. State U of New York P, 2008. *EBSCOhost*, login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=253545&site=ehost-live&scope=site.
- . "Losing Steam after Marx and Freud: on Entropy as the Horizon of the Community to Come." *Angelaki*, vol.20, no.3, 2015, pp. 55-78, doi: 10.1080/0969725X.2015.1065124.

- Barchiesi, Franco. *Precarious Liberation: Workers, the State and Contested Social Citizenship in Postapartheid South Africa*, State U of New York P. 2011.
- Barnard, Rita. *Apartheid and Beyond: South African Writers and the Politics of Place*, Oxford UP. 2008.
- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Translated by Richard Howard. Hill and Wang, 1980.
- Beall, Jo, Stephen Gelb and Shireen Hassim. "Fragile Stability: State and Society in Democratic South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 31, no.4, 2005, pp. 681-700. *JSTOR*,
www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/25065041.
- Belair-Gagnon, Valerie et al. "Reconstructing the Indian Public Sphere: Newsworld and Social Media in the Delhi Gang Rape Case." *Journalism*, vol. 15, no. 8, 2014, pp. 1059-1075, doi: 10.1177/1464884913513430
- Berlant, Lauren. *Cruel Optimism*, Duke UP. 2011.
- . "Intimacy: a Special Issue." *Intimacy*, edited by Lauren Berlant. U of Chicago P, 2000, pp. 1-8.
- . "Starved." *After Sex? On Writing Since Queer Theory*, edited by Janet Halley and Andrew Parker. Duke UP, 2010, p. 79-90.
- Berlant, Lauren and Lee Edelman. *Sex, or the Unbearable*, Duke UP, 2014.
- Bewes, Timothy. *The Event of Postcolonial Shame*, Princeton UP, 2011.
- Bhana, Deevia. "Introducing Love: Gender, Sexuality and Power." *Agenda*, vol. 27, no.2, 2013, pp. 3-11, doi: 10.1080/10130950.2013.822688.

- Biddle, Jennifer. "Shame." *Australian Feminist Studies*, vol. 12, no. 26, 1997, pp. 227 – 239, doi: 10.1080/08164649.1997.9994862.
- Bird, William and Nicola Spurr. "Media Representations of Baby Rape: the Case of 'Baby Tshepang'." *Sexual Abuse of Young Children in Southern Africa*, edited by L. Richter, A. Dawes, and C. Higson-Smith. HSRC Press, 2004, pp. 36 - 52.
- Bissonauth, Natasha. "Zanele Muholi's Affective Appeal to Act." *Photography and Culture*, vol. 7, no. 3. 2014, pp. 239 - 252.
- Blackman, Lisa. *Immaterial Bodies: Affect, Embodiment, Mediation*. SAGE Publications, 2012. *ProQuest EBook Central*, ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ualberta/detail.action?docID=1110100.
- Blumberg, Marcia. "The Politics of Hope: Engaging Laura Foot Newton's *Tshepang: The Third Testament*." *Africa in the Word*, edited by Gordon Collier, Rodopi, 2012, pp. 191 -131. *EBSCOhost*, login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=463926&site=ehost-live&scope=site.
- Boehmer, Elleke. "Not Saying Sorry, Not Speaking Pain: Gender Implications in Disgrace." *Interventions*, vol.4, iss. 3, 2002, pp. 342-351, doi: 10.1080/1369801022000013770.
- . "Permanent Risk — When Crisis Defines a Nation's Writing." *Trauma, Memory, and Narrative in the Contemporary South African Novel*, edited by Ewald Mengel and Michela Borzaga, Rodopi, 2012, pp. 29-46.

- Bonilla, Yamir and Jonathan Rosa. “#Ferguson: Digital protest, Hashtag Ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the United States.” *American Ethnologist*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2015, doi: 10.1111/amet.12112.
- Bosch, Tanya. “Twitter activism and youth in South Africa: the case of #RhodesMustFall.” *Information, Communication & Society*, vol .20, no. 2, 2017, pp. 221-232, doi:10.1080/1369118X.2016.1162829.
- Bremner, Lindsay. *Writing the City into Being Essays on Johannesburg 1998-2008*. Fourthwall Books, 2010.
- Brinkema, Eugenie. *The Forms of the Affects*. Duke UP, 2014.
- Brown, Laura S. “Not Outside the Range: One Feminist Perspective on Psychic Trauma.” *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, edited by Cathy Caruth, John Hopkins UP, 1995, pp. 100 – 113.
- Brown, Wendy. *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*. Princeton UP, 1995.
- Burt, Martha R. “Cultural Myths and Supports for Rape.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 38, no. 7, 1980, pp. 217-230, doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.38.2.217.
- Butalia, Urvashi. “December 16 2012: A Rape, a Murder, and a Movement.” *Sexualized Violence in the National Debate: Cross-Border Observations in India and South Africa*, edited by Melanie Verwoerd and Claudia Lopes, Heinrich Böll Foundation Southern Africa, 2015, pp. 78-97.
- Butler, Judith. *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable*. Verso, 2009.

- Bystrom, Kerry and Sarah Nuttall. "Introduction." *Cultural Studies*, vol. 27, no. 3, 2013, pp. 307-332, doi: 10.1080/09502386.2013.777295.
- Bystrom, Kerry. *Democracy at Home in South Africa: Family Fictions and Traditional Culture*. Palgrave MacMillan, 2016.
- Cahill, Ann J. *Rethinking Rape*. Cornell UP, 2001.
- Caruth, Cathy. *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History*. The John Hopkins UP, 1996.
- Caserio, Robert L. et al. "The Antisocial Thesis in Queer Theory." *PMLA*, vol. 121, no. 3, 2006, p. 819-828. *EBSCOhost*,
login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsjsr&AN=edsjsr.25486357&site=eds-live&scope=site.
- Chow, Rey. *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies*. Indiana UP, 1993. *Arts and Politics of the Everyday*. *EBSCO host*,
login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=569&site=eds-live&scope=site.
- Clark, Rosemary. "'Hope in a Hashtag': the Discursive Activism of #WhyIStayed." *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 16, no. 5, pp. 788-804, doi: 10.1080/14680777.2016.1138235.
- Clifton, Derrek. "Nicki Minaj's 'Anaconda' Is the Fiercest Take on Female Sexuality of the Year," *Mic*, 4 Aug. 2014, www.mic.com/articles/95520/nicki-minaj-s-anaconda-is-the-fiercest-take-on-female-sexuality-of-the-year#.6kJUBPOx.

- Clough, Patricia Ticineto. "Introduction." *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*, edited by Patricia Ticineto Clough and Jean Halley, Duke UP, 2007, pp. 1-33.
- . "The Affective Turn: Political Economy, Biomedicine and Bodies." *Theory, Culture and Society*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2008, pp. 1-22, doi: 10.1177/0263276407085156.
- Coetzee, J. M. *White Writing: On the Culture of Letters in South Africa*. Yale UP, 1988.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. *Black Sexual Politics*. Routledge, 2004.
- Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. "Criminal Obsessions, after Foucault: Postcoloniality, Policing, and the Metaphysics of Disorder." *Law and Disorder in the Postcolony*, edited by John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, U of Chicago P, 2006, pp. 273 – 298.
- . "Figuring Crime: Quantifacts and the Production of the Un/Real." *Public Culture*, vol.18, no.1, 2006, pp. 209 - 246, *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/647285.
- . "Occult Economies and the Violence of Abstraction: Notes from the South African Postcolony." *American Ethnologist*, vol. 26, no. 2, 1999, pp. 279–303. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/647285?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.
- . *Theory from the South: Or, how Euro-America is Evolving Towards Africa*. Paradigm Publishers, 2012.
- Conley, Tara. "Decoding Black Feminist Hashtags as Becoming." *The Black Scholar*, vol. 47, no.3, pp. 22-32, doi: 10.1080/00064246.2017.1330107

- Constable, Liz. "Introduction - States of Shame." *L'Esprit Createur*, vol. 39, no. 4, 1999, pp. 3-12. *Project Muse*, muse-jhu-edu.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/journals/lesprit_createur/v039/39.4.constable.html
- Cooper, Pamela. "Metamorphosis and Sexuality: Reading the Strange Passions of Disgrace." *Research in African Literatures*, vol. 36, no. 4, 2005, pp. 22-39, *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/3821380.
- Cooppan, Vilashini. "Memory's Future: Affect, History and New Narrative in South Africa." *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies*, vol. 55, no. 1, 2009, pp. 51 - 75.
- Cowling, Lesley. "Building a Nation: The Sowetan and the Creation of a Black Public." *Journal of South African Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2014, pp. 325-341. *EBSCOhost*, eds.a.ebscohost.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=ccdce7c5-ebe3-4ecf-a136-893394ae04e3%40sessionmgr4009
- Craps, Stef and Gert Buelens. "Introduction: Postcolonial Trauma Novels." *Studies in the Novel*, vol. 40, no. 1/2, 2008, pp. 224-234, *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/29533856.
- Cruz, Katie and Wendy Brown. "Feminism, Law, and Neoliberalism: An Interview and Discussion with Wendy Brown." *Feminist Legal Studies*, vol. 24, 2016, pp. 69-89, doi: 10.1007/s10691-016-9314-z.
- Cvetkovich, Ann. *Depression: a Public Feeling*. Duke UP, 2012.

- . *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures*. Duke UP, 2003.
- Daniels, Glenda. *Fight for Democracy: The ANC and the Media in South Africa*. Wits UP, 2012.
- Dawson, Hannah. "Youth Politics: Waiting and Envy in a South African Informal Settlement." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 40, no. 4, July 2014, pp. 861-882. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1080/03057070.2014.932981.
- Das, Veena. *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*. U of California P, 2009.
- . "Sexual Violence, Discursive Formations and the State." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.31, no. 35/37, 1996, pp. 2411-2423. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/4404561
- Dean, Jodi. *Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies: Communicative Capitalism and Left Politics*. Duke UP, 2009.
- De B'éri, Boulou Ebanda and P. Eric Louw. "Introduction: Afropessimism: A Geneology of Discourse." *Critical Arts*, vol. 23, no. 3, 2011, pp. 335-346, doi: 10.1080/02560046.2011.615118.
- De Kock, Leon. "South Africa in the Global Imaginary: An Introduction," *Poetics Today*, vol. 22, no. 2, Summer 2001, pp. 263-298, doi: 10.1215/03335372-22-2-263.
- Delconte, Matthew. "A Further Study of Present Tense Narration: The Absentee Narratee and Four-Wall Present Tense in Coetzee's *Waiting for the*

- Barbarians and Disgrace.*” *Journal of Narrative Theory*, vol. 37, no. 3, Fall 2007, pp. 427-446. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41304869.
- Desai, Ashwin. “Neoliberalism and Resistance in South Africa.” *Monthly Review*, vol. 54, no. 8, 2003, pp. 16-28. *EBSCO host*, eds.b.ebscohost.com/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&sid=2256dd27-7b6a-448d-b7ef-a62b3d244675%40sessionmgr4008.
- Driver, Dorothy. “Truth, Reconciliation, Gender: the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Black Women’s Intellectual History.” *Australian Feminist Studies*, vol. 20, no.47, 2005, pp. 219-229, doi: 10.1080/0816464500090384.
- Duggan, Lisa. “The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism.” *Materializing Democracy* edited by Dana D. Nelson, Duke UP, 2002, pp.175-194. *eDuke Books: Scholarly Collection*, doi: 10.1215/9780822383901.
- Dutton, Jessica. “Layers of Violence: A Gendered Perspective on Media Reporting on Infant Rape in South Africa.” *Gendered Perspectives on Conflict and Violence: Part A*, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2014, pp. 243-272. *EBSCO host*, eds.b.ebscohost.com/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=d47193a1-6c10-4f4c-ae27-bb4d54c369f3%40sessionmgr120&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWlhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=605082&db=nlebk.
- Edelman, Lee. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. Duke UP, 2004.

- Elder, Glen. "Of Moffies, Kaffirs, and Perverts: Male Homosexuality and the Discourse of Moral Order in the Apartheid State." *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexuality*, edited by David Bell and Gill Valentine, Routledge, 1995, pp.50-58.
- Epprecht, Marc. "The Making of 'African Sexuality': Early Sources, Current Debates" *Sexual Diversity in Africa: Politics, Theory, and Citizenship*, edited by S. N. Niece and Marc Epprecht. McGill-Queen's UP, 2013, pp. 54 - 66.
EBSCO host,
login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=594607&site=ehost-live&scope=site
- . *Sexuality and Social Justice in Africa: Rethinking Homophobia and Forging Resistance*. Zed Books, 2013
- Epstein, Helen and Rachel Jewkes. "The Myth of the Virgin Rape Myth." *The Lancet*, vol. 374, 2009, pp. 1419, doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(09)61858-4.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Mask*. Translated by C. L. Markmann. Pluto Press, [1952] 2008.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality: Vol. 1. The Will to Knowledge*. Translated by Robert Hurley. Penguin Books, 1976.
- Fassin, Didier. *When Bodies Remember: Experiences and Politics of AIDS in South Africa*. Translated by Amy Jacobs and Gabrielle Varo. U of C Press, 2007.
- Flately, Robert. *Affective Mapping: Melancholia and the Politics of Modernism*. Harvard UP. 2008.
- Forsyth, Jessie et al. "Contemporary African mediations of affect and

- Access.” *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2016, pp.106-111. *Taylor & Francis*, doi: 10.1080/17533171.2016.1173963.
- Fourie, Pieter J. “Ubuntuism as a Framework for South African Media Practice and Performance: Can it Work?” *Communicatio*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2008, pp. 53-79. *Taylor & Francis*, doi: 10.1080/02500160802144520.
- Freedman, Estelle B. *Redefining Rape: Sexual Violence in the Era of Suffrage and Segregation*. Harvard UP, 2013.
- Freud, Sigmund. *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, translated by James Strachey, Pacific Publishing Studio, 2010.
- . *The Complete Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, translated and edited by James Strachey. George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1971.
- . “The Unconscious,” *The Freud Reader*, edited by Peter Gay, W. W. Norton & Company, 1989, pp. 572 – 584.
- . “Twenty Fifth Lecture: General Theory of the Neuroses: Fear and Anxiety.” *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, translated by James Strachey, Horace Liveright, 1920, pp. 340-355.
- Gavey, Nicola. *Just Sex? The Cultural Scaffolding of Rape*. Routledge, 2005.
- Ganguly, Keya. *States of Exception: Everyday Life and Postcolonial Identity*. U of Minnesota P, 2001.
- Gibson, James L. *Overcoming Historical Injustices: Land Reconciliation in South Africa*. Cambridge UP. 2009. *EBSCO host*, doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511581632.

- Giliomee, Hermann. "The Eastern Cape Frontier, 1770-1812." *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, edited by Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, Maskew Miller Longman, 1989, pp. 421-471.
- Glaser, Clive. "The Mark of Zorro: Sexuality and Gender Relations in the Tsotsi Subculture on the Witwatersrand." *African Studies*, vol. 51, no. 1, 1992, pp. 47-68. *Taylor & Francis*, doi: 10.1080/00020189208707749.
- Goldblatt, Beth and Sheila Meintjies. "Dealing with the Aftermath. Sexual Violence and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission." *Agenda*, no. 36, 1997, pp. 7-18. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/4066215.
- Gordimer, Nadine. "Living in the Interregnum," *The New York Review of Books*. 20 Jan. 1983, www.nybooks.com/articles/1983/01/20/living-in-the-interregnum/.
- Gould, Deborah. "Political Despair." *Politics and The Emotions: The Affective Turn in Contemporary Political Studies*, edited by Simon Thompson and Paul Hoggett, Continuum International Publishing, 2012, pp. 95-114.
- Gouws, Amanda. "The Public Discourse on Rape in South Africa: Turning Women into Vulnerable Victims." *Sexualized Violence in the National Debate: Cross-Border Observations on India and South Africa*, edited by Melanie Verwoerd and Claudia Lopes, Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2015, pp. 66-75, www.za.boell.org/2015/05/18/sexualised-violence-national-debate-cross-border-observations-india-and-south-africa-0.
- . "Women's Activism around Gender-based Violence in South Africa: Recognition, Redistribution and Representation." *Review of African Political*

- Economy*, vol. 43, no. 149, pp. 400-415. *Taylor & Francis Online*, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2016.1217838.
- Gregg, Melissa and Gregory Seigworth. "An Inventory of Shimmers." *The Affect Theory Reader*, edited by Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth. Duke UP, 2010, pp. 1-25.
- Graham, Lucy Valerie. "The Importance of Confronting, Patriarchal and Racist Past in Addressing Post-apartheid Sexual Violence." *African Safety Promotion Journal*, vol.11, no.2, 2013, pp. 28-37.
- . *State of Peril: Race and Rape in South African Literature*. Oxford UP, 2012.
- Graham, Shane. *South African Literature after the Truth Commission: Mapping Loss*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2009.
- . "Remembering to Forget: Monumental vs. Peripatetic Archiving in Achmat Dangot's *Bitter Fruit*." *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2008, pp. 39 - 51, doi: 10.1080/17533170701762958.
- Grossberg, Laurence. *Cultural Studies in the Future Tense*. Duke UP, 2010.
- Gunne, Sorcha. *Space, Place, and Gendered Violence in South African Writing*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Gqola, Pumla Dineo. "How the 'Cult of Femininity' and Violent Masculinities Support Endemic Gender Based Violence in Contemporary South Africa." *African Identities*, vol.5, no.1, 2007, pp. 111-124. *EBSCO host*, doi: 10.1080/14725840701253894.
- . *Rape: A South African Nightmare*. MF Books, 2015.

- . “Through Zanelle Muholi’s Eyes: Re/imagining Ways of Seeing Black lesbians,”
Only Half the Picture, edited by Sophie Perryer, Micheal Stevenson, 2006,
 pp. 82 - 89.
- Gunkel, Henriette. *The Cultural Politics of Female Sexuality in South Africa*.
 Routledge, 2010.
- Hage, Ghassan. *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking
 Society*. Pluto Press, 2003.
- Halberstam, Judith. *The Queer Art of Failure*. Duke UP, 2011.
- Hammett, Daniel. “Zapiro and Zuma: A symptom of an emerging constitutional
 crisis in South Africa?” *Political Geography*, vol. 29, 2010, pp. 88-96,
 doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2010.01.009
- Hansen, Thomas Blom. “Race Security, and Spatial Anxieties in the Postsapartheid
 City.” *Gendering Urban Space in the Middle East, South Asia and Africa*,
 edited by Martina Ricker and Kamran Asdar Ali, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008,
 pp. 101-134.
- Hart, Gillian. "The Provocations of Neoliberalism: Contesting the Nation and
 Liberation After Apartheid." *Antipode*, vol. 40, no. 4, Sep., 2008, pp. 678-
 705. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2008.00629.x.
- Hassim, Shireen. “After Apartheid: Consensus, Contention, and Gender in South
 Africa’s Public Sphere.” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and
 Society*, vol. 22, no. 4, Dec. 2009, pp. 453-464, *JSTOR*,
 www.jstor.org/stable/25621941.

- . “Democracy’s Shadows: Sexual Rights and Gender Politics in the Rape Trial of Jacob Zuma.” *African Studies*, vol. 68, no. 1, April 2009, pp. 57 - 77.
EBSCOhost, doi: 10.1080/00020180902827431.
- . “Godzilla and the Witches: Gender and the 2009 Elections.” *Zumani! The 2009 South African Elections*, edited by Roger Southall and John Daniel. Jacana, 2009, pp.195-215.
- . “Texts and Tests of Equality: The Women's Charters and the Demand for Equality in South African Political History.” *Agenda*, vol. 100, no. 28, iss. 2, 2014, pp.7-18. *Taylor & Francis*, doi: 10.1080/10130950.2014.929360.
- . “Violent Modernity: Gender, Race and Bodies in Contemporary South African Politics.” *Politikon*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2014, pp. 167-182, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2013.865824.
- . “Who’s Afraid of Feminism: Gender in South African Politics.” *Africa Files*, vol. 3, Sept. 2015, www.africafiles.org/article.asp?id=27818.
- Hemmings, Clare. “Affective Solidarity: Feminist Reflexivity and Political Transformation.” *Feminist Theory*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2012, pp. 147-161.
SagePub, doi: 10.1177/1464700112442643.
- . “Invoking Affect: Cultural Theory and the Ontological Turn.” *Cultural Studies*, vol. 19, no. 5, 2005, pp. 548 – 567, *EBSCOhost*, doi: 10.1080/09502380500365473.
- Hengehold, Laura. “Remapping the Event: Institutional Discourses and the Trauma of Rape,” *Signs*, vo. 26, no.1, 2000, pp.189 – 214. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/3175384.

- Higgins, Lynn and Brenda Silver, editors. *Rape and Representation*. Columbia UP, 1991.
- Hoad, Neville. *African Intimacies: Race, Homosexuality, and Globalization*. U of Minnesota P, 2007.
- . “Through the Postcolonial Eyes: Images of Gender and Female Sexuality in South Africa.” *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, vol. 13, 2009, pp. 77-87, *EBSCO host*, doi: 10.1080/07380560802314219
- hooks, bell. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Routledge, 2015.
- Horeck, Tanya. *Public Rape: Representing Violation in Fiction and Film*. Routledge, 2004.
- Hunter, Mark. “Beneath the “Zunami”: Jacob Zuma and the Gendered Politics of Social Reproduction in South Africa.” *Antipode*, vol. 43, no. 4, 2011, pp. 1102–1126, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00847.x.
- . “The Materiality of Everyday Sex: Thinking beyond ‘Prostitution’.” *African Studies*, vol. 61, no. 1, 2002, pp. 99-120, *EBSCO host*, doi: 10.1080/00020180220140091.
- Jewkes, Rachel., Lorna Martin and Loveday Penn-Kekaha. “The Virgin Cleansing Myth: Cases of Child Rape are Not Exotic.” *The Lancet*, vol. 359, 2002, pp. 711. *ScienceDirect*, doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(02)07794-2.
- Jewkes, Rachel., Loveday Penn-Kekana, and Hetty Rose-Junius. “‘If They Rape Me, I Can’t Blame Them’: Reflections on Gender in the Social Context of Child Rape in South African and Namibia.” *Social Science & Medicine*, vol. 61, 2005, pp. 1809-1820. *ScienceDirect*, doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.03.022.

- Jewkes, Rachel, Yandisa Sikweyiya, Robert Morrell and Kristin Dunkle. "The Relationship between Intimate Partner Violence, Rape and HIV amongst South African Men: A Cross-Sectional Study." *Plos One*, vol.6, iss. 9, September 2011, pp. 1-6. *Academic Search Complete*, doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0024256.
- Johnson, Erica L. and Patricia Moran. *The Female Face of Shame*. Indiana UP, 2013.
- Jolly, Rosemary. *Cultured Violence: Narrative, Social Suffering and Engendering Human Rights in Contemporary South Africa*, Liverpool UP, 2010.
- Kaarsholm, Preben. "Public Spheres, Hidden Politics and Struggles over Space: Boundaries of Public Engagement in Post-apartheid South Africa." *Social Dynamics*, vol. 35. no. 2, 2009, pp. 411-422, *EBSCOhost*, doi: 10.1080/02533950903076501.
- Kapur, Ratna. "Brutalized Bodies and Sexy Dressing on the Indian Street." *Signs*, vol. 40, no. 1, 2014, pp. 9-14. *EBSCOhost*, doi: 10.1086/676890.
- Keuris, M. "Tshepang: Universal Effect and Resonance" (Book Review). *Literature*, no. 27, vol. 1, 2006, pp. 235 - 237, *EBSCOhost*, eds.a.ebscohost.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=754d5229-fbcc-42e0-af7d-f857bdf3f53b%40sessionmgr4010.
- Khoja-Moolji, Shenila. "Becoming an "Intimate Publics": Exploring the Affective Intensities of Hashtag Feminism." *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2015, pp. 347-350, *Taylor & Francis Online*, doi:10.1080/14680777.2015.1008747.

- Kleeman, Sophie. "Nicki Minaj's New 'Anaconda' Video Is Here — And It's a Huge Letdown." *Mic*, 20 Aug. 2014, www.mic.com/articles/96698/nicki-minaj-s-new-anaconda-video-is-here-and-it-s-a-huge-letdown#.5YZzZbI8S.
- Koelble, Thomas and Steven L. Robins. "Zapiro: The Work of a Political Cartoonist in South Africa—Caricature, Complexity, and Comedy in a Climate of Contestation." *Political Science and Politics*, vol. 4, iss. 2, 2007, pp. 315-318, *JSTOR*, doi: 10.1017/S1049096507070515.
- Kossew, Sue. "The Politics of Shame and Redemption in J. M. Coetzee's *Disgrace*." *Research in African Literatures*, no. 34, vol. 2, 2003, pp. 155-162, *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/4618299.
- Knudsen, Timm Britta and Carsten Stage. "Introduction: Affective Methodologies." *Affective Methodologies: Developing Cultural Research Strategies for the Study of Affect*, edited by Britta Timm Knudsen and Carsten Stage, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 1-22.
- Kynoch, Gary. "Apartheid's Afterlives: Violence, Policing and the South African State." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2016, pp. 65-78, *EBSCO host*, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2016.1087167.
- Labuschagne, Pieter. "Political Communication and Meaning in a Climate of Cultural Contestation: A Critical Analysis of Zapiro's Cartoon of the Rape of Justicia." *Communicatio*, vol. 37, no. 3, 2011, pp. 367-380, *Taylor & Francis Online*, doi: 10.1080/02500167.2011.609995.

- Lam, Amy. "Nicki Minaj's Unapologetic Sexuality is not a Crisis." *Bitchmedia*, 28 Aug. 2014, www.bitchmedia.org/post/nicki-minajs-unapologetic-sexuality-anaconda-video-feminism.
- Laura, Ali et al. "Affect and Subjectivity." *Subjectivity*, vol. 10, 2017, pp. 30-43, doi: 10.1057/s41286-016-0020-8.
- Laplanche, Jean, and J. B. Pontalis. *The Language of Psycho-Analysis*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. London: Karnac, 1988. EBSCOhost, login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat03710a&AN=alb.7231878&site=eds-live&scope=site.
- Lewis, Desiree. "Representing African Sexualities." *African Sexualities: A Reader*, edited by Sylvia Tamale, Pambazuka Press, 2011, pp. 199-216.
- Leys, Ruth. "The Turn to Affect: A Critique." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 37, Spring 2011, pp. 434-472, *JSTOR*, doi: 10.1086/659353.
- Livermon, Xavier. "Queer(y)ing Freedom: Black Queer Visibilities in Postapartheid South Africa." *GQL: A Journal of Gay, Queer and Lesbian Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2/3, 2013, pp. 297 - 323, doi: 10.1215/10642684-1472908.
- Lodge, Tom. "The Zuma Tsunami: South Africa's Succession Politics." *Representation*, vol. 45, no. 2, 2009, pp.125-141, *Taylor & Francis Online*, doi: 10.1080/00344890902944387.
- London, Leslie. "The 'Dop' System, Alcohol Abuse and Social Control Amongst Farm Workers in South Africa: a Public Health Challenge." *Social Science & Medicine*, vol. 48, no. 10, 1999, pp. 1407-1414.

- Mack, Katherine. "Hearing Women's Silence in Transitional South Africa: Achmat Dangor's Bitter Fruit." *Silence and Listening as Rhetorical Arts*, edited by Cheryll Glen and Krista Ratcliffe, Southern Illinois UP, 2011, pp. 195-213. *EBSCOhost*,
login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=367974&site=ehost-live&scope=site.
- MacKinnon, Catherine. "Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State: Toward Feminist Jurisprudence." *Signs*, vol.8, no.4, Summer, 1983, pp.635-658. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/3173687.
- Madriz, Esther. *Nothing Bad Happens to Good Girls: Fear of Crime in Women's Lives*, U of California P, 1997.
- Makhubu, Nomusa M. "Violence and the cultural logics of pain: representations of sexuality in the work of Nicholas Hlobo and Zanele Muholi." *Critical Arts*, vol.26, no. 4, 2012, pp. 504-524. *EBSCO host*, doi:
10.1080/02560046.2012.723843
- Makhulu, Anna-Maria B. "Introduction: Reckoning with Apartheid. The Conundrum of Working Through the Past." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2016, pp. 256-262. *EBSCO host*,
doi:10.1215/1089201x-3603319.
- Mamdani, Mahamood. "Amnesty or Impunity? A Preliminary Critique of the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa." *Diacritics*, vol. 32, no. 3/4, 2002, pp. 32-59. *Project Muse*, muse-jhu-
edu.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/article/178513.

- Manicom, Linzi. "Constituting 'Women' as Citizens: Ambiguities in the Making of Gendered Political Subjects in Post-apartheid South Africa." *(Un)thinking Citizenship: Feminist Debates in Contemporary South Africa*, edited by Amanda Gouws, Ashgate, 2005.
- Marais, Hein. *South Africa Limits to Change: the Political Economy of Transformation*. Zed Books Ltd, 1998.
- Marais, Mike. "'Little Enough, Less than Little: Nothing': Ethics, Engagement, and Change in the Fiction of J.M. Coetzee." *Modern Fiction Studies*, vol. 46, no. 1, 2000, pp. 159-182. *Project Muse*, muse-jhu-edu.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/article/21464.
- Marcus, Sharon. "Fighting Bodies, Fighting Words: A Theory and Politics of Rape Prevention." *Feminists Theorize the Political*, edited by Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott, Routledge, 1992, pp. 385-403.
- Mardorossain, Carine M. "Rape and the Violence of Representation in J. M. Coetzee's *Disgrace*." *Research in African Literature*, vol. 42, no. 4, 2011, pp. 72 - 83. *EBSCO host*,
login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsglr&AN=edsgcl.270727554&site=eds-live&scope=site.
- Massumi, Brian. *Parables for the Virtual: Movement Affect, Sensation*. Duke UP. 2002.
- Matebeni, Zethu. "Intimacy, Queerness, and Race." *Cultural Studies*, vol. 27, no. 3, 2013, pp. 404 - 417, doi:10.1080/09502386.2013.769151.

- . “How ~~Not~~ to Write about Queer South Africa” in *Reclaiming Afrikan: Queer Perspectives on Sexual and Gender Identities*, curator Zethu Matebeni. Modjaji Books, 2014, pp. 57-59.
- . Curator. *Reclaiming Afrikan: Queer Perspectives on Sexual and Gender Identities*. Modjaji Books, 2014.
- Matebeni, Zethu and Thabo Msibi. “Vocabularies of the Non-normative.” *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, vol. 29, no. 1, Mar. 2015, pp. 3-9. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1080/10130950.2015.1025500.
- Mbembe, Achille. “Necropolitics.” *Public Culture*, vol. 15, no.1, 2003, pp.11-40. publicculture.dukejournals.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/content/15/1/11.
- . "Passages to Freedom: The Politics of Racial Reconciliation in South Africa." *Public Culture*, vol. 20, no. 1, Winter, 2008, pp. 5-18. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1215/08992363-2007-012.
- . “The State of South African Political Life.” *Africa is a Country*, 19 Sep. 2015, www.africasacountry.com/2015/09/achille-mbembe-on-the-state-of-south-african-politics/
- McEwen, Haley and Tommaso M Milani. "Queer & Trans Art-iculations: Decolonising Gender and Sexualities in the Global South." *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, vol. 28, no. 4, Dec. 2014, pp. 3-8. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1080/10130950.2014.993832.
- McGlotten, Shaka. *Virtual Intimacies: Media, Affect, and Queer Sociality*. State U of New York P, 2013.

- Meintjes, Sheila. "Reflection: The Women's Struggle for Equality during South Africa's Transition to Democracy" *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* vol.75, 2011, pp.107-115.
- Mengel, Ewald, Michela Borzaga and Karin Orantes, editors. *Trauma, Memory, and Narrative in South Africa*, Rodopi, 2010.
- Middleton, Kim and Julia Townstead. "Tenuous Arrangements: The Ethics of Rape in Disgrace." *Encountering Disgrace: Reading and Teaching Coetzee's Novel*, edited by Bill McDonald, Camden House, 2009, pp. 116-137.
- Milani, Tommaso M. "Querying the Queer from Africa: Precarious Bodies—Precarious Gender." *Agenda*, vol.28, no.4, 2014, pp. 75-85, doi:10.1080/10130950.2014.963940.
- . "Sexual Citizenship: Discourses, Spaces, and Bodies at Joburg Pride 2012" *Journal of Language and Politics* vol. 14, no.3, 2015, pp. 432-454, doi 10.1075/jlp.14.3.06mil.
- Miller, Ana. "The Past in the Present: Personal and Collective Trauma in Achmat Dangor's Bitter Fruit." *Studies in the Novel*, vol. 40, no. 1/2, *Post Colonial Trauma Novels*, 2008, pp. 146-160. *Project Muse*, muse-jhu-edu.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/article/246606.
- Mills, Shereen W. "Consent and Coercion in the Law of Rape in South Africa a Feminist Transformative Approach." *Canadian Women's Studies*, vol. 28, iss. 1, September 2009, pp. 81-90. *EBSCO host*, eds.a.ebscohost.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/eds/pdfviewer/pdfview

er?vid=12&sid=1806d168-fc04-419b-8bd8-
d3809d91baa6%40sessionmgr4009.

Mkhwanazi, Nolwazi. "Twenty Years of Democracy and the Politics of
Reproduction in South Africa." *African Identities*, vol. 12, no. 3/4, 2014, pp.
326-341, doi: 10.1080/14725843.2015.1009618.

—. "Understanding Teenage Pregnancy in a Post-apartheid South African
Township." *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, vol. 12, no. 4, 2010, pp. 347-358,
doi: 10.1080/13691050903491779.

Modisane, Litheko. "Yizo Yizo: Sowing Debate, Reaping Controversy." *Social
Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2010, pp. 122-134,
doi: 10.1080/02533950903561353.

Moffett, Helen. "'These Women They Force Us to Rape Them': Rape as Narrative
of Social Control in Post-apartheid South Africa." *Journal of Southern
African Studies*, vol. 32, no.1, 2006, pp. 129-144. *JSTOR*,
www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/25065070

Morris, Rosalind C. "In the Name of Trauma: Notes on Testimony, Truth Telling,
and the Secret of Literature in South Africa." *Comparative Literature Studies*,
vol. 48, no. 3, 2011, pp. 388-416. *JSTOR*,
[www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/10.5325/complitstudies
.48.3.0388](http://www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/10.5325/complitstudies.48.3.0388).

—. "Style, Tsotsi-style, and Tsotsitaal The Histories, Aesthetics, and Politics of a
South African Figure." *Social Text*, vol. 103, no. 28, iss. 2, Summer 2010, pp.
85-112, doi: 10.1215/01642472-2009-068.

- . “The Mute and the Unspeakable: Political Subjectivity, Violent Crime, and “the Sexual Thing” in a South African Mining Community.” *Law and Disorder in the Postcolony*, edited by John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, U of Chicago P, 2006, pp. 57-101.
- Motsei, Mmatshilo. *The Kanga and the Kangaroo Court: Reflections on the Rape Trial of Jacob Zuma*. Jacana Books, 2007.
- Muholi, Zanele. “Thinking Through Lesbian Rape.” *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, No. 61, *Religion & Spirituality*, 2004, pp. 116-125. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4066614
- . Interviewed by Íde Corley, “An Interview with Zanele Muholi,” *Wasafiri*, vol. 31, no.1, 2016, pp.22-29, doi:10.1080/02690055.2016.1112570.
- Muñoz, José Esteban. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*, NYU Press, 2009.
- . "Thinking beyond Antirelationality and Antiutopianism in Queer Critique." *PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 121, no. 3, May 2006, pp. 825-826. EBSCOhost, login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=mzh&AN=2006531940&site=eds-live&scope=site.
- Munro, Brenna M. *South Africa and the Dream of Love to Come: Queer Sexuality and the Struggle for Freedom*. U of Minnesota Press, 2012.
- Murphy, Sarah. “Traumatizing Feminism: Prevention Discourse and the Subject of Sexual Violence.” *Traumatizing Theory: The Cultural Politics of Affect in*

- and Beyond Psychoanalysis*, edited by Karyn Ball, The Other Press, 2007, pp. 67-100.
- Naylor, Nikki. "A Women's Issue? Sexism in the Media." *Rhodes Journalism Review*, no. 24, 2004, pp. 56-57.
- Ndebele, Njabulo S. *South African Literature and Culture: Rediscovery of the Ordinary*, Manchester UP, 1994.
- Ngai, Sianne. *Ugly Feelings*. Harvard UP, 2005.
- Nuttall, Sarah. "Girl Bodies." *Social Text*, vol. 78, no. 22, iss. 1, 2004, pp. 17-33, www.dukeupress.edu/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/journals.
- Nuttall, Sarah and Liz McGregor. "Forward." *At Risk: Writing on and Over the Edge of South Africa*, edited by Liz McGregor and Sarah Nuttall, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2007, pp. 9-14.
- Nuttall, Sarah and Cheryl-Ann Michael. "Autobiographical Acts." *Senses of Culture: South African Culture Studies*, edited by Sarah Nuttall and Cheryl-Ann Michael, Oxford UP, 2000, pp. 298-317.
- Nuttall, S and Coetzee, C, editors. *Negotiating the Past: the Making of Memory in South Africa*. Oxford UP, 1998.
- Nyeck, S. N., and Marc Epprecht. *Sexual Diversity in Africa: Politics, Theory, and Citizenship*. McGill-Queen's UP, 2013. *EBSCOhost*, login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=594607&site=ehost-live&scope=site

- Osinubi, Taiwo Adetunji. "Queer Prolepsis and the Sexual Commons: An Introduction." *Research in African Literatures*, vol.47, no. 2, 2016, pp. VII-XXIII. doi: 10.2979/reseafritelite.47.2.01.
- Papacharissi, Zizi. *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics*. Oxford UP, 2015.
- Peterson, Christopher. *Bestial Traces: Race, Sexuality, Animality*. Fordham UP, 2013.
- Pitcher, Graeme J. and Douglas M. G. Bowley. "Infant Rape in South Africa." *The Lancet*, vol. 359, iss. 9303, 2002, pp. 274-275. EBSCO host, login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=bth&AN=5933763&site=eds-live&scope=site.
- Posel, Deborah. "'Getting the Nation Talking about Sex': Reflecting on the Politics of Sexuality and Nation-building in Post-apartheid South Africa." *African Sexualities: A Reader*, edited by Sylvia Tamale, Pambazuka Press, 2011, pp. 130-144.
- . "History as Confession: The Case of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission." *Public Culture*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2008, pp. 119-143, doi: 10.1215/08992363-2007-019.
- . "Sex, Death and the Fate of the Nation: Reflections on the Politicization of Sexuality in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Africa*, vol. 75, no. 2, June 2005, pp. 125-153. EBSCOhost, login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=rlh&AN=18098827&site=eds-live&scope=site.

- . “The TRC Report: What Kind of History? What Kind of Truth?” *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, edited by Deborah Posel and Graeme Simpson, Wits UP, 2002, pp. 147-172.
- . “The Scandal of Manhood: ‘Baby Rape’ and the Politicization of Sexual Violence in Post-apartheid South Africa.” *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, vol. 7, no. 3, *African Sexualities*, 2005, pp. 239-252. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/4005494.
- Posel, Deborah and Graeme Simpson. *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Witswatersrand UP, 2002.
- Potamianou, Anna. *Hope: A Shield in the Economy of Borderline States*. Routledge, 1997.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth A. *Economies of Abandonment: Social Belonging and Endurance in Late Liberalism*. Duke UP, 2011.
- . *Empire of Love: Towards a Theory of Intimacy, Genealogy, and Carnality*. Duke UP, 2006.
- Poyner, Jane. “Truth and Reconciliation in J.M. Coetzee’s *Disgrace*.” *Scrutiny*, vol. 2, no. 5, iss. 2, 2000, pp. 67-77.
- . “Writing under Pressure: A Post–Apartheid Canon?” *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, vol. 44, no. 2, 1 Jan. 2008, ppy. 103-114. EBSCOhost, [doi:10.1080/17449850802000472](https://doi.org/10.1080/17449850802000472).

- Praeg, Leonhard and Michael Baille. "Sexual Violence: Mythology, Infant Rape and the Limits of the Political." *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2011, pp. 257 - 274. *Taylor & Francis Online*, doi: 0.1080/02589346.2011.580126.
- Probyn, Elspeth. *Blush: Faces of Shame*. U of Minnesota P, 2005.
- Puar, Jasbir. "Circuits of Queer Mobility: Tourism, Travel and Globalization." *GLQ* vol. 8, no. 1/2, 2002, pp. 101-137. *Project Muse*, muse-jhu-edu.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/journals/journal_of_lesbian_and_gay_studies/v008/8.1puar02.html.
- . "Coda: The Cost of Getting Better. Suicide, Sensation, Switchpoints." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2012, pp. 149-158. *EBSCO host*,
login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edspmu&AN=edspmu.S1527937512100100&site=eds-live&scope=site.
- . "Introduction." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian & Gay Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1/2, Jan. 2002, p. 1-7. *EBSCOhost*,
login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=qth&AN=7308388&site=eds-live&scope=site.
- . *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Duke UP, 2008.
- Ratele, Kopano. "Apartheid, Anti-apartheid and Post-apartheid Sexualities," *The Prize and the Price: Shaping Sexualities in South Africa*, edited by Melissa Steyn and Mikki van Zyl, HSRC Press, 2009, pp. 290-305.

- Redelinghuys, Marius. “#StopRape Alone Won’t Stop Rape.” *Mail & Guardian Online*, 11 Feb. 2013.
webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://thoughtleader.co.za/mariusredelinghuys/2013/02/11/stoprape-alone-wont-stop-rape/&gws_rd=cr&ei=Inh2WLzYHZiojwOopbLgDg.
- Reidner, Rachel and Kevin Mahoney. *Democracies to Come: Rhetorical Action, Neoliberalism, and Communities of Resistance*, Lexington Books, 2008.
- Richter, Linda M. “Baby Rape in South Africa.” *Child Abuse Review*, vol. 12, 2003, pp. 392-400, doi: 10.1002/car.824.
- Riley, Denise. *Impersonal Passion: Language as Affect*. Duke UP. 2005.
- Rios, Carmen. “Nicki Minaj’s Feminism Isn’t About Your Comfort Zone: On “Anaconda” and Respectability Politics.” *Autostraddle*, 25 Aug. 2014, www.autostraddle.com/nicki-minajs-feminism-isnt-about-your-comfort-zone-on-anaconda-and-respectability-politics-251866/
- Robins, Steven. ““Can’t Forget, Can’t Remember’: Reflections on the Cultural Afterlife of the TRC.” *Critical Arts*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2007, pp. 125-151. *EBSCO host*, login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsglr&AN=edsgcl.175525372&site=eds-live&scope=site.
- . “Sexual Politics and the Zuma Rape Trial.” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2008, pp. 411-427, doi: 10.1080/03057070802038066.

Ross, Fiona. *Bearing Witness: Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa*. Pluto Press, 2003.

Rothberg, Michael. "Ensnared Implication: Writing, Shame, and Colonialism." *Contemporary Literature*, vol. 53, no. 2, 2012, pp. 374-386. EBSCO host, login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edswah&AN=000308335800007&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Roychowdhury, Poulami. "'The Delhi Gang Rape': The Making of International Causes." *Feminist Studies* vol.39 no.1, 2013, pp.282-292. JSTOR. www.jstor.org/stable/23719317

Samuelson, Meg. *Remembering the Nation, Dismembering Women? Stories of the South African Transition*. U of KwaZulu Natal P, 2007.

—. "Fictional Representation of Rape in South African Fiction of the Transition." *Africa, Europe and (Post)colonialism: Racism, Migration, and Diaspora*. Edited by Susan Arndt and Marek Spitzok von Brisndki. Bayreuth University. 2005.

Sandfort, Theo. Fabienne Simenel, Kevin Mwachiro, and Vasu Reddy. *Boldly Queer: African Perspectives on Same-sex Sexuality and Gender Diversity*. Hivos, 2015, hivos.org/news/boldlyqueer.

Sanger, Nadia. "Imagining Possibilities: Feminist Cultural Production, Non-violent Identities, and Embracing the Other in Post-colonial South Africa." *African Identities*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2013, pp. 61-78, doi: 10.1080/14725843.2013.775841.

- Saunders, Rebecca. "Disgrace in the Time of a Truth Commission." *Parallax*, vol. 11, no. 3, Jul-Sep. 2005, pp. 99-106. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1080/13534640500134003.
- Saunders, Rebecca and Kamran Aghaie. "Introduction: Mourning and Memory." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 25, no. 1 2005, pp. 16-29. *Project Muse*, muse-jhu-edu.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/article/185360.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Being and Nothingness: The Principal Text of Modern Existentialism*. Translated by Hazel E. Barnes, Washington Square Press, 1992.
- Scully, Pamela. "Media Constructions of Ethnicized Masculinity in South Africa." *Local Violence, Global Media: Feminist Analyses of Gendered Representations*, edited by Lisa M. Ctuklanz and Sujata Moorti. Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 160-178.
- . "Race, Rape and Colonial Culture: the Sexual Politics of Identity in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony, South Africa." *The American Historical Review*, vol.100, no.2, 1995, pp. 335-359. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/2169002.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*. Duke UP, 2003.
- Seltzer, Mark. "Wound Culture: Trauma in the Pathological Public Sphere." *October* vol. 80, 1997, pp. 3-26. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/778805.

- Selvick, Stephanie. "Positive Bleeding: Violence and Desire in Works by Mlu Zondi, Zanele Muholi, and Makhosazana Xaba." *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2015, pp. 443-465, doi: 10.1080/17533171.2015.1081353.
- Sielke, Sabine. *Reading Rape: the Rhetoric of Sexual Violence in American Literature and Culture 1790-1990*, Princeton UP. 2002.
- . "The Politics of the Strong Trope: Rape and the Feminist Debate in the United States." *Amerikastudien / American Studies*, vol. 49, no.3, 2004, pp. 367-384. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/41158073
- Snediker, Micheal. "Queer Optimism." *Postmodern Culture*, vol. 16, no. 3, 2006. *Project Muse*, doi:10.1353/pmc.2006.0030
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Ethics and Politics in Tagore, Coetzee, and Certain Scenes of Teaching." *Diacritics*, vol. 34, no. 3/4, 2002, pp. 17-31. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/1566443.
- Spurlin, William J. "Broadening Postcolonial Studies/Decolonizing Queer Studies: Emerging 'Queer' Identities and Cultures in Southern Africa." *Post-Colonial Queer: Theoretical Intersections*, edited by John C. Hawley. State U of New York P, 2001, pp. 185-205.
- Squires, Catherine R. "Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres." *Communication Theory*, vol. 12, no. 4, Nov. 2002, pp. 446-469. *EBSCOhost*, login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=24h&AN=9396021&site=eds-live&scope=site.

- Stewart, Kathleen. *Ordinary Affects*. Duke UP, 2007.
- Strauss, Helene. "Listening Otherwise: The Semiotics of the Voice in Achmat's Dangor's Bitter Fruit." *Wasafiri*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2008, pp. 51-56. *Taylor & Francis*, doi: 10.1080/02690050701778165.
- . "Spectacles of Promise and Disappointment: Political Emotion and Quotidian Aesthetics in Video Installations by Berni Searle and Zanele Muholi." *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, vol.15, no. 4, 2014, pp. 471-495, doi: 10.1080/17533171.2014.926196.
- Stoler, Ann. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, U of California P, 2002.
- Sue, Derald Wing. *Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Race, Gender, and Sexual Orientation*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2010. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uAlberta/detail.action?docID=487711.
- Swarr, Amanda Lock. *Sex in Transition: Remaking Gender and Race in South Africa*, State U of New York P, 2012.
- Swilling, Mark. *Betrayal of the Promise: How South Africa is Being Stolen*, Public report by the State Capacity Research Project, May 2017.
- Tamale, Sylvia. Editor. *African Sexualities: A Reader*, Pambazuka Press, 2011.
- Taylor, Charles. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Duke UP, 2004.
- Thomas, Kylie. "Zanele Muholi's Intimate Archive: Photography and Post-apartheid Lesbian Lives," *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 421-436, doi: 10.1080/17533171.2010.511792

- Thornberry, Elizabeth. "History Finds Better Ways to Talk About Rape in South Africa," *Gender News from the Clayman Institute for Gender Research*. 2011, gender.stanford.edu/news/2011/history-helps-find-better-ways-talk-about-rape-south-africa
- Thrift, Nigel. *Non-Representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect*, Routledge. 2007.
- Van Der Vlies, Andrew. "Queer Knowledge and the Politics of the Gaze in Contemporary South African Photography: Zanele Muholi and Others." *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2012, pp. 140-156, doi: 10.1080/13696815.2012.697647.
- Van Rijn, Kiran. "The Politics of Uncertainty: The AIDS Debate, Thabo Mbeki and the South African Government Response." *Social History of Medicine*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2006, pp. 521 – 538, doi: 10.1093/shm/hkl077.
- Van Wyk Smith, M. "Rape and the Foundation of Nations in J. M. Coetzee's *Disgrace*." *English in Africa*, vol. 41, no. 1, 2014, pp. 13-34, doi: 10.4314/eia.v41i1.2.
- Vetten, Lisa. "Violence against women in South Africa." *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, edited by S. Buhlungu, et al. HSRC Press. 2007, pp.425-447.
- Vincent, Louise. "Women's Rights Get a Dressing Down: Mini Skirt Attacks in South Africa," *International Journal of the Humanities*, vol. 6, no. 6, 2008, pp. 11- 16. *EBSCO host*, eds.b.ebscohost.com/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/eds/pdfviewer/pdfview

er?vid=1&sid=1e28efe1-46a1-4e19-b28c-93ba8bf7fc59%40sessionmgr103,
25 Feb. 2012.

Vigderman, Aliza. "My Anaconda Don't: A Black Feminist Analysis of Nicki Minaj," *Medium.com*. April 25, 2015, medium.com/black-feminism/my-anaconda-don-t-a-black-feminist-analysis-of-nicki-minaj-fc053629485f.

Walker, Liz. "Men Behaving Differently: South African Men since 1994." *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, vol. 7, no. 3, 2005, pp. 225-238. EBSCOhost, login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsjsr&AN=edsjsr.4005493&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Walsh, Denise and Pamela Scully. "Altering Politics, Contesting Gender." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 32, no.1. *Women and the Politics of Gender in Southern Africa*, 2006, pp. 1-12. JSTOR. www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/25065063.

Warner, Michael. *Publics and Counterpublics*. Zone Books, 2005.

Wasserman, Herman. "The Presence of the Past: The use of history in South African Journalism." *Journalism Practice*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2011, pp. 584-598. *Taylor & Francis Online*, doi: 10.1080/17512786.2011.601911.

Wasserman, Herman and Arnold De Beer. "Afro-optimism/Afro-pessimism and the South African media." *Critical Arts*, vol. 23, no. 3, 2009, pp.377 – 395, doi: 10.1080/02560040903251175.

—. "Which public? Whose interest? The South African Media and its Role During the First Ten Years of Democracy." *Critical Arts*, vol.19, no.1/2, 2005, pp. 36-51. EBSCO host,

login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsglr&AN=edsgcl.152196007&site=eds-live&scope=site.

—. “A Fragile Affair: The Relationship Between the Mainstream Media and Government in Post-Apartheid South Africa.” *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, vol. 20, no. 2/3, 2005, pp. 192-208, doi: 10.1207/s15327728jmme2002&3_7.

Watson, Joy and Vivienne Lalu. “Rupturing the Norms: The Social and Political Response to the Rape of Anene Booysen.” Report produced for *Heinrich Böll Stiftung*,
za.boell.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2014/09/rupturing_the_norms_saresponse_to_rape_anenebooyesen_1.pdf.

Wetherell, Margret. *Affect and Emotion*. Sage Publications, 2012.

Wicomb, Zoë. “Shame and Identity: the Case of the Coloured in South Africa,” *Writing South Africa: Literature, Apartheid and Democracy, 1970-1995*, edited by Derek Attridge and Rosemary Jolly, Cambridge UP, 1998, pp. 91-108.

Williams, Raymond. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford UP, 1977.

Williams, Sherri. "Digital Defense: Black Feminists Resist Violence with Hashtag Activism." *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 341-344, doi: 10.1080/14680777.2015.1008744

Willis, Deborah and Carla Williams. *The Black Female Body: a Photographic History*. Temple UP, 2002.

- Wilson, Richard A. *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimising the Post-Apartheid State*. Cambridge UP, 2001.
- Wood, Katherine and Rachel Jewkes. "Violence, Rape and Sexual Coercion: Everyday Love in a South African Township." *Gender and Development* vol. 5, no. 2, 1997, pp. 41-46. *JSTOR*,
www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/4030438.
- Wood, Kate, Helen Lambert and Rachel Jewkes. "'Showing Roughness in a Beautiful Way': Talk About Love, Coercion, and Rape in South African Youth Sexual Culture." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 3, 2007, pp. 277-300.
- Wood, Kate. "Contextualizing Group Rape in Post-apartheid South Africa." *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2005, pp. 303-317. *JSTOR*,
www.jstor.org/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/4005415.
- Worthington, Nancy. "Gender Discourse and Ubuntu Media Philosophy: News Framing of Rape in Sowetan Online." *Journalism Studies*, vol. 12, no. 5, 2011, pp. 608-623, doi: 0.1080/1461670X.2010.545205.