Sex, Gender, Becoming
Post-Apartheid Reflections

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Introduction
Towards a politics of living

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All the chapters in this volume in one way or another, implicitly or explicitly, reflect on change and transformation and how these changes/ transformations affect our sexed and gendered lives. In the present South African context, thinking about change/ transformation encompasses the law (legal change), politics and society. The continuance of binaries, objectifications and the maintenance of patriarchy notwithstanding these changes are teased out in various themes by the different authors. Connected to the former we also find attachments to 'private' mindsets in contrast to 'public' or political ones and the consequences of capitalist consumerism, poverty and sexual violence. The contributions expose also how new approaches to how we live sex and gender do not necessarily manage to break or even radically challenge the old. From new technologies that can 'transform' gender, new forms of pornography, freedom of sexual orientation, the creation of shopping malls, attempts to understand reproductive choices, restorative justice as response to sexual violence, women's testimonies, women's mobility — all attempts are still hindered by conventional frameworks, structures and thought. A central call that emerges from all the contributions is one for more theory and more gender sensitive research and more listening to previously silenced voices.

Below, as a way of introducing this volume, I refer briefly to a few ideas or thoughts that I find suggestive for sex and gender politics in the current South African context. Adriana Cavarero's feminist retelling of the story of Penelope provides a starting point for resistance to and refusal of established orders.[1] Her reliance on Hannah Arendt, in particular Arendt's notions of birth or new beginning and storytelling, is significant. In this context I find the features of birth and storytelling important for their connection with life. I have previously focused on Julia Kristeva's reading of Arendt as a theorist for whom life was a central concern.[2] The chapters in this volume all in one way or another theoretically or practically share a concern with sexed and gendered lives and ways to challenge and improve.

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[1] A Cavarero *In spite of Plato* (1995).
[2] K van Marle 'Lifes of action and revolt – A feminist call for becoming in postapartheid South Africa' (2004) 3 *South African Public Law* 605.

Spaces of refusal

A significant concern for me that at least implicitly runs through all of the chapters is women's [and men's] resistance to patriarchy, their refusal to occupy places and spaces assigned to them by the patriarchal order and the possibility of recreating spaces for this kind of politics. Adriana Cavarero, in retelling the story of Penelope, portrays Penelope as doing exactly that – creating a space for such a refusal, other to both the world of men and the world traditionally assigned to women. In the weaving room Penelope weaves during the day and unweaves during the night, thereby creating her own rhythm. She does not aspire to be part of Odysseus' world, but she also does not accept the role of women, producing clothes.

> On the contrary, by unraveling and thereby rendering futile what little she has done, she weaves impenetrable time. ... by doing and undoing Penelope weaves the threads of a feminine symbolic order from proportionate materials.[3]

Penelope's role (and the role of all Greek women of her time) is connected to the home and a time of 'toil and caring'.[4] Penelope, by unweaving and undoing, refuses the space and the role given to her by patriarchy. Cavarero describes this space as one rooted in a belonging and infinite repetition.[5] According to the conventional standards of men's time as well as women's time, Penelope's time is 'empty' and 'futile' and therefore 'negative', 'a pure denial'.[6] However, when judged against its own standards this space and time becomes a 'feminine space where women belong to themselves. It displaces the patriarchal order, setting up an impenetrable distance between that order and itself'.[7]

Cavarero, by retelling Penelope's story, puts forward an argument central to also her later work, namely that philosophy (pure thought) often is a male activity, an activity 'devoid of hands'.[8] For Odysseus, as Greek male hero, death and adventure are what mark being, for Penelope birth and rootedness are what matter. Cavarero recalls Western philosophy's insistence on the untying of the soul from the body, of which death is the best example — while living, pure thought could assist in untying the soul from the body.[9] This results in the principle of 'living for death' that Hannah Arendt rejects by insisting on birth.[10] The duality between soul and body, men's association with

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3   Cavarero (n 1 above) 14.
4   Cavarero (n 1 above) 15.
5   Cavarero (n 1 above) 16.
6   Cavarero (n 1 above) 17.
7   Cavarero (n 1 above) 17.
8   Cavarero (n 1 above) 18.
9   Cavarero (n 1 above) 23.
10   Cavarero (n 1 above) 25. Arendt *The human condition* (1958).

the former and women's association with the latter, establishes men's claim to gender neutrality.[11] The untying of the body from the soul is what is aspired to, the body is seen as a negative, a burden and because the pure untying takes place in death the concept of life is displaced.[12] Also, it is in her reaction to this that Penelope's political action comes to the fore, in her reweaving, retying of soul and body: 'Penelope tangles and holds together what philosophy wants to separate. She brings back the act of thinking to a life marked by birth and death'.[13] Authors in this volume engage with the restrictions on women's lives resulting from dualities or binaries like mind/ body and public/ private. Their contributions could be seen as attempts to tie theory (thinking) with postapartheid lives.

Stories of resistance

In a later work Cavarero follows Hannah Arendt and Karen Blixen's insistence on storytelling as a way of putting forward a new way of politics.[14] Central to her argument is the uniqueness of every person so often negated by traditional philosophy. Cavarero recalls the following story told by Karen Blixen:[15]

> A man, who lived by a pond, was awakened one night by a great noise. He went out into the night and headed for the pond, but in the darkness, running up and down, back and forth, guided only by the noise, he stumbled and fell repeatedly. At last, he found a leak in the dike, from which water and fish were escaping. He set to work plugging the leak and only when he had finished went back to bed. The next morning, looking out of the window, he saw with surprise that his footprints had traced the figure of a stork on the ground.

Blixen responds to this story by asking: 'when the design of my life is complete, will I see, or will others see a stork?'[16] Cavarero continues and asks if 'the course of every life allows itself to be looked upon in the end like a design that has a meaning?'[17] However, she adds an important aspect – the design in question cannot be foreseen, projected or controlled. The man in the story did not intend anything more than to fulfill the purpose of finding the cause of the noise and then fixing the dike. The significance of this story is the end result – the 'figural unity of the design' that simply happened without any preconceived plan, design or project.

11 Cavarero (n 1 above) 26.
12 Cavarero (n 1 above) 26.
13 Cavarero (n 1 above) 29.
14 A Cavarero *Relating narratives* (2000); Arendt (n10 above). See also Cavarero *For more than one voice: Toward a philosophy of vocal expression* (2005).
15 Cavarero (n 14 above) 1.
16 Cavarero (n 14 above) 1.
17 Cavarero (n 14 above) 1.

Following Arendt and Blixen, Cavarero's argument rests on the notion that a person's uniqueness, *who* someone is, can only be revealed by stories. She contrasts this to philosophy's tendency to define and to generalise, to focus merely on *what* someone is. One could add not only law's tendency to define and generalise, but also the failure of all attempts of legal reform and policy (gender mainstreaming for example) to address the uniqueness of a person's life. A person's life story, as said above, cannot be designed or planned. It is also temporal and fragile – the stork that appeared was not only unintentional but also fleeting, momentary. In Cavarero's words: 'it is the fleeting mark of a unity that is only glimpsed. It is the gift of a moment in the mirage of desire'.[18] For Cavarero, philosophy, law and policy cannot capture who someone is because who someone is lies outside language and also because of each person's uniqueness and singularity. She draws an important relation between the story, the revelation who someone is, and what she regards as a new approach to and understanding of politics. Following Arendt, Cavarero sees in storytelling an alternative approach to politics that captures the uniqueness of each person as well as the interaction between people. Central to this sense of politics is that each person's life story can be told – the potential of narrability of one's life is prior to the content – and the interaction that takes place between people. Storytelling is political because it is relational. Storytelling as a political act invokes the struggle of a collective subjectivity, but also emphasises the fragility of the unique. Of significance is Cavarero's notion of another kind of subjectivity — not claiming the all and ever-presence of mastery, but narrability. As already alluded to above, knowledge of the life story, what the life story says is not what is important, but rather the fact that each person has a life story – the narratable self. This sense of the self, the who, revealed by stories, defies and stands in resistance to present discourses of unity and generalisation. Like Penelope's unweaving and reweaving the politics created by the concern with the who rather than the what could lead to a space of resistance in the face of patriarchal attempts — traditional and new ones in the guise of reform — to still all forms of difference and dissent.

The chapters

During 2004 when a few of us met to talk about the way forward for the University of Pretoria Institute for Women's and Gender Studies, the idea of an edited collection of gender research undertaken by staff members at UP was one of the first to emerge as a possible new direction for the Institute towards more theoretically — grounded research in sex, gender and feminist theories. We are happy to put

[18]   Cavarero (n 14 above) 2.

this volume forward as, although not representative of, at least examples of this kind of work at UP. The chapters taken up here are of an interdisciplinary nature and range from the visual arts, cultural studies, sociology, history, social work and engineering. As a result of this interdisciplinarity, a range of methodologies are employed and perspectives are put forward.

No attempt will be made to force one central theme on the different contributions, but to repeat what I have already stated above – all the contributions clearly illustrate the need for more theoretical reflections on sex and gender and matters connected to it in exposing the continuance of binaries, objectification, privatist mindsets, capitalist consumption and gender insensitive research frameworks, projects and policies and the need for more attention to the stories told in order to bring to light Cavarero's '*who*' rather than the '*what*'.

In the first section, *Continuances: Binaries, objectifications and capitalist consumption*, four authors from a visual arts/ cultural studies angle contemplate issues concerning transsexuality; the trangression of gender binaries, pornography and shopping malls as gendered spaces. The chapters in this section combine abstract theory and philosophy with lived experiences and phenomena. Amanda du Preez in 'Technology and transsexuality: secret alliances', addresses the role of new technologies in the creation of new sex/ gender categories, for example transsexuality. Significant is her observation on how these technologies replicate hierarchy implicated in the mind/ body split – sex (the body) is seemingly virtual, where gender is seemingly real. Du Preez states that our concern should not be with describing sex/gender performances as natural or normal, but rather with the 'materially situated and embodied performances of sex and gender'. Transsexuality, instead of challenging the sex/ gender binary, reinforces it. Rory du Plessis in 'Exhibiting the expulsion of transgression' echoes Du Preez's concern with an uncritical continuance of gender binaries. He discusses the performance art of Steven Cohen as a successful example of a transgression of gender binaries and challenge to traditional performances of masculinity. Stella Viljoen in 'The aspirational aesthetics of "Gentlemen's pornography" ' convincingly argues that the display of women in so-called gentlemen's magazines replicates the objectification of women found in pornographic magazines. She introduces the connection between sex, money and capitalism taken further by Jeanne van Eden in 'Shopping for gender'. Van Eden illustrates how early department stores and contemporary shopping malls are attempts at re-creating feminine (private spaces) and how the myth of gender identity is consequently continued. She also brings the problematic relation between the feminine and the seeming agency in the role of consumer and the continued objectification of

the feminine as being consumed to the fore and aptly challenges the myth of consumption as empowerment.

In the second section, *Women's lives: Agency, stories and testimony*, four interdisciplinary arguments put forward the need for greater attention to the specificity of women's lives, their choices concerning reproduction, mobility and the need for listening to women's stories and testimony. The authors in this section combine theory with empirical and archival research. In 'Agency amidst adversity: poverty and women's reproductive lives' Kammila Naidoo scrutinises the assumption that smaller families are the results of upward economic and social mobility. Relying on empirical work undertaken in the community of Winterveld, she shows how smaller families should rather be seen as a way of resisting poverty. She argues powerfully for more gender sensitive accounts of changes in reproductive dynamics. Christo Venter, Mac Mashiri, and Denise Buiten in 'Engendering mobility: towards improved gender analysis in the transport sector' echo Naidoo's call for more gender sensitive research. The authors expose the link between women's work and their access to work. In 'Domestic violence and victim offender conferencing in South Africa', Jean Triegaardt and Mike Batley investigate the possibilities of restorative justice as a response to domestic violence on the basis of empirical research. Staying with the theme of sexual violence, Lize Kriel in 'Tini's testimony' tells the story of Tini and the German missionary who sexually abused her. Kriel's historical investigation is a nuanced re-telling of the events that illustrates the complexities of the intersection of gender, race and class politics, and issues that still haunt us today.

The (im)possibilities of becoming

Much time and much space have been taken up by debates and discussions on the theme of essentialism, not only in feminist and gender discourse, but in philosophical and political discourse in general. The authors of this volume skilfully manage to put forward strong arguments and challenges to traditional approaches to sex and gender without repeating by now stale debates around essentialism. The title of this volume reflects, instead of any fixed definition, a call for 'continuous becoming'. Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's reliance on Virginia Woolf's stream of consciousness writing could be seen as a significant backdrop for these engagements.[19] Claire Colebrook and Ian Buchanan discuss Deleuze and Guattari's differentiation between a molar and molecular politics and their argument that the former

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[19]   Buchanan, C and Colebrook, I *Deleuze and feminist theory* (2000) 2; Deleuze G and Guattari F *A thousand plateaus: Capitalsim and schizophrenia* (1987) 277. See also Deleuze *Negotiations 1972-1990* (1995).

would be the politics by which a female subjectivity is claimed — although this could have certain strategic value it could lead to 'slavish subordination of action to some high ideal'.[20] They define molecular politics as a politics of questioning and activation through which 'those tiny events that make such foundations possible' are questioned.[21] Deleuze and Guattari identify a double politics that produces two dynamic senses of movement, a molar politics as the organisation of subjectivity and a molecular movement as the continuous challenge of becoming.[22] For them woman's subjectivity must not function as a ground, but as a 'molar confrontation' that is part of a 'molecular women's politics'.[23] Woman's subjectivity must not be a mirroring of man, but 'must affirm itself as an event in the process of becoming'.[24] Virginia Woolf is recalled as a good example of living in the 'between', 'never ceasing to become' — Woolf's writing does not represent an already expressed female identity, but a continuous exploration of woman, Woolf 'writes woman'.[25]

Reference to Woolf's writing and Cavarero's storytelling and her reliance on Arendtian natality recalls another contemplation – Helene Cixous' on 'drawingness'.[26] The difficulty of how to describe or represent life, natality or becoming comes to the fore. For Arendt new beginnings revealed that 'which cannot be expected from whatever may have happened before', something of 'startling unexpectedness'.[27] Cixous asks:

> What do we want to draw? What are we trying to grasp between the lines, in between the strokes, in the net that we're weaving, that we throw, and the dagger blows? Not the person, but the precious in that person, not the Virgin, not the child, but what is between them in this very moment, linking them – a secret, that which mysteriously renders those two unforgettable. ... It's not a question of drawing the contours, but what escapes the contour, the secret movement, the breaking, the torment, the unexpected. ... the trace of the quick of life hidden beneath the rounded appearances of life, life which remains hidden because we wouldn't bear seeing it as it is, in all the brilliance of horror that it is, it is without pity, like the drawing must be.'[28]

This questions Cavarero's (and Arendt's) belief in the ability of the story to reveal who someone is. For Cavarero the disjuncture between life and text can sometimes for a fleeting moment be suspended, as

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[20] Buchanan and Colebrook (n 19 above) 1; Deleuze *Nietzsche and philosophy* (1983) 123.
[21] Buchanan and Colebrook (n 19 above) 1.
[22] Buchanan and Colebrook (n 19 above) 1; Deleuze and Guattari (n19 above) 276.
[23] Buchanan and Colebrook (n 19 above) 1.
[24] Buchanan and Colebrook (n 19 above) 1.
[25] Buchanan and Colebrook (n 19 above) 1.
[26] H Cixous 'Without end, no state of drawingness no, rather: The executioner's taking off' (1993) 24 *New Literary History* 91.
[27] H Arendt *On revolution* (1963) 177-178.
[28] Cixous (n 26 above) 96.

was seen in the story of the stork that unintentionally and fleetingly revealed a momentarily unity. And this might be echoed by Cixous when she says 'and drawing "the living of life" … is maddening; it's exactly what none knows how to draw, the quick of life. *But it's not impossible*'.[29] The challenge to researchers and theorists with an interest in and concern with sex and gender issues and sexed and gendered lives is an engagement with the tension between possible and impossible representation, while knowing the limits of description to continue without being unethical to the excess. The chapters in this volume each in their own way investigates, engages with and takes up this challenge.

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[29]   Cixous (n 26 above) 96.

One / Technology and transsexuality: Secret alliances

Amanda du Preez

1. Introduction

In February 2003 transsexuality made headlines in South African papers and elsewhere when one of the models during the Cricket World Cup opening ceremony in Cape Town was unmasked as a trans-sexual. The presence of Barbara Diop (Cape Town resident and Senegalese national) in this highly sexualised enshrine of exposed female flesh caused quite a stir. It seems that the general viewing public is not prepared to accept transsexuality posed as 'true' female seduction yet. But what is the historical status of transsexuality? How has it progressed as a newly established sex and gender category? What is the role played by new technologies in making transsexuality a remote possibility in the twentieth century?

The focus here is on the crucial, yet strategically obscured and secretive part played by new technologies in the creation of new sex and gender categories, of which transsexuality is but one example. This chapter attempts to unmask the allegiance forged between new sex and gender categories (such as transsexuality and transgenderism) and new technologies.

New technologies in most manifestations either discursively or materially reveal a subtle drive towards disembodiment, that is the drive to discard the bio-body with its frailties, disease, sexed and gendered specificities and ultimately death. Is it a mere coincidence that the bodies most likely disempowered and disenfranchised by the impact of new technologies are women's?

Even though it may be argued that several of these new sex and gender categories push at the limits of traditional boundaries, it remains a treacherous endeavour if they are uncritically aligned. Some of the previous sexed and gendered biases may remain intact and even completely unchallenged if this relation goes unchecked. Accordingly, it is necessary to explore the relationship between the discourse of transsexualism and new technologies, as well as a number of the traditional assumptions about sex and gender categories that are perpetuated in the creation of transsexualism as sponsored by new technologies.

Transsexuality refers to the physical reconstruction of sex by means of an operation, known as sexual reassignment surgery [lately referred to as gender reassignment],[1] in order to re-align sex with what is perceived as the person's 'real' or 'correct' gender. Transsexual persons are divided into two broad categories, namely men who change into women (male-to-female transsexuals) and women who change into men (female-to-male transsexuals). Not all transsexual persons undergo reassignment surgery, although they may make use of medication such as hormonal therapy. Nevertheless, all transsexuals share the prevalent 'feeling' that they are 'trapped' in the 'wrong' body.[2] Medical discourses have accommodated and responded to this sense of being entrapped by classifying and pathologising transsexuals as suffering from 'Gender Identity Disorder'.[3] The popularity and proliferation of transsexed categories are closely allied with recent advancements in new technologies and discursive practices that promise altered (in)corporeal horizons.

It is important to note that in the discourse surrounding transsexuality, the prefix 'trans' is operative, seeing that transsexuality tries to transcend physical sex. A distinctly disembodied stance is favoured, although concealed in many instances, as transsexuality resorts to the surgical correction of the 'costume' which is physical sex, to suit the subject's supposedly more 'correct' and 'real' gender. The embodied nature of sex and gender provides no apparent obstacles for transsexuals. In fact, as will be shown, embodiment is treated as being predominantly malleable, manageable and controllable – likened to a choice from a drop-down menu or a condition that can be described and diagnosed from the pages in medical and psychiatric textbooks.

2.   Transsexuality - Virtual sex and real gender

As already indicated, one of the first explanations one is bound to come across when exploring transsexuality is how 'real' gender is incongruent with the 'wrong' sex. Harry Benjamin (1885-1986),

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[1]   BL Hausman *Changing sex. Transsexualism, technology and the idea of gender* (1995) 3.

[2]   JG Raymond *The transsexual empire: The making of the she-male* (1994) 6.

[3]   In 1980 the category of 'transsexualism' was included as a disorder in the *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders*, the official publication of the American Psychiatric Association. In 1987 the definition of the condition was revised to focus more on the feelings of persistent discomfort and a sense of inappropriateness about one's assigned sex. From 1994 the term 'transsexualism' was omitted altogether and the term 'gender-identity disorder' is now used to cover all conditions in which there is a strong and persistent cross-gender identification. See B Bullough & VL Bullough 'Transsexualism. Historical perspectives, 1952 to present' in D Denny (ed) *Current concepts in transgender identity* (1998) 15 22.

author of *The transsexual phenomenon*[4] and medical godfather of transsexuality, describes transsexuality as follows:[5]

> The transsexual (TS) male or female is deeply unhappy as a member of the sex (or gender) to which he or she was assigned by the anatomical structure of the body, particularly the genitals [...]. For [transsexuals], their sex organs, [...] are disgusting deformities that must be changed by the surgeon's knife.

The erroneous sex is treated as virtual, therefore, variable and *random*, and should be aligned with the 'real' or 'true' gender of the person. Accordingly, 'nature's' apparent mistake should be rectified by making use of 'culture's' medical technologies. It should be noted that although transsexuals want to rid themselves of incorrectly sexed bodies, the cause of transsexuality is – not surprisingly – still attributed to the biology of the mother's womb due to a faulty 'hormonal shower'[6] and to the psychological dominance of the mother during the person's developmental years.[7] These bodily and psychological 'defects' require technological and 'therapeutic fathers'[8] to remedy 'mother nature's' apparent mistakes. *The Renaissance Transgender Association* also describes transsexuality, perhaps unknowingly, in precisely such gendered terms as 'a mind that is literally, physically, *trapped* in a body of the opposite sex'.[9] Hence, in the case of transsexuality, the sexed body, significantly referred to as a 'costume' (traditionally associated with women) is constructed as an entrapment, not real, fraudulent and therefore virtual; whereas gender is seen as the true and authentic measure of the person's identity. In a true Cartesian manner, it is the *mind* of the transsexual that rules over and decides about the mistakenly sexed body. As the 'therapeutic father' of transsexuality, Harry Benjamin, decided in the 1960s, if the mind cannot be changed to correspond to the body, then the body should be changed to match the mind.[10] For this reason, sex is constructed in most traditional transsexual discourses as virtual and gender as real. The fact that sex reassignment has been substituted by the use of the term 'gender reassignment surgery' in recent years, further indicates the emphasis placed on gender as an authentic standard and sex as a secondary and malleable component during the reassignment procedure.

4   H Benjamin *The transsexual phenomenon: a scientific report on transsexualism and sex conversion in the human male and female* (1966, 1999) http://www.symposion.com/ijt/benjamin/ (accessed 14 February 2002).
5   Benjamin (n 4 above).
6   The Renaissance Transgender Association 'Understanding transsexualism' (1990) http://www.ren.org/rbp07.html (accessed 17 February 2002).
7   Raymond (n 2 above) 69.
8   Raymond (n 2 above) 69.
9   The Renaissance Transgender Association (n 6 above), emphasis added.
10   The Renaissance Transgender Association (n 6 above).

It should be noted that transsexuality cannot be interpreted as an integrated and universal event experienced in the same way by all. Accordingly, transsexuality has different strands or 'hearts'. In this regard, Sandy Stone, transgender theorist, distinguishes between 'traditional transsexualism' and 'transgenderist transsexualism' in 'The 'empire' strikes back: a posttranssexual manifesto'.[11]

Even though transsexualism in some of its forms is critiqued here, it does not imply that transsexuals are not faced with an invidious dilemma and often with untimely death[12] due to the fact that the rigid heterosexual two-sex/gender system does not cater for them. The fact that the two-sex/gender system is also a historically recent construction[13] and not a universal phenomenon, as it purports to be, is cleverly disguised in discourses that pathologise and medicalise transsexuality. All the same, to change from one rigid pole of the binary system to the other end does not necessarily either solve or challenge the dilemma. In fact, it may only perpetuate the rigidity of the system. At this point the reader may criticise me for speaking/ writing as a white, dominantly heterosexual female in a rigid binary system that clearly privileges heterosexuality. Although the criticism is valid, it remains true that the privileged position from which I speak is also a (valid) construction on the gender continuum.

In my view, there are no 'naturally' and 'normally' sexed and gendered bodies, only materially situated and embodied per-formances of sex and gender. Admittedly some of these performances are naturalised by the dominant discourses, but this is exactly what I am attempting to discourage in my exploration of transsexuality. Accordingly, I am critical of transsexualism in as far as it perpetuates the binary sex and gender system by professing to change faulty 'men' into authentic 'women' and vice versa.

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[11]   The difference between the two phenomena amounts to 'traditional transsexualism' adhering closely to medical practices and discourses, subscribing to descriptions and diagnoses of transsexuality, in other words allowing itself to be defined by medical practices, while 'transgenderist transsexualism' defies the medical stronghold over transsexuality by living outside its technological interventions and diagnosis and, importantly, by refusing to undergo reassignment surgery. See AR Stone 'The 'empire' strikes back: A posttranssexual manifesto' (1994) http://www.actlab.utexas.edu/~sandy/empire-strikes-back (accessed 5 March 1997).

[12]   According to DA Reitz on her *Transsexuality* webpage, up to fifty percent of transsexuals never reach the age of thirty. Suicide is not uncommon and they are also likely to fall victim to violent and untimely deaths when 'found out' by society. The names of deceased transsexuals in the USA, including Brandon Teena, Marcia Johnson and Chanelle Pickett, are circulated in the transsexual community (especially online) to commemorate their deaths at the hands of an intolerant society. See Riki Anne Wilchins's online poem 'No more tears' (1994).

[13]   T Laqueur 'Orgasm, generation, and the politics of reproductive biology' in C Gallagher & T Laqueur (eds) *The making of the modern body. Sexuality and society in the nineteenth century* (1987) 4.

The fact that most transsexuals eventually revert to technology as a last resort is less disheartening than the discourses surrounding the construction of the transsexed-subject as a controlling and deciding agency. These discourses created around the problematics of transsexuality tend uncritically to perpetuate the binary logic that they so fiercely profess to resist. Taking control of bodies is only one aspect of the dilemma, for bodies can also be said actively to reciprocate and resist controlling processes. As the obstinate bodies of late nineteenth-century hysterical female patients showed by miming (dis)eases, surgically reassigned bodies also refuse complete technological supervision by continuously re-writing themselves. I will now explore the bodily remainders that escape the technological intervention of sex reassignment surgery to reveal their embodied consequences.

3. Transsexual pioneers

Modern transsexuality's earliest roots can be traced to Germany in the early twentieth century in the work of sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935), who coined the terms 'transvestites' and 'trans-sexuality' as early as 1910. He also administered the first gender clinic from his Berlin *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft*. One of Hirschfeld's clients, although not the first medically-assisted transsexual, Lile Elbe (formerly Einar Wegener)[14] came to be known as the first transsexual after her initial operation in 1930. Sadly Elbe died the following year due to complications after an ovarian transplant. However, the first fully-fledged 'media transsexual' was incarnated in the sensational sex change of Christine Jorgensen (previously George Jorgensen)[15] in 1953. As captured in the publicity headlines, Jorgensen transformed from a 'shy young man with protruding ears' into a 'confident woman in mink'.[16]

According to Richard Green and John Money in *Transsexualism and sex reassignment*,[17] except for the few pioneering figures, the category

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[14]   The Danish painter Einar Wegener, who underwent part of the sex reassignment surgery, became Lile Elbe. Sadly Elbe died in 1930 after complications in her transformation process caused paralysis of the heart. See Hausman (n 1 above) 18.

[15]   Although Christine Jorgensen is not the first successful post-operative transsexual, she was the first to capture the attention and imagination of the media. On her return from Denmark to the United States, Jorgensen's transformation was published in the headlines. She remained a target of the press and reportedly even after her death her 'story' was published and pursued. In 1967 her autobiography was published, entitled *Christine Jorgensen: A personal autobiography*. See D Denny 'Black telephones, white refrigerators. Rethinking Christine Jorgensen' in Denny (ed) (n 3 above) 35 40.

[16]   D Denny 'Black telephones, white refrigerators. Rethinking Christine Jorgensen' in Denny (ed) (n 3 above) 35 37.

[17]   R Green & J Money 'Mythological, historical, and cross-cultural aspects of trans-sexualism' in Denny (ed) (n 3 above) 3.

of transsexuality is a fairly new one. No recorded examples of physical sex changes are available in historical resources, except perhaps for the enigmatic figure of the eunuch,[18] who also did not physically change his sex. According to Green and Money, what was referred to as transsexuality in historical texts, was in fact cross-dressing or the practice of homosexuality.[19] Transsexuality cannot therefore claim to be a transhistorical category. Instead, as Bernice Hausman[20] indicates, the use and proliferation of transsexuality are closely concurrent with a specific context that has been enabled by techno-medical procedures and discourses developed from the mid-twentieth century onwards. The occurrence of transsexuality, as currently understood and medically managed, is a fairly recent phenomenon that requires specific techno-medical intervention in order to exist as a separate category from, for instance, transvestism and homosexuality.

Although sex reassignment surgery has, since its pioneering years, become an established medical procedure, as indicated earlier, not all transsexuals undergo reassignment surgery. However, these non-operative transsexuals, as they are labelled, may make use of hormonal therapy and other medication to provide the necessary morphological results. This makes the distinction between pre-operative and non-operative transsexuals extremely difficult, since pre-operative transsexuals also use medication and hormonal therapy in preparation for the reassignment operation. Non-operative transsexuals have decided not to undergo surgery, whereas pre-operative transsexuals are preparing themselves for a series of operations. Moreover, the distinction between non-operative and

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[18]   As ethnographic studies have shown, different cultures dealt differently with the apparent sex-gender dichotomy. In this regard Unni Wikan identified the *xanith* of coastal Oman – biological men living as women; the *berdache* amongst the Plains Indians, Tahitian, Brazilian, Aztec and Inca tribes who is described as a 'honorary third sex'; Serena Nanda's analysis of the transgendered state of the *hijra* in India and Will Roscoe's analysis of the Zuni Indian man-woman. All of these testify to alternative and complex customs through which different societies deal with the sex-gender polarity. As to the existence of physical sex change, if one consults online resources advocating transsexualism and transgenderism, it becomes evident that historical examples attesting to primitive' physical sex changes did occur, although rarely. The figure of the eunuch cannot be described as typical of transsexualism's need to change into the other sex, for eunuchs, although 'castrated men', remained in many instances respected and politically powerful figures within their societies. By contrast, transsexuals struggle for acceptance in modern society. See P Ackroyd *Dressing up* (1979) 37; U Wikan 'The *xanith*: a third gender role?' in U Wikan *Behind the veil in Arabia: women in Oman* (1982) 168; W Roscoe *The Zuni man-woman* (1992); Raymond (n 2 above) 105-106; S Nanda *The hijras of India: neither man nor woman* (1999).

[19]   R Green & J Money 'Mythological, historical, and cross-cultural aspects of transsexualism' in Denny (ed) (n 3 above) 3.

[20]   Hausman (n 1 above) 6.

post-operative transsexuals, on the one hand, and transvestites, on the other, has become arbitrary, according to transvestites.[21] Similarly, the distinctions between born females and males (those born with the 'correct' genetic, genital and gonadic material) and post-operative transsexuals are seen by most transgenderists as superfluous and immaterial.[22]

However, transsexualism has received a rather unsympathetic reception from most feminist scholars, as Elizabeth Grosz's sharp distinction between the two embodiments indicates: 'The transsexual may look like a woman but can never *feel* like or *be* a woman'.[23] Accordingly, Grosz draws a very distinct line between the experiences of the embodied woman and the embodied transsexual. Although I do not view these different experiences as hierarchically structured, the one more authentic than the other, I do agree that these embodiments differ and that they cannot substitute one another. Jason Cromwell, female-to-male transsexual, puts forward another viewpoint, namely that not all 'women' are born in female bodies and neither are all 'men' born in male bodies.[24] In other words, according to Cromwell, there is no advantaged or 'natural' position from which to access the essential experience of womanhood. Whatever viewpoint is taken on the matter, the emergence of the transsexual category has subsequently complicated traditional sex and gender

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[21] Anne Bolin explains in 'Transcending and transgendering' that transvestites view the difference between themselves and transsexuals as a qualitative one, rather than one of degree. Apparently, transvestites view gender-variant identities as much more fluid and plural than most transsexuals do: therefore they do not see the two categories as distinct or static. On the other hand, for transsexuals, any reason not to pursue a complete biological alteration is just an excuse, and in fact indicative of their transvestite status. See A Bolin 'Transcending and transgendering: male-to-female transsexuals, dichotomy and diversity' in Denny (ed) (n 3 above) 63 72.

[22] Although transsexed women may perceive the difference between themselves and 'born' or 'full-term' women as not of real consequence, it is an opinion not shared by many born women. In this regard it is interesting to consider the example of Kaley Davis, a transsexed woman who applied for membership to WIT, the women-only online forum of ECHO and was denied access because of her transsexed state. It is also worth considering the case of Kimberley Nixon that occurred recently. Kimberley, a transsexed woman and rape survivor, applied to become a rape counsellor at the Vancouver Rape Relief centre. Her application was denied on the grounds that she is a transsexual and thus not a 'woman'. See TM Senft 'Introduction: performing the digital body — a ghost story' (1996) 1 *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 17 http://www.echonyc.com/~women/Issue17/introduction.html (accessed 4 March 1997).

[23] EA Grosz *Volatile bodies: toward a corporeal feminism* (1994) 207, emphasis added.

[24] I use inverted commas when referring to 'women' and 'men' here to make a clear distinction between the re-assessed categories of 'women' and 'men' inferred here, as opposed to the standardised hegemonic heterosexual categorisation of women and men. In other words, the categories of 'women' and 'men' are open to re-negotiation and the meanings of what it means to be a 'woman' or a 'man' are also open to re-evaluation. See J Cromwell 'Fearful others. Medico-psychological constructions of female-to-male transgenderism' in Denny (ed) (n 3 above) 117 128.

categories almost beyond recognition. Answering questions such as 'what is a woman?' and 'what is a man?' has become exceedingly complex; no definite answer is possible without building in the nuances of embodied realities as well. The position I take is to acknowledge the constructed nature of both sex and gender, without disregarding the situated specificity of embodiment. Accordingly, becoming a 'man' or a 'woman' is a never-ending process that is also always already embodied.

It has to be reiterated that the short history of transsexualism is intimately entangled with technological and medical advancements such as hormonal therapy or endocrinology and reassignment surgery technologies, including vaginoplasty[25] and phalloplasty.[26] The techno-medical history of sex reassignment procedures and the growth of the transsexual category are intertwined to such a degree that it is difficult to separate the two meaningfully. It was also in the mid-twentieth century that the term 'gender' was created to 'manage' the occurrence of both intersexuality[27] and transsexuality within medical discourses. Obviously these discourses struggled to cope with the constructedness of sex and required another level of interpretation to unravel the mystery of transsexuality; hence, the category of gender[28] was created. Gender emerges, thus, as by-product of deviant sexual categories.

Although the so-called inevitability of medical intervention and the pathological status of transsexuality are substantially challenged in current debates on transsexuality, such as Sandy Stone's 'Posttranssexual manifesto',[29] most discourses on the topic do call on technology uncritically to construct agency.

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[25]   Vaginoplasty is the surgical procedure of constructing a vagina. The most common procedure utilises the skin of the penis for the lining of the new vagina and retains a portion of the erogenous tissue from the base of the penis for the clitoris. See Hausman (n 1 above) 68.

[26]   Phalloplasty involves the surgical construction of a penis by means of the tubed pedicle flap; Hausman (n 1 above) 67.

[27]   Intersexuality refers to persons born with genitals that are neither clearly male nor clearly female and is the term that is now preferred to 'hermaphrodite'. 'True' intersexed individuals, where both ovarian and testicular tissue are present in either the same gonad or in opposite gonads, accounts for less than 5 percent of all cases of ambiguous genitals (SJ Kessler 'The medical construction of gender. Case management of intersexed infants' in PD Hopkins (ed) *Sex/machine. Readings in culture, gender, and technology* (1998) 241 242). For the specific role played by the medical profession and the creation and maintenance of these categories, see AD Dreger *Hermaphrodites and the medical invention of sex* (1998); Kessler (above).

[28]   In this regard Bernice Hausman makes a convincing argument against Butler's use of gender as the creator of sex, by showing that gender is not a transhistorical concept, but, indeed, a term with a very specific history and context for its creation. See Hausman (n 1 above) 180-182.

[29]   Stone (n 11 above).

In its reliance on technology the transsexual community does, for the greater part, privilege the 'realness' of gender over the presumed virtuality and malleability of the sexed body. As Claudine Griggs (a male-to-female transsexual) claims: 'My body became my enemy at an early age. And since the brain is a more important organ than the penis, it became necessary to change my physiology [...]'.[30] Once again the rhetoric of the all-pervading brain (mind) dominating the adversarial body rears its head. Transsexual discourses strategically overlook their own blind spot regarding the body, for on the one hand a sexed body is necessary to make the transformation from one sex to the other visible and materialise it; and, on the other hand, the role played by the body is eradicated as the 'true being' of the transsexed person resides in his/her gender, which is seen as divorced from the faulty sexed body. In other words, transsexual debates cleverly overstep the fact that a sexed body is nevertheless always required to represent and materialise the transsexed person's 'correct' sex. Both the severed gender and the surgically corrected sex need to be embodied in order to display themselves.

This disparity is stretched to its logical extreme by Kate Bornstein, one of the most visible and outspoken transsexual agents, and author of the confessional *Gender Outlaw: on men, women and the rest of us*[31] who argues in a liberal humanist vein that each person has the *right* to align their deviantly sexed body to their true gender. However, one may debate the validity of the ontological premises on which Bornstein's demands for the right to change one's sex are based. Is the correct sex something that one can demand? Who decides what one's correct sex is? Moreover, if gender, which is associated with cultural and societal constructions, psychic consciousness, mind, immateriality and identity, enjoys privilege over sex, which is associated with the material, temporal and the body, do Bornstein's demands not perpetuate a Cartesian mind/body split? However, challenging the gender system and becoming a transgenderist in the fullest sense would require more than passing from one 'wrong' sex to the other 'correct' one. It would require allowing and embracing more than two sexes and genders on the gender continuum and more than one 'correct' gender and sex per body. At the same time I would concede that changing sex may be one of the proliferating possibilities on the sex and gender continuum, provided that gender's supposed superiority over sex is also challenged.

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[30] C Griggs *S/he: changing sex and changing clothes* (1998) 10.
[31] K Bornstein *Gender outlaw: on men, women, and the rest of us* (1994).

Another limitation in most transsexual discourses is the marginalisation and consequent 'invisibility of female-to-male transsexuals'.[32] Apparently, male-to-female transsexuals outnumber female-to-male transsexuals by about one to three and even one to eight, according to other research reports.[33] Why do more male-to-female transsexuals exist than the other way around? Is it due to the success rate of vaginoplasty and other related medical procedures that turn 'men' successfully into 'women', or is it due to the 'poor cosmetic results'[34] of phalloplasty during female-to-male procedures? In this regard Jason Cromwell questions the homocentrism of medical research and procedures that prefer to ignore problems of transforming female sexuality and concentrate instead on transforming men into women.[35] If most sex reassignment surgeons were females or female-to-male transsexuals, would the surgical procedures for constructing penises have been more advanced? Is it once again a case of appropriating technologies for homocentric purposes and thereby perpetuating gendered biases? Apparently this is not the case, for research indicates that female-to-male transsexuals, although outnumbered by far, blend in far more inconspicuously than their transsexed sisters do. Claudine Griggs maintains:[36]

> The bodies of female-to-male transsexuals are so effectively altered by hormone therapy that they are supremely confident in their attributions as men. This contrasts with many MTFs, who never escape the fear of being read.

If Griggs is correct in her analysis, female-to-male transsexuals are transformed more unambiguously into men than vice versa and yet they are the under-represented group, not only in terms of numbers but also in terms of visibility. The reasons for their under-representation do not necessarily lie in deficient medical procedures: on the contrary, medical intervention in the form of hormonal therapy seems to be quite effective. In fact, it seems that female-to-male transsexuals form a group who seamlessly blend into the broader society, while male-to-female transsexuals suffer from not being able to fit in unambiguously. Yet more men choose to become women than the other way around. Could it be because female-to-male transsexuals fit in easier on a social level, owing to the fact that becoming male is equivalent to adopting the 'right' or dominant gender and is subsequently easier to accomplish? Or could it be that

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[32]   A Bolin 'Transcending and transgendering: male-to-female transsexuals, dichotomy and diversity' in Denny (ed) (n 3 above) 63 64.

[33]   This is one of many contested issues as, depending on which source one consults, the ratio varies. See Raymond (n 2 above) 24.

[34]   M Garber *Vested interest. Cross-dressing and cultural anxiety* (1997) 102.

[35]   J Cromwell 'Fearful others. Medico-psychological constructions of female-to-male transgenderism' in Denny (ed) (n 3 above) 117 133.

[36]   Griggs (n 30 above) 81.

becoming a woman is a more difficult task due to women's alliance with acting and performing?

How does Simone de Beauvoir's assertion that 'one is not born a woman, but rather becomes one' fit into the equation? For indeed if the numbers signify the materiality of 'becoming' a woman, then it seems easier to become a woman than a man. One could speculate that one does not become a man, but is rather born one or not (in a correspondence with Freud's problematic equation of women with lack). As Marjorie Garber explains: 'In sex reassignment surgery there remains an implicit privileging of the phallus, a sense that a 'real one' can't be made, but only born'.[37] In other words, when applied to becoming women, medical science finds ways to remedy the predicament of not being born female, but changing a person the other way around meets with more resistance. It is conveniently assumed that being born male is an ontological given, while becoming female is a constant process of renewal aided by technological interventions. Maleness is, accordingly, constructed in most trans-sexual discourses as quintessential and irreproducible and femaleness as artificial and reproducible. The transcendence of sex only becomes operative in the case of male-to-female transsexuals, who supposedly surpass their sexed physicality, while in the case of female-to-male transsexuals the 'phallus' is constructed as invincible and therefore as unsurpassable and irreproducible. The luxury of 'transcendence' is reserved for certain bodies only, it seems.

4.   Rites of passage: to pass or not to pass

In order to pass successfully as the newly acquired sex, transsexuals have to put on convincing appearances, both in real and virtual environments. One of the main subjects for discussion on the online *Transgender Forum* for 17-23 July 2000, deals precisely with the theme of passing. In this issue an online participant enquires about successful voice transformation: 'Voice is probably the toughest thing for a MTF to master. Got any advice?' The logo displayed at the top of the *Transgender Forum*, which deals exclusively with male-to-female transsexual problems and issues, in addition, reveals the type of femininity aspired to, which is extremely contrived and simulated — almost a re-embodiment of the screen goddesses of the 1940s and 1950s. The visual message is clear: in order to pass successfully as a woman, one needs to look like the hyper-feminine goddess sitting on the globe.

But not only male-to-female transsexuals need to pass: female-to-male transsexuals, although under-represented and even misre-

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[37]   M Garber *Vested interest. Cross-dressing and cultural anxiety* (1997) 104.

presented must also pass. On the *FTM Passing Tips Homepage* one is confronted with a list of messages, ranging from advice on 'abdominal binders' to 'fake stubble' and 'adding foreskin on the modified Softie'.[38] All these strategies aim at transforming female-to-male transsexuals into 'men'. The requests and advice deal with attempts to fit in and pass inconspicuously as the correct 'other' sex. Most of these passing strategies are geared at not being uncovered while attempting to pass, in other words, at avoiding being caught out while passing.

The medical procedures that can assist in the transformation process are also not only intended to change the patient's genital sex, but in fact incorporate a complete physical body makeover – a remarking of the signifiers of the apparently erroneous body. If one browses through the online notes of plastic surgeon Douglas Ousterhout, entitled 'Feminization of the transsexual',[39] his intentions as an agent of the medical profession become very clear: 'My main objective in this surgery is to make you as feminine as possible, in order for you to be as comfortable as possible in your new direction. When the surgery is completed, we want you to be seen as a female.' Besides sex reassignment surgery, hormonal therapy and electrolysis, Ousterhout also offers transformational operations and surgery, including complete forehead reconstruction, for 'females tend to have a completely convex skull in all planes';[40] chin and cheek bone reconstruction; scalp and brow re-positioning; thyroid cartilage reduction; breast augmentation; body contouring, such as abdomino-plasty and trunk contouring. This set of surgical procedures is extremely expensive and moreover, constitutes drastic technological interventions into the patient's physical body. The body of the transsexual becomes a cyborgian dream of grafted constructedness, for little remains of the 'original' body. Yet these techno-medical interventions do not guarantee a successful passing rite, for — ironically — it is the degree to which these changed attributes are effectively embodied that guarantees successful passing or not. The mere fact that the patient's physical attributes have been changed is not enough; without the 'correct' gestures, tone of voice, facial expressions and body language, the 'correct' sex on its own does not secure successful passing.

Consequently, even though a transsexual may physically acquire the 'correct tools', the success of transsexuality ironically lies in convincingly putting on appearances and, in fact, in how these newly acquired tools are re-embodied. Addressing this issue, Griggs explains

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[38]   http://www.geocities.com/FIMPPass.htm (accessed 2 February 2002).
[39]   DK Ousterhout 'Feminization of the transsexual' (1994) http://www.drbecky.com /dko.html (accessed 15 March 2002).
[40]   DK Ousterhout 'Feminization of the transsexual' (1994) http://www.drbecky. com/dko.html (accessed 15 March 2002).

that social pressures do not allow for intermediate sexes, indicating that a transsexual person has to transfigure unambiguously from one sex into the other. Society does make allowances for gender deviations, such as an 'effeminate man' and a 'mannish woman' — as long as the individual's sex is unambiguous. Being 'read' in society as belonging to a doubled or cross-wired sex is highly risky for transsexuals. As Griggs elucidates:[41]

> In the initial stages, 'passing' is of the utmost concern; *she is terrified of being read*. The resulting interpretation may be that she's a transsexual, a transvestite, or a drag queen, but that is not essentially important; the emotional consequence lies in the fact that she is not discerned as a woman.

In other words, it is of paramount importance for a transsexual (a male-to-female transsexual in this case) to be correctly 'read' in public and therefore, emphasis is placed on appearing as the correct sex rather than necessarily being the correct sex. Undergoing reassignment surgery and altering the body's sex does not guarantee instant success: the new body's cues have to be convincingly embodied in order to be 'read' correctly. On the other hand, 'reading' a person as male or female is no guarantee that the person does indeed belong to that sex. Consequently, 'reading' and passing are both highly superficial and contextual activities, even textualised ones and are not necessarily founded on material evidence.

In her text, *The transsexual empire: the making of the she-male*[42] (which has been disputed by transgender theorists such as Sandy Stone), Janice Raymond reflects precisely on the superficial nature of transsexuality by emphasising that a transsexual transforms not from 'male' to 'female' but from 'male-to-*constructed female*' and from 'female-to-*constructed male*'. By making this distinction, Raymond uncovers how much transsexuality relies on representations and appearances of sex and gender in order to pass. Moreover, Raymond also reveals the problematic nature or constructedness upon which most male-to-female representations are based, as demonstrated by the logo for the *Transgender Forum*. Raymond identifies the originators of transsexualism as 'patriarchy and the legions of therapeutic fathers who create transsexuals according to their man-made designs and specifications'.[43] Although Raymond's text is contentious in places, for it assumes that 'original' male and female identities do exist, she raises valid issues about the repercussions of

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41 Griggs (n 30 above) 115, emphasis added.
42 Raymond (n 2 above).
43 Raymond (n 2 above) 69.

transsexuality for feminism(s) in general.[44] Unlike Raymond, I do not find the constructed nature of transsexuality problematic, for in my view both sex and gender are constructions. The problematic question, for me, concerns whose constructions they are and how they are embodied.

In this regard I salute Sandy Stone's claims to her rightful position as a transsexual in society without attempting to 'pass' as female in order to console the binary heterosexual sex-gender system. Stone refuses to be silent about her transsexuality; instead, she 'reappropriat[es] difference and reclaim[s] the power of the refigured and reinscribed body'.[45] Although Stone's obvious trans-sexuality may be obnoxious to some, I find it commendable, for she sincerely challenges a system that has identified her as pathological by resisting to blend into 'the binary phallocratic founding myth'.[46] By refusing to become amicably female Stone exposes the flaws of the heterosexual matrix and the passing parade upheld by transsexuals struggling to become 'perfect' men or women, which is a decidedly contingent and contentious mould in any case. Stone phrases this dilemma as an enquiry whether male-to-female transsexuals go from 'unambiguous men, albeit unhappy men, to unambiguous women',[47] which is obviously not the case. The fact that societal gender roles do not permit any 'territory between'[48] places too much emphasis on the end destinations of 'man' and 'woman', and these end goals can neither be embodied to the full nor do these goals fully signify the lived real experiences of sex and gender. Does anyone fit the description of being completely and finally male or female? Are we not always, rather, on the way towards becoming male or female, without being completely either one or the other? Are we not always embodied somewhere in-between, while perhaps gravitating more to one sex/gender than to the other?

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44   This is especially true of the chapter entitled 'Sappho by surgery: the transsexually constructed lesbian-feminist', in which Raymond challenges the invasion of women's place, physically and spiritually, by what she terms 'transsexually constructed lesbian-feminists' (page 99). Raymond's argument that transsexuality should be 'morally mandated [...] out of existence' (page 178) is valuable for feminist debates for it challenges patriarchal assumptions about femininity, as well as re-claiming a position for women. See Raymond (n 2 above) 99, 178.
45   Stone (n 11 above) 12.
46   Stone (n 11 above) 11.
47   Stone (n 11 above) 4.
48   Stone (n 11 above) 4.

The tyranny of passing, although discredited by theorists such as Sandy Stone, does, nevertheless, remain a very important aspect of the whole medically-managed process of sex or gender reassignment. Bornstein admits as much: '[Transsexuality] is a matter of juggling cues. *Passing is the whole thing*'.[49] The accomplishment of passing is literally put to the test when pre-operative transsexuals are required by medical institutions, such as the Gender Identity Clinic of the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry in Ontario, and the John Hopkins University Gender Identity Clinic, to live for certain periods (up to one year without hormonal aid and two years in full) as the opposite sex/ gender in order to 'prove' to the medical society that they are 'truly' candidates for reassignment surgery and treatment. This trial period is known in transsexual circles as the 'Real life Test (RLT)'.[50] The 'unreasonability' of the Real life Test can be debated as, as Holmes asserts, 'no other medical procedure requires behaviour comparable to the real life test. Is transsexualism really so special as to deserve such a recipe for treatment?'[51] Furthermore, each pre-operative transsexual also has to undergo several interviews during which his/ her so-called authenticity is tested. The sexual preferences and choices of patients are particularly surveyed in order to assure that the so-called 'correct' choices regarding sexual partners are made. In the context of heterosexual hegemony and its inherent homophobia, the sexual preferences of pre-operative transsexuals are made to fit into its heterosexual preferences. Ironically, the transsexual community, both pre- and post-operative, are well-informed as to the kinds of questions posed and also the medically 'correct' answers to those questions. As Kate Bornstein confesses: 'Transsexuality is the only condition for which the therapy is to lie'.[52] Not only are transsexuals required sometimes to 'lie'[53] in order to be admitted to reassignment treatment programmes, but afterwards they also have to continue 'lying' about their previous sexed and gendered history in order to pass as the newly aquired sex and gender. However, *The Renaissance Transgender Association* interprets this game of deception differently:

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[49] S Bell 'Kate Bornstein: A transgender transsexual postmodern Tiresias (1995) *CTHEORY* http://www.ctheory.com/a-kate_bornstein.html (accessed 3 March 2000), emphasis added.

[50] BC Holmes 'BC on Gender: Medicine and transgender politics (1996) http:// www.interlog.com/~bcholmes/tg/tgmedicine.html (accessed 8 January 2002).

[51] Holmes (n 50 above).

[52] Bornstein (n 31 above) 62.

[53] Bernice Hausman introduces the case of Agnes, a transsexed woman who deceived the medical institution by convincing them of her 'genuine intersexual' state, while in fact she had started to take female hormones in her early adolescence, which gave her a convincing intersexual appearance. Agnes also had to lie about her preference for homosexual intercourse and portrayed an image of complete heterosexuality for her medical inquisitors. See Hausman (n 1 above) 5-6.

> If there is any *fraud* involved in being a transsexual, it is the *fraud* perpetrated by the transsexual before treatment. The person who completes treatment is now the *genuine* article. He or she has left behind a life of deception and unhappiness.[54]

According to *The Renaissance Transgender Association*, the deception rather inheres in not undergoing the surgery, since that would require the transsexual to continue lying about who he or she 'really' is. The 'historical weight of the body'[55] is seemingly surpassed when the transsexed person unproblematically emerges as 'the genuine article'. The fact that post-operative transsexuals may no longer allow their bodies' past experiences to surface, for example the body's memories of pain in the case of a male-to-female transsexual, accidents and physical experiences of being male, indicates a state of selective amnesia regarding their own lived bodies' histories and memories. In this endeavour of actively forgetting the previous histories of the 'old' body the lived body shimmers unexpectedly through by resisting its newly inscribed state. One of the main forms of writing back or resistance evident in the historical weight of embodiment is the fact that transsexuals' chromosomal structure generally remains unchanged. In the case of male-to-female trans-sexuals, the body remains stubbornly XY chromosomed and does not transform into the longed-for magical XX chromosomes.[56] Subsequently, the newly-marked body obstinately refuses to be completely managed and does not faithfully signify what is expected of it. *Flesh* (as Merleau-Ponty develops the concept) incorporates a degree of waywardness that medico-scientific institutions cannot manage and grasp fully. In contrast to the claims of *The Renaissance Transgender Association*, transsexed embodiment promises no authenticity, but rather encounters a sometimes painfully situated body and, at other times, perhaps, a lived *jouissance*.

5.   Going beyond sex and gender

The question remains: after having changed sex are transsexuals in the best position to open up new spaces for those who are differently sexed and gendered? Are sex-changers privileged because they have changed their sex? In my analysis of transsexuality it emerged that most (although not all) male-to-female transsexuals transform into hyper-sexed women. It turned out that women's sex and gender are simulated to embody male fantasies and desires concerning

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[54]   The Renaissance Transgender Association (n 6 above).
[55]   JN Zita 'Male lesbians and the postmodern body' (1992) 7(4) *Hypathia* 126.
[56]   This may be read as an essentialist argument, for it seems to regress to the chromosomal level of the body as measure of identity, where genitals used to be the standard. I wish to stress though, that, neither genitals, gonads nor chromosomes are ever of complete male or female status. The hormonal and gonadal structure of an individual also fluctuates on a continuum of possibilities.

femaleness and femininity, instead of harbouring the seeds of insurrection for all the other sexes and genders involved. Female sex-changers emerge as a category that is not only under-represented in terms of numbers, but also under-theorised.

It is evident that the traditional transsexuals (male-to-female) do not pass beyond sex and gender, but instead only confirm their indebtedness to binary divisions. In Hausman's words: 'one cannot 'escape' gender by switching roles or performances and thereby confuse the binary logic, because that logic defines the possibility of the switching in the first place'.[57] Gender is swapped and sex is changed against the backdrop of a binary sex/gender system and the possibilities are always already demarcated. Going *beyond* sex and gender does not seem to be a workable embodied option, since every attempt to do so is always already a response to the sex/gender system. In my view the more truly transgressive figures are those who articulate their differences differently from what is expected in the heterosexual matrix and who do not work with expectations of the transcendence of differences. A few of these differently sexed and gendered individuals may include: the drag kings who parade the supposed 'unperformativity' of masculinity; transgenderist trans-sexuals who live as the other sex without undergoing complete reassignment surgery; female-born individuals who think of themselves as masculine but not necessarily as male or female; the witches of Mpumalanga;[58] cyber-sluts; porn stars who turn into performance artists; femmes; tomboys; masculine heterosexual women; stone butches and soft butches; working mothers; women with beards and bull dykes. I also include those who have inhabited unnameable sexed and gendered spaces and positions, whether real or/and virtual; those who have an entry into both worlds; those who 'hav[e] it both ways', and those 'borderlanders' who live through their own monstrosities.

In conclusion, in keeping with my overall argument, neither sex nor gender is constructed by means of willed acts or 'do-it-yourself' enactments that can be forced onto bodies, whether real and/or virtual, by means of new technologies. Gender is not a piece of clothing to be worn whenever the opportunity arises; neither is sex an attentive plastic substance. As Theresa Senft wisely warns those who think of sex and gender in terms of willed agency: 'if you do not believe in sex and gender, remember they believe in you'.[59] In other

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[57] Hausman (n 1 above) 198.
[58] The witches of the Mpumalanga province come from one of the largest rural areas in South Africa and can be described as fitting into the category of being otherly sexed and gendered. These women are still regularly ostracised and murdered (burnt) by their societies exactly on account of their sex and gender, which immediately make them suspect and labelled as wicked.
[59] Senft (n 22 above).

words, to the degree that one 'makes' one's own sex and gender, one is in turn correspondingly being made by sex and gender.

Two / Exhibiting the expulsion of transgression

Rory du Plessis

1. Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the use of violence and expulsion to maintain deviant and transgressive gender identities. This investigation is articulated with reference to the performance art of Steven Cohen that transgresses established gender binaries.[1] As a Jewish homosexual, Cohen can be described as a quintessential other to both masculinity and hetero-normative society. This results in Cohen being cast out to the periphery of mainstream society. However, in his performance art, Cohen attempts to negotiate his position as 'the other' by inserting himself into the centres of straight consumption. In attempting to do so he reveals to the viewer the structures that discipline individuals to gender binary conformity through his forced expulsion from these hetero-normative centres. Cohen's expulsion from these centres is evaluated according to the 'policing of gender borders' that punishes individuals deemed as 'other' either via expulsion or through the infliction of violence. Furthermore, Cohen's performances exhibit hegemonic masculinity's violent intersections with marginalised and persecuted identities while simultaneously highlighting the violence that ensues from performances that transgress the norms of gender constructs.

Cohen transgresses the norms of gender constructs by exhibiting the performativity of gender. This is enacted through his use of drag that subverts patriarchal prescriptions of hegemonic masculinity. Judith Butler[2] describes the subversive potential of the performative nature of gender as allowing for '... the possibility of a different sort of

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[1] Performance art achieved its golden era internationally during the 1970s but only achieved an acclaimed status within South Africa post-liberation. It embodies an endeavour to embark on challenging the traditional hegemonic conception of masculinity being both heterosexual and patriarchal. In challenging these established conceptions of masculinity it grapples with the body directly and the spaces that advocate hetero-normative masculine depictions. Thus the larger body of performance art engages in spaces outside the gallery in order for the artist to assist in the reclaiming of space by various masculinities and the conquering of new territories of urban areas. See C Brown 'Why curate an exhibition about men?' http://www.artthrob.co.za/02jul/news/male.html (accessed 22 September 2005).

[2] J Butler 'Performative subversions' in S Jackson & S Scott (eds) *Gender. A sociological reader* (2002) 48.

repeating, in the breaking or subversive repetition of that style'. Butler[3] additionally elaborates that 'gender performances in non-theatrical contexts are governed by more clearly punitive and regulatory social conventions ... the act becomes dangerous ... precisely because there are no theatrical conventions to delimit the imaginary character of the act ...' The performance work of Cohen is thus more dangerous and relevant than other mediums in that the line between art and life becomes blurred, in that during a performance art piece, the separation between art and life is dissolved.[4] By using the persona of drag, Cohen challenges the distinction of appearance and reality that structures society's perceptions of gender identity.[5] These confrontations are enacted within the public realm and culminate in the disgust of the onlookers with such events. The viewers' shocked responses to Cohen's work highlight the threat of homosexuality and transgressive gender constructs to the patriarchal norm. To heterosexual men the increasing visibility of homosexuality is regarded as a threat to hegemonic masculinity and the maintenance of the patriarchal status quo. Thus, within a patriarchal society, homosexuality and therefore Cohen's performances pose a fundamental confrontation to esta-blished understandings of masculinity and femininity, and the assumptions of heterosexuality as socially and culturally constructed as 'natural'.[6]

2. Drag

Cohen's performance art is characterised by his use of drag that is employed and subverted within his works.[7] The performance of drag allows for the 'law of heterosexual coherence' to be dethroned through the performer denaturalising sex and gender by exhibiting its distinctness and dramatising the 'cultural mechanism of their fabricated unity'.[8] The result of the performance of drag leads to a gender parody that reveals, 'that the original identity after which gender fashions itself is an imitation without an origin'.[9] This form of parody enacted by drag artists denies hegemonic society the assertion that gender is natural. Drag provokes social outrage in its disregard for the conforming rituals of heterosexual life while simultaneously criticising hegemonic social structures that peddle the rigid division

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[3]   J Butler 'Performative acts and gender constitution' in M Huxley & N Witts (eds) *The twentieth century performance reader* (2002) 392 398.
[4]   M Stewart *Launching the imagination* (2002) 12-21.
[5]   J Butler in Huxley & Witts (n 3 above) 398.
[6]   J Lemon 'Masculinity in crisis?' (1995) 24 *Agenda* 61.
[7]   S de Waal & R Sassen 'Surgery without anaesthetic: The art of Steven Cohen' in J Carman (ed) *Steven Cohen* (2003) 4 5.
[8]   J Butler in Jackson & Scott (n2 above) 49.
[9]   J Butler in Jackson & Scott (n2 above) 50.

of gender roles that regulate the behaviour of the gendered individual.[10]

Cohen's performance of drag can be described as a politically subversive act owing to the fact that it undermines the perception of gender as natural by displaying the very act of the performance of gender.[11] Like the US Queer Nation,[12] Cohen disrupts the gender norms and the accepted and unchallenged heterosexual matrix. Queer Nation's aims to expose and destabilise heterosexual values are achieved through tactics of increasing the visibility of homosexuality. This is achieved, in terms of what Hennessy[13] describes as inserting 'gay spectacle into the centres of straight consumption'. Cohen's performances strategically strive for the same aim as that of Queer Nation, to challenge the sovereignty of heterosexuality by bringing homosexuality from the margins of society into the centre. Cohen's performances achieve this aim by the development of a series of characters from his *Pieces of you* performance. This work uses the song of Jewel by the same name, *Pieces of you*, to examine identities that an individual should be 'ashamed of'. The marginalised and persecuted identities Cohen explores are *Ugly Girl*, *Faggot* and *Jew*.[14] These identities explored by Cohen share the association of being characterised as inherently deviant. As such these deviant identities are subject to social control, which encompasses their disciplining, marginalisation and subordination.[15] Yet, by seeking to define and control deviant identities the paradoxical effect of strengthening the bonds of individuals within these groups is forged. This paradoxical effect refers to Michel Foucault's use of the term 'reverse discourse' that establishes an identity around which a subculture might begin to form and protest.[16] The homosexual, established as a deviant identity within the nineteenth century embodies the possibilities inherent within the 'reverse discourse', in that according to Dallimore[17] once identified, the homosexual began:[18]

> ... to speak on its own behalf, to forge its own identity and culture, often in the self-same terms by which it had been produced and

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[10] R Baker *Drag* (1994) 107.
[11] R Alsop *et al Theorising gender* (2002) 228.
[12] US Queer Nation came to attention in 1990 by engaging theatrically in public in order to challenge dominant gender norms. They re-appropriated the term queer to claim ideas of difference associated with its embrace of the various communities of sexual dissidents. See Alsop *et al* (n 11 above) 95.
[13] Alsop *et al* (n 11 above) 228.
[14] Cohen later developed these characters separately and inserted them into appropriate events such as his *Ugly Girl* (1998) performance at Loftus that is discussed at length in the following section. See S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 15.
[15] T Spargo *Foucault and queer theory* (1999) 20-22.
[16] E Showalter *Sexual anarchy. Gender and culture at the* fin de siècle (1990) 14-15.
[17] Showalter (n16 above) 14-15.
[18] Hence, the re-appropriation of the term 'queer' by US Queer Nation and Cohen's use of the term faggot to identify himself.
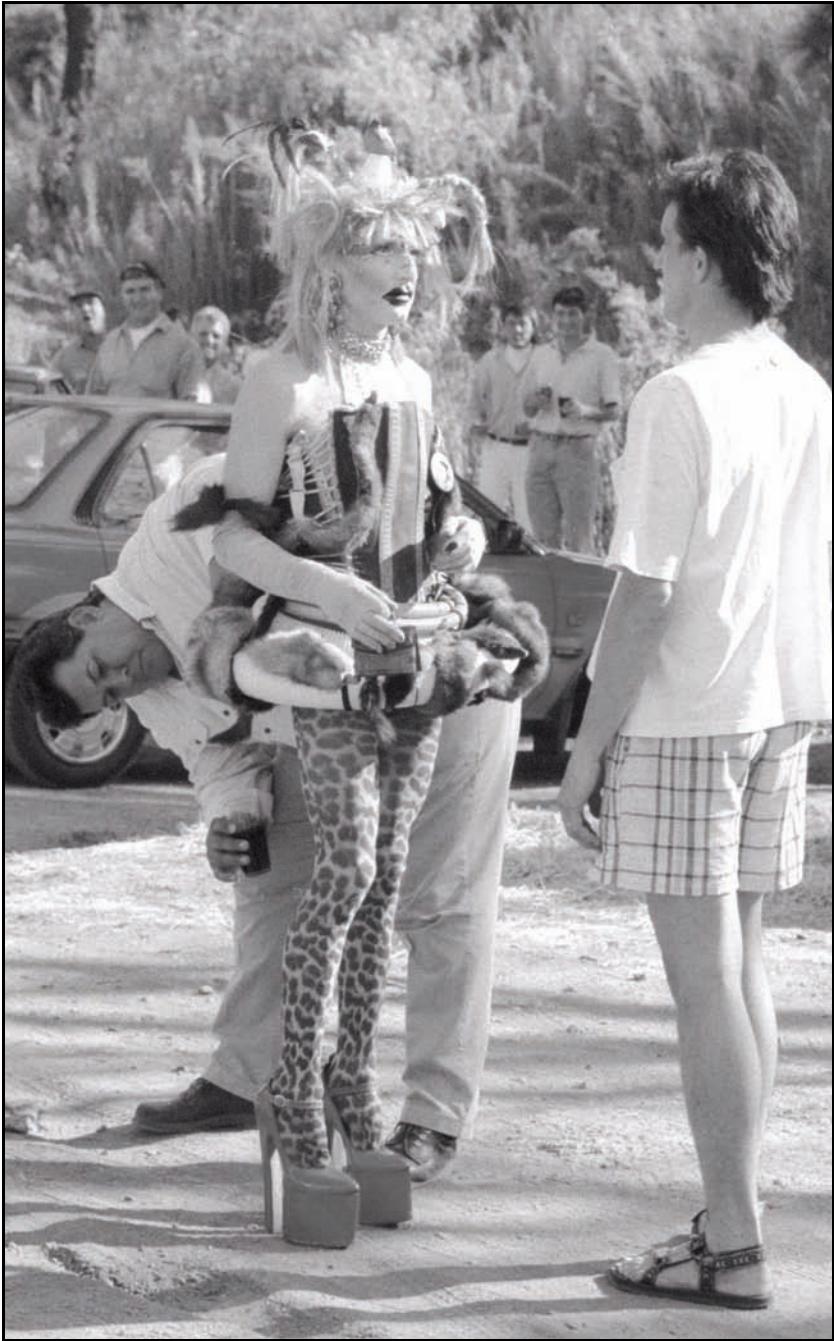
Artist: Steven Cohen. Photographer: John Hodgkiss

marginalised, and eventually to challenge the very power structure which had produced and marginalised it.

3. Homosexuality as pathological

Cohen's *Ugly Girl* (1998) performance at Securicor Loftus reveals how masculinity intersects often violently with homosexuality and Jewishness.[19] The *Ugly Girl* persona highlights the persecution that Cohen suffers through his identity intersecting the perceptions that reign over both the Jew and the homosexual. Cohen stages the stigma associated with the perception of Jews being seen as both pathological and homosexual, as well as homosexuals being seen as pathological to the masculine gender. The judgment governing the attitude towards the Jew as both pathological and homosexual is revealed within Sander Gilman's explorations of the nineteenth century. Gilman[20] describes that a failure to be masculine in the social arena is seen as pathological. In the nineteenth century this view led to the pathologisation of the male Jew's body and ultimately also his feminisation.[21] The male Jew, no matter what his sexual orientation, was closely associated with the pathological category of the homosexual. This is embodied in the fact that Jewish males were considered by Aryan science to be notably inclined towards homosexuality.[22] Gilman[23] further describes the Jewish body as being throughout history marked as a site embodying various perceived pathologies leading to the historical outlook of the Jew as the quintessential other, as a carrier of disease. The Jew's body was seen to bear immutable signs of their identity in that their nose was seen as a marker of Jewishness while their feet were believed to be 'congenitally deformed'.[24] Cohen in his performances often emphasises both his nose, by the use of makeup and his feet, by being subjected to fetish nine-inch heels.[25]

[19] L van der Watt 'Charting change, contesting masculinities: Whiteness in postapartheid popular visual culture' in J van Eeden & A du Preez (eds) *South African visual culture* (2005) 119 124.

[20] SL Gilman 'Damaged men: Thoughts on Kafka's body' in M Berger *et al* (eds) *Constructing masculinity* (1995) 176.

[21] SL Gilman in Berger (n 20 above) 176.

[22] SL Gilman (n 20 above) 177.

[23] In S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 17.

[24] S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 17.

[25] S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 17.

Artist: Steven Cohen. Photographer: John Hodgkiss

In *Jew* (1998) he subverts and challenges anti-Semitic stereotypes by the use of hunting symbols to address social persecution.[26] Symbols are defined as important in identity formation in both ethnic and nationalist lines. However, Cohen deploys them in a manner that stages the ideological construction of their identity. In *Jew*, the Star of David is attached to his chest with blood that alludes to it being imposed by violence, as a form of a brand.[27] Furthermore, in *Jew*, Cohen wears a gas mask with an exhaust pipe and tusks attached to it and attached to his feet an elephant foot on his left shoe and a bull's hoof on his right shoe, thus making a direct reference to the perceived connotations of the Jew's foot and nose as racial markers of their identity. Not only does Cohen make a direct reference to the Jew's racial markers, but following his use of symbols, he foregrounds the ideological construction of the perceived markers of race. The fact that only certain physical characteristics are signified to demarcate 'race' in specific circumstances indicates that the categorisation of race is not a natural division of the world's population but rather the embodiment of history and culturally specific connotations to the differences of human physiological variations.[28] The belief of homosexuality as pathological to the male gender is illustrated in the following section through discussing the violence and expulsion that is inflicted upon Cohen by patriarchal prescriptions of masculinity within his performance art.

## 4. The hypermasculine and homosocial context of Cohen's work

Cohen's *Ugly Girl* (1998) public intervention at Loftus was aimed specifically at rugby culture in South Africa. By choosing rugby as his conceptual terrain, Cohen 'finds a way to strike at the very heart of masculinity that allows no exceptions'.[29] The rugby culture of South Africa accepts no exceptions to gender performance in that it is a context of unambiguous masculinity and associative hetero-normative values. Cohen scourges this terrain as *Ugly Girl* who wears nine-inch fetish shoes, stockings, a corset and exposing his penis underneath a

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[26] S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 51.
[27] The Star of David is also attached to his nose and his penis (a vital site of identity-formation for Judaism) in various other performance works. See S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above)19.
[28] G Doy 'Objectified bodies or embodied subjects?' in G Doy (ed) *Black visual culture: Modernity and Postmodenity* (2000) 111 126.
[29] L van der Watt in Van Eeden & du Preez (n 19 above) 125.
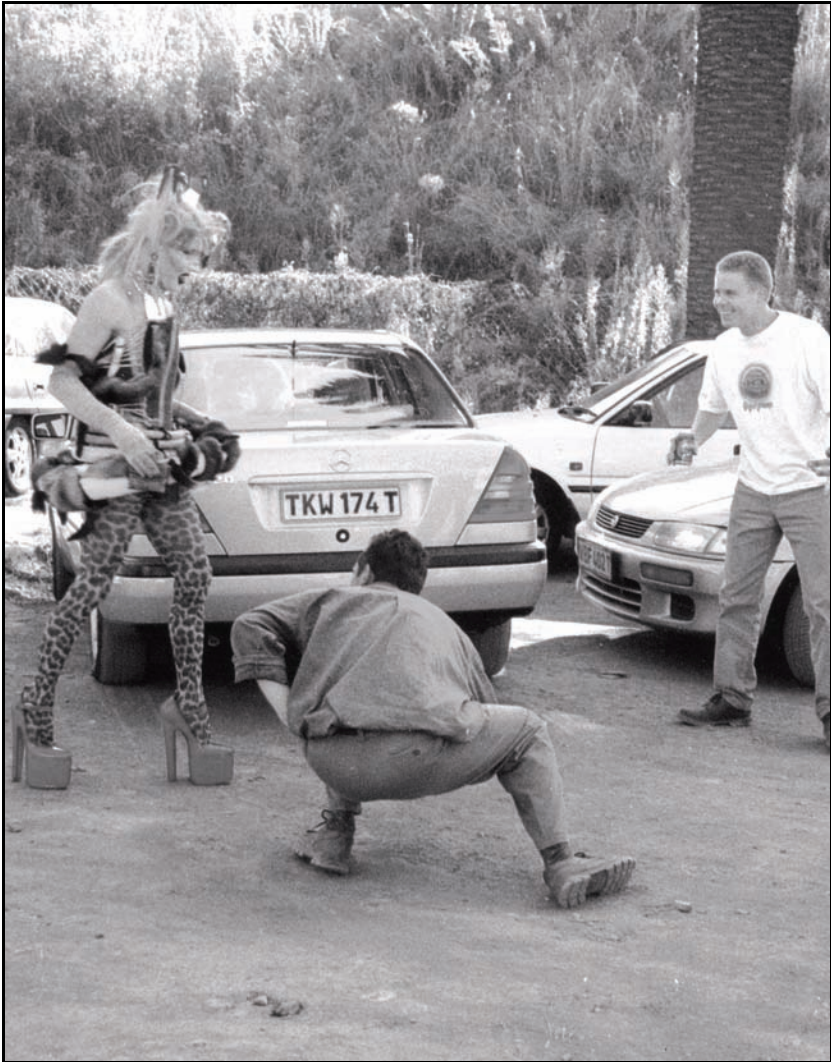
Artist: Steven Cohen. Photographer: John Hodgkiss

short tutu while displaying a muscular hairy torso. Cohen presented himself undoubtedly as a man in women's clothes — a visual contradiction to the hypermasculine context provided by the rugby match.[30] The contradiction that Cohen presents relates internationally to gay American Activists using a term they describe as 'radical drag'. Their intent in making use of drag was not to imitate a glamorous image of stereotypical femininity but to combine feminine images with masculine ones. The aim was described as gender confusion, and it was advocated by them as well as Cohen as firstly a means of both personal liberation from prescriptions of hegemonic masculinity and secondly for subverting the accepted gender categories by demonstrating their social basis.[31] In the South African social context whereby hegemonic masculinity is being dethroned from its traditional sites and apparatuses of power and domination, white rugby culture provides the last enclave of a relatively unchallenged and 'normative' masculinity.[32] Cohen directly challenges the masculinity of rugby culture, which he meets with violent opposition within this context of a homosocial event. A homosocial context is defined as relationships or institutions that lead to bonding amongst people of the same sex; this form of bonding alludes to the expression of latent homosexual content.[33] In order to override any homosexual latent content or connotations in homosocial contexts, men participate in an active process of misogynist behaviour and the persecution of those deemed less than manly. This process is enacted by hegemonic notions of masculinity defining a real man as the rejection of all things feminine, in that through the gendered binary, masculinity is constructed in opposition to femininity. Conforming to the dominant ideas of masculinity means that men must distance themselves from all attributes associated with femininity. Additionally, hegemonic masculinity is bound to heterosexuality.[34] A 'real man' thus displays a coherent heterosexuality while denouncing all traits of femininity. This leads to homosexual men being deemed as 'other' to masculinity, in their perceived traits of femininity. Within the requirements of hegemonic masculinity, in order to substantiate themselves as 'real men' men must distance themselves from homosexuality through homophobic behaviour. Thus homophobia amongst men can be described as a means to display a male's own heterosexual masculinity.[35]

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[30] L van der Watt in Van Eeden & du Preez (n 19 above) 125.
[31] T Carrigon *et al* 'Toward a new sociology of masculinity' in H Brod (ed) *The making of masculinity* (1987) 63 84.
[32] L van der Watt in Van Eeden & du Preez (n 19 above) 124-125.
[33] D Cavallaro *Critical and cultural theory. Thematic variations* (2001) 117.
[34] Alsop (n 11 above) 143.
[35] Alsop (n 11 above) 144.

Sedgwick[36] further describes homophobia as being deployed by hegemonic masculinity to check the slippage between male homosociability and homosexuality to override any latent homosexual content. Hoch[37] comments that within homosocial culture 'the more one retreats to an all-male environment, presumably the greater the homosexual temptation and hence the continued need to 'up the ante' in the way of violence to prove one's manhood'.

Additionally, describing rugby as a homosocial event the hypermasculine context of the men within this event is highlighted. Pleck[38] describes hypermasculinity as pseudo-masculinity, as men who display extreme, exaggerated masculine behaviours at the conscious level in order to compensate for or defend against an insecure male identity due to a feminine identity at the unconscious level. The behaviours closely associated with hypermasculinity include violence and repressive social attitudes and is described as one source of men's negative attitudes and conduct towards women. Thus, the term hypermasculinity establishes the link of exaggerated, negative behaviours stemming from the insecurity of a male sex role identity.[39] As males become more firmly identified with the masculine role, they exceedingly shun the feminine one. Masculinity in these terms is erected at the cost of violence towards women.[40]

Links between the prevalence of violence in the hypermasculine society and male attempts to affirm masculinity are reinforced, as the perception of male dominance over women (part of the traditional definition of masculinity) continues to crumble. Thus, some men, increasingly less sure of such dominance, may resort to violence in their attempt to establish a masculine identity.[41] The violence that Cohen invokes from the viewer is as a result of the danger that he is to the hypermasculine context. This is expressed in that most of the male viewers to his performance reacted aggressively, instructing Cohen to leave, calling him derogatory labels and threatening to attack him.[42] Pleck[43] describes that violence as invoked by Cohen's performance is due to the need for other men to punish a man for embodying any display of feminine behaviour.

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[36]   In RF Reid-Pharr 'Tearing the goat's flesh: homosexuality, abjection and the production of a late twentieth-century black masculinity' (1996) 28 *Studies in the novel* 372.
[37]   L Segal *Slow motion. Changing masculinities, changing men* (1990) 159.
[38]   JH Pleck *The myth of masculinity* (1981) 23-24.
[39]   Pleck (n 38 above) 23-24.
[40]   Pleck (n 38 above) 113.
[41]   Segal (n 37 above) 269.
[42]   L van der Watt in Van Eeden & du Preez (n 19 above) 126.
[43]   Pleck (n 38 above) 110.

With masculinity being described as a homosocial enactment, men are under the constant scrutiny of other men, other men grant men acceptance into the realm of manhood. Masculinity is demonstrated for other men's approval. It is men who evaluate the performance.[44] Leverenz[45] argues, 'ideologies of manhood have functioned primarily in relation to the gaze of male peers and male authority'. As a homosocial enactment, a man's performance of masculinity is overridden by fear.[46] This fear is personified in the reigning definition of masculinity described as a defensive effort to prevent emasculination. To overcome these fears, a man by the means of the dominant culture demands a high price from those deemed less than fully manly: women and homosexual men in their removal from the social sphere.[47] The persecution of homosexuals is both the act of men against a minority of other men as well as the forced repression of the feminine in all men. It is a strategy of safeguarding men from women, and keeping women subordinate to men.[48] This is further confirmed by Craig Owen[49] who states, 'homophobia is not primarily an instrument for oppressing a sexual minority; it is, rather, a powerful tool for regulating the entire spectrum of male relations'. The preceding quote provides a conceptual blueprint for under-standing male relations in terms of oppressing both homosexuals and women in society. The oppression of women in male relations is evident in masculinity being defined in opposition to females. This opposition to females denounces firstly the physical presence of females in that they are deemed a threat of castration and emasculation to men, and secondly the oppression of women denounces the symbolic signifiers of femininity evident in perceived aspects of homosexual men.

Cohen's choice to go to the Loftus rugby stadium, as a hypermasculine context, was motivated to express as much resistance and repulsion as possible. In this homosocial event and hypermasculine context, Cohen performs another version of masculinity in an effort to reveal the constructedness of all masculinity.[50] The violence that Cohen encounters can also be discussed in terms of his persona and public performances transgressing the norms of gender constructs. Munoz[51] argues that masculinity 'has been and continues to be a normative rubric that continues to police the sex/gender system'. In the light of

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44 MS Kimmel 'Masculinity as homophobia' in SM Whitehead & FJ Barrett *The masculinities reader* (2001) 266 275.
45 In MS Kimmel in Whitehead & Barrett (n 44 above) 275.
46 MS Kimmel in Whitehead & Barrett (n 44 above) 282.
47 As above.
48 Segal (n 37 above) 16.
49 Segal (n 37 above) 16-17.
50 L van der Watt in Van Eeden & du Preez (n 19 above) 126.
51 As above.

Munoz' statement, and Butler[52] who informs us that 'those who fail to do their gender right are regularly punished,' the masculinity of the spectators act as 'border-police' of gender performances and as 'gate-keepers' punishing Cohen for his incorrect gender performance by preventing him access into masculinity and entrance into the hypermasculine, homosocial event.[53] Thus, Cohen provides an oppositional voice to the masculine as a guardian of gender roles in that he represents a masculinity that advocates freedom from heterosexual norms.

5. 'Policing gender borders' through scapegoating

In *Patriotic drag* (1998), Cohen attended a white right-wing commemoration of the South African War at Fort Klapperkop, in Pretoria as Princess Menorah.[54] As Princess Menorah, Cohen was expelled from the event by the neo-Nazi *Afrikaner Weerstands-beweging* supporters at the rally, who stood 'guarding the entrance from pollution'.[55] Thus, the right-wingers unceremoniously ejected Cohen, performing Nazi salutes and shouting '*Heil Hitler*'.[56] Cohen's expulsion from the event is discussed in terms of the 'policing of borders' and René Girard's notion of the 'scapegoat'.

Rob Shields[57] points out that individuals organise their lives around spatial and territorial divisions. These serve as the carriers of social myths that are the cornerstones of the ideological divisions between social groups such as race and gender.[58] The process of identification with a place is an essential marker of cultural activity. This process of identification takes on social functions with regard to the division and differentiation of social groupings, which leads to Foucault's[59] link between surveillance and 'discipline' within social spatialisation.[60]

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[52]   J Butler in Huxley & Witts (n 3 above) 394.
[53]   In an opposing reading, it may be interesting to note that Cohen's performance and its ensuing violence may be the response of men denying the performity of masculinity – the denial of its construction.
[54]   Cohen developed the persona of Princess Menorah in 1997. The name refers to Cohen as a Jew and as a queer and represents a costumed identity for attending 'polite' social functions. Cohen defines this persona in articulating, '[t]he Menorah is the many-armed candlestick of Judaism. My other name is Princess Menorah. I got the name because I bring light and enlightenment'. See S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 5.
[55]   R Grieg 'Pretoria's camp cowboys give a girl a nazi turn' (1998) http://www.terrorealism.net/GRIEG.htm (accessed 12 August 2005).
[56]   S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 18.
[57]   R Shields *Places on the margin. Alternative geographies of modernity* (1991) 47.
[58]   Shields (n 57 above) 47.
[59]   Shields (n 57 above) 48.
[60]   Social spatialisation refers to the social construction of the spatial and encompasses a fundamental system of spatial divisions that ground hegemonic systems of ideology and practice. It is most visible in the connotations people associate with a place. The connotations associated with Fort Klapperkop are hetero-normative values that ground the hegemonic conception of masculinity. See Shields (n 57 above) 7-48.

The *Weerstandsbeweging* supporter's association with heterosexual norms leads to the supporter's needs to differentiate themselves from homosexuality. In relation to Foucault, this would include surveying the 'territory' of Fort Klapperkop and punishing those deemed as 'other' to the heterosexual norms of the supporters. Fort Klapperkop becomes a territory associated with heterosexual values and their encompassing discourses. Foucault[61] sees discourses as normative. They carry with them norms for behaviour, standards of what counts as desirable and undesirable, proper and improper. The discourses surrounding homosexuals in the nineteenth century centred on the homosexual as a medical problem, a pathology and even a disease. The difference between earlier concepts of homosexuality and that of the late nineteenth century was that homosexuals were identified as a 'species', an aberrant type of human being defined by a perverse sexuality.[62] Medical and scientific perceptions about homosexuality endeavoured to establish distinct borderlines and definitions in order to implement an impregnable border between acceptable and repugnant behaviour.[63] These nineteenth century perceptions of homosexuality are still manifested today through the policing of gender borders to contain a hetero-normative territory from unwanted 'border crossers' such as homosexuals.

White masculinity creates a hegemonic status quo within society, in that through the exclusion of what is other to white masculinity, masculinity is sustained. Esposito[64] argues that 'identities are constructed by a policing of borders, for it is by the exclusion of Others, of difference, that the identity of those inside the margins can be secured'. Furthermore, white hegemonic masculinity enables a white man to perform masculinity without the nature of his performance being exposed. Yet, through the 'policing of borders' to secure white masculinity, the performance of masculinity by 'Others' including homosexuals and people with 'marked' skin, is exposed as such.[65] Esposito[66] states that this is the function of border patrol to 'ensur[e] White masculinity remains normative by policing the borders and keeping out the Others'. The Jewish man becomes problematic for the policing of borders in that unlike the black other, where skin colour is an obvious racial marker, the Jew is not that effortless to classify. De Waal and Sassen[67] point out that for 'whiteness', 'the Jew represents the other within'. The homosexual

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61   Alsop (n 11 above) 82.
62   Spargo (n 15 above) 17-18.
63   Showalter (n 16 above) 14-15.
64   J Esposito 'The performance of white masculinity in *Boys don't cry*: identity, desire, (mis)recognition' (2003) 3 *Cultural Studies/Critical Methodologies* 229 231.
65   J Esposito (n 64 above) 355.
66   As above.
67   S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 18.

poses also such a problem to border policing in that according to Dollimore,[68] the male homosexual is also described as 'the other within', as a 'proximate other', whose threat is that he has the ability to pass unnoticed through borderlines. Rousseau[69] elaborates on this ability of homosexuals to pass unnoticed in society, in stating:

> ... homosexuals have the remarkable ability to conceal themselves as well as come out of hiding: to 'pass' in the sense of assuming different protean shapes according to the needs of the social situation.

Thus the homosexual, like the Jew, is depicted essentially as a secret and subversive presence deteriorating social stability from within. In response to this, Cohen's use of the personas of the Jew and homosexual in his work, are both a metaphor for the 'other within society' and the 'internal, personal otherness of the hybrid self'.[70] The double burden of 'otherness' that Cohen represents, that of both the Jew and homosexual, is transformed into empowerment through the reference to hybridity. Bhabha[71] sees that hybridity has liberating potential in that it is no longer viewed as something impure but rather as a mixture of cultures and identity that empowers subjects in the postcolonial context. Cohen's embrace of hybridity allows him to play with identity, reconstruct himself and destroy stereotypes governing 'the other'.

Through the policing of borders, the construction of gender operating through exclusion is realised. Esposito[72] argues that the policing of borders occurs on two levels. The first level is material, which involves most often violence against unwanted border crossers.[73] Cohen, in *Patriotic drag,* is verbally assaulted and expelled from Fort Klapperkop by the neo-Nazi 'border police'. Weeks[74] describes such actions by the supporters, maintaining that hegemonic masculinity '... is achieved by the constant process of warding off threats to it. It is precariously achieved by the rejection of femininity and homosexuality'.

The second level of the policing of borders occurs on a theoretical level in which identities are predefined in structures that frame 'Us' versus 'Them' discourses.[75] This level operates through symbolic violence, as articulated above whereby the identity of white hegemonic masculinity depends and is constituted by its distance and

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68   In S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 18.
69   Rousseau 'Foucault and the fortunes of queer theory' (2000) 5 *The European Legacy* 401 405.
70   S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 18.
71   G Doy 'Objectified bodies or embodied subjects?' in Doy (n 28 above) 126.
72   Esposito (n 64 above) 355.
73   As above.
74   In 'Searching for the gay masculinity' http://web.grinnell.edu/courses/lib/s01/lib397-01/ReStructuring_Masculinities/documents/gaymasc.pdf (accessed 5 July 2005).
75   Esposito (n 64 above) 355.

negation of what is other to it, thus leading to the exclusion of 'the other' to the periphery of society, to outside the border, whereby it only exists as the measure to what hegemonic society is not. This exclusion of 'the other', Mirzoeff[76] claims, is integral to maintaining the 'Them' in that 'in a world marked by hybridity and diversity, the absolute evil of the Other is perhaps the only means by which the integrity of the same can be sustained'. This distinction of those who constitute the inside/outside binary of the gender-border is used to distinguish between normality and deviance and is constituted by the homosexual on the outside. Fuss describes this border-binary as follows:[77]

> Those inhabiting, the inside ... can only comprehend the outside through incorporation of a negative image. This process of negative interiori-sation involves turning homosexuality inside out, exposing not the homosexual's abjected insides but the homosexual as the abject, as the contaminated and expurgated insides of the heterosexual subject.

Furthermore, Cohen as embodying both hybridity and otherness, is excluded from hegemonic society and his very humanness is doubted, which Butler explains is demonstrated:[78]

> ... in ... examples of abjected beings who do not appear properly gendered; it is their very humanness that comes into question. Indeed, the construction of gender operates through exclusionary means, such that the human is not only produced over and against the inhuman, but through a set of foreclosures, radical erasures, that are, strictly speaking, refused the possibility of cultural articulation.

Lugo[79] furthers the idea of border crossing to incorporate his findings that 'most border crossings are constituted by "inspection stations" which inspect, monitor, and survey what goes in and out in the name of class, race, and nation'. In this respect, the conceptual terrain of *Patriotic drag* is a social boundary between the hegemonic white masculinity of the neo-Nazi supporters and the hybrid, transgressive masculinity of Steven Cohen. This is confirmed by Erikson[80] who sees that normality and deviance meet at the same border, and during this meeting 'the line between them is drawn'. Cohen thus attempts in *Patriotic drag* to negotiate the border and meeting between heterosexuality and homosexuality, by, as mentioned earlier, inserting himself as a gay spectacle into the centre of heterosexual consumption and refusing his position outside the border of heterosexual society. But, conversely, Erikson[81] also argues for the

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[76] N Mirzoeff 'Introduction. The multiple viewpoints: diasporic visual culture' in N Mirzoeff (ed) *Diaspora and visual culture. Representing Africans and Jews* (2000) 15.
[77] In Reid-Pharr (n 36 above).
[78] Esposito (n 64 above) 234.
[79] Esposito (n 64 above) 355.
[80] J Dollimore *Sexual dissidence. Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (1991) 220.
[81] Dollimore (n 80 above) 220.

social necessity of deviance in that it initially defines the boundaries of society and secondly that these borders need to be constantly confirmed. This proves to be a detriment for Cohen in his performances, in that it may be argued that he only confirms the borderlines between homosexuality and heterosexuality, due to the fact that at all times he is forcibly expelled from the centres of heterosexual society. Thus he paradoxically confirms and demonstrates the power of hegemonic society, in its rejection and control of any deviance to gender norms. Erikson further explains that:[82]

> Deviance is a rejuvenating force as well ... To contain and control deviance, and thereby to master it, is to supply fresh and dramatic proof of the enormous powers that are behind the social order. The visible control of deviance is one of the most effective mechanisms by which a social order can tangibly display its potency. The act of harnessing things that are dangerous helps to revitalise the system by demonstrating to those who live within it just how awesome its powers really are.

Fuss[83] argues that the figure of what she terms the 'undead homosexual', the homosexual that continually reappears, even in the face of the most beastly forms of violence and degradation, is absolutely necessary for the creation and maintaining of a positive heterosexual hegemonic identity. This reappearance of the 'undead homosexual' characterises Cohen's performance work that culminates in his violent expulsion from hegemonic society. Cohen's expulsion from hetero-normative society and events refers to Girard's term of 'scapegoating'; an explanation of his term and theory follows.

Girard's use of 'mimetic desire' or mimesis is a model for the formation of social or collective identity[84] and refers to a desire that originates through the imitation of models. These models act as agents between individuals imitating them and the world. The desire that originates through imitation almost always leads to conflict that in turn results in violence.[85] These results of mimetic desire are confirmed by the fact that, if one's desire and identification to a model is strong enough, one will want to have or be what the model is. It may accumulate to a level where one becomes either a rival with one's own model or otherwise one competes with other people to become better imitators of the same model. Thus one both imitates one's rivals while simultaneously competing with them.[86]

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82   Dollimore (n 80 above) 220.
83   In Reid-Pharr (n 36 above).
84   PS Anderson 'Sacred lives: Mimetic desire, sexual difference and murder' (2000) 4 *Cultural values* 216.
85   JG Williams 'Foreword' in R Girard (ed) *I see Satan fall like lightning* trans JG Williams (2001) ix-x.
86   As above, xi.

This rivalry leads to scandal. Girard deploys the use of the term 'scandal' to refer specifically to a situation whereby a person or group is obstructed from their desire of what the model possesses. They cannot obtain their desire in that they cannot displace the model and acquire what the model has or the rivalry within the group is so intense that everyone prevents everyone else from succeeding. This escalates to the point where those involved need to 'let off steam' or the social fabric of mimesis will burst. At this point, all those involved in this tangle of rivalry turn their frustrated desire against a victim, someone who is blamed and persecuted for being 'identified as an offender causing scandal'.[87] The ritual act of scandal and sacrifice stems from the operation of the 'single victim mechanism' in which a human is offered as a victim of sacrifice to be either expelled or killed. The ritual of expelling a victim is termed 'scapegoating' and as part of the single victim mechanism ' ... provides most communities with their sense of collective identity. But the price to be paid is the destruction of an innocent outsider: the immolation of the 'other' on the altar of the 'same'.'[88]

In relation to Girard's theory, Cohen becomes the scapegoat in *Patriotic drag* in that he is deemed to be an offender that causes a scandal. Cohen provides a stumbling block to the neo-Nazi supporters by exposing to them not only the construction and artificiality of the masculinity that they are mimicking but also through his use of drag that reveals gender as an 'imitation without an origin'. In *Patriotic drag*, Cohen disarms the mimetic desire of the neo-Nazi supporters, which is met by his expulsion from the event. Girard[89] describes this action by stating that '[w]e easily see now that scapegoats multiply wherever human groups seek to lock themselves into a given identity-communal, local, national, ideological, racial, religious, and so on'. The neo-Nazi supporters, by locking themselves into a given identity, forge a communal identity of sameness achieved through the elimination of the other. This process mobilises the community into a mob and according to Girard[90] suggests 'a military operation against a real or imaginary enemy'. The enemy in this case is Cohen in that he is deemed as abnormal to the heterosexual matrix. Girard identifies social abnormality as another element in the process of scapegoatism. In such a case, the 'average' determines the norm so that the further one is from the 'normal' social status of whatever kind, the greater the risk of persecution.[91] This concept of the norm is also integral in Foucault's work. The 'power of the norm' is expressed above all in discipline, which subjugates individuals to a

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[87]   Williams 'Foreword' (n 85 above) xii.
[88]   Kearney (n 84 above) 216.
[89]   Girard (n 85 above) 160.
[90]   BO Ushedo 'Unloading guilt: the innocent victim as illustrated by James Baldwin & Rene Girard' (1997) 53 *Journal of Religious Thought* 131 140.
[91]   Ushedo (n 90 above) 131.

system of fixed, compulsory behavioural schemes, thereby assuring the stability and homogeneity of the dominant structure.[92] Foucault[93] describes disciplinary normalisation as involving 'the casting of an optimal model; and the operation of discipline consists in conforming people to this model'.

6. Performing the politicised penis (and privates)

In Cohen's performances, he confronts the viewer with the incongruity of a man in women's clothing by exhibiting his penis,[94] which conventional drag conceals.[95] This act of confronting the viewer with the incongruity of gender constructs is confirmed by Baker,[96] who views the exposure of genitals as the revelation of a female impersonator that is used as an influential way of reversing an audience's comfortable assumptions.

Cohen's performances are centred on the display of his circumcised penis. This is further emphasised by Cohen, binding it to make it appear erect and attaching various objects (like the Star of David) to it.[97] This is evident in *Taste* (1999), where his penis was bound to appear erect. Erections in the public realm are described as a source of embarrassment and humour in that they firstly draw attention to the penis, which is usually kept out of site and secondly are seen as an outer signifier of inner thoughts and desires. The meanings given to erections are primarily sexual. The erection provokes disturbing responses within the viewer due to its apparently arbitrary and unpredictable character to all kinds of stimuli. Hence, the erection has an irrationality about it, which contrasts with the hegemonic masculinity's themes of control and predictability.[98] Thus, Morgan[99] sees the erection as 'a jester in the wings of the civilising process'.

The circumcised penis is the traditional mark of the Jew that distinguishes the Jew from the gentile. It signifies the *brit milah*, or circumcision compact with God, however, outside discourses surrounding Judaism, circumcision was rationalised in Jewish ethics as

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[92]   S Breuer 'Foucault and beyond: towards a theory of the disciplinary society' (1989) 25 *Open Forum* 236 240.
[93]   Breuer (n 92 above) 240.
[94]   L van der Watt in Van Eeden & du Preez (n 19 above) 126.
[95]   S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 13.
[96]   Baker (n 10 above) 80.
[97]   S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 13.
[98]   Morgan 'You too can have a body like mine' in Jackson & Scott (n 2 above) 406 411.
[99]   Morgan in Jackson & Scott (n 98 above) 411.

a valuable implement against lust.[100] Maimonides a Jewish moralist of the twelfth century, states:[101]

> The bodily pain caused to [the penis] is the real purpose of circumcision. None of the activities necessary for the preservation of the individual is harmed thereby, nor is procreation rendered impossible, but concupiscence and lust that goes beyond what is needed are diminished.

Additionally, Maimonides[102] describes that circumcision aims to 'bring about a decrease in sexual intercourse and a weakening of the organ in question'. This contributes to the racist mythology surrounding the Jewish male within the *fin de siécle* period, as having a deficiency in virility, which is attributed to the ritual practice of circumcision and its ultimate connection with the claim that the Jewish male was effeminate.[103] As a Jewish homosexual, Cohen exhibits his circumcised penis as a symbol of the salutary infliction of pain in the place of pleasure which not only is inflicted by circumcision but also the regulations that oppress marginalised sexualities.[104]

Amelia Jones[105] argues that the principal function of the phallus is to 'celebrate the primacy of the male subject by symbolising his genital prowess in public rituals'. Cohen uses this traditional function of the phallus, to exhibit its anatomical corollary, the penis, to deconstructive ends.[106] Thus, according to De Waal and Sassen[107] '[t]he most obvious and fundamental signifier of biological masculinity, ideologised as the phallus of patriarchal power, is exposed in its vulnerability'. He further deconstructs masculinity by embracing sadomasochistic garb that signals the dangerous marginality of male homosexual subjectivity. In doing so, he dislocates the signifiers of masculinity, exposing it as a con-struction.[108] Jones[109] describes the performance artist Chris Burden's use of exposing his body to masochistic rituals as raising the question of how violence operates in relation to masculinity. In relation to Chris Burden, Cohen's performance art dismembers the crucial coherence of masculinity through the contamination of its physical site, the body, by the use of violent acts.

In *Taste* (1999) Cohen's face is covered and de-identified by a latex mask and he wears a large Styrofoam Star of David on his head which he, resembling the acts of strippers dispersing their garments, throws

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100 S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 19.
101 In S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 19.
102 S de Waal 'Cut to the quick: body language' *Mail & Guardian* 27 October 2000.
103 NL Kleeblatt 'The body of Alfred Dreyfus' in Mirzoeff (n 76 above) 76 84.
104 S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 20.
105 A Jones 'Displaying the phallus: Male artists perform their masculinites' (1994) 17 *Art History* 546.
106 Jones (n 105 above) 547.
107 S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 13.
108 Jones (n 105 above) 556.
109 Jones (n 105 above) 564.

into the audience.[110] This is followed by the soundtrack of the voice of an anonymous Jewish man who, disapproving of Cohen's work, leaves a threatening message on Cohen's answering machine:[111]

> Steven Cohen — if you ever prounce (sic) around with a Star of David on your head, you'll be looking for trouble ... Avoid using the Star of David to besmear the Jewish people because I don't like it ... and there's going to be a problem ... I beg you as a fellow Jew don't make an arsehole of the Jews with the Star of David.

At this point, Cohen slides from his anus a set of anal beads and ejects from his rectum a black fluid into a Victorian glass bedpan and then he decants it into a glass. Then, toasting his audience, Cohen drinks it. Thus, Cohen[112] proves that queer self-acceptance is an acquired taste.

Taste, like *Tradition* (1999) deals with the rectum and its contents as a site of artistic practice.[113] Using the rectum and its contents in his art he draws attention to the overarching interest that homosexual men are to heterosexual society. Forster[114] says that this interest means that homosexual men make other people think, more than anything else, about homosexual men's rectums and their brown faecal matter. It is this aspect that homosexuals have never been forgiven for by heterosexual society. Thus, no other group of people compels one in such a disgusting repulsive manner, as homosexuals.[115] Not only is Cohen's rectum essential as a site of artistic practise in his performances, but also the exposing of his anus. The anus is extensively suppressed and in most cases almost invisible in Western representations, even more so than the erect penis. The heterosexual norm insists that representations of the anus must only be medicalised. However, if it is erotised, one will be accused of an act of perversity. Masculinity is threatened and declared vulnerable when the male body, conventionally the sexual penetrator, becomes penetrable in a similar sense to the way a women's body is penetrable.[116] Butler[117] describes '[g]ender identity [as] a performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo'. Thus through Cohen making 'his private parts public' he draws attention to the taboos that structure the representation of the sexualised body. Secondly, Cohen exposes both the heterosexual and homosexual body as a cultural object that encodes society's beliefs that supervise the

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110   S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 20.
111   In Carman (n 7 above) 10.
112   S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 20.
113   In *Tradition* (1999) Cohen hangs from the ceiling and from his anus expels a dark liquid onto his partner Elu who is dancing beneath him. See S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 20.
114   Rousseau (n 69 above) 406.
115   As above.
116   S de Waal & R Sassen in Carman (n 7 above) 22.
117   J Butler in Huxley & Witts (n 3 above) 393.

body's physical drives to ensure that they are in the service of peddling a hetero-normative ideology.

7. Conclusion

Steven Cohen's use of drag as a 'medium' for his performance art transgresses and destabilises gender binaries. The deconstruction of gender as a binary framework is made possible through drag in its deployment of *différence*. Drag challenges the fixed gender binaries that stabilise meaning and the performativity of gender by demonstrating through Derrida's use of the term *différence*, how meaning is never absolutely polarised into binaries but rather encompasses additional meanings by embracing, to various and alternative degrees both poles of any binary framework. Thus, Norris[118] describes the ability of *différence* as 'disturb[ing] the classical economy of language and representation'. *Différence* allows for gender articulation through representation and performance always being open to deferral. In drag this possibility of gender being opened up to deferral allows for the body to be a site of ambivalence in that the performer's body is presented as simultaneously performing both genders and as a subversive act in that it unites the perceived 'irreconcilable opposites of gender binaries'. Judith Butler's interest in ambivalence expresses the *différence* between the heterosexual matrix and its articulation, which reveals its false claim to naturalness and the originality of hegemonic norms.[119] Butler elaborates on the possibilities of drag to undermine the claim to the naturalness of the heterosexual matrix by underscoring the relation between sex and gender in drag performances:[120]

> drag plays upon the distinction between the anatomy of the performer and the gender that is being performed. But we are actually in the presence of three separate dimensions of significant corporeality: anatomical sex, gender identity and gender performance. If the anatomy of the performer is already distinct from the gender of the performer, and both of these distinct from the gender of the performance, then the performance suggests a dissonance not only between sex and performance but between sex and gender, and gender and performance.

Furthermore, in performances of drag, what one perceives to be real is revealed to be a performance. By inducing 'realness', the drag artist acknowledges the artificiality of gender reality and the ensuing imitation of the heterosexual matrix as well as the performativity of gender. The *différence* that drag affords between sex and gender, destabilises compulsory heterosexuality which results in it requiring

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[118] S Hall 'Cultural identity and diaspora' in Mirzoeff (n 76 above) 21 26.
[119] 'Gender matters. The relation of gender theory and semiological theory' http://www.cyberartsweb.org/cpace/gender/raymond/performativity.html (accessed 3 July 2005).
[120] J Butler in Jackson & Scott (n 2 above) 49.

to constantly reinforce itself, to repeat the imitations of its ideals.[121] Thus, ironically the outcome is heterosexuality needing to perform its norms and thus succumb even self-consciously to view gender as performative (and therefore ultimately as unnatural).

The central concern within this essay is twofold. Firstly it is concerned with the maintenance of gender binary oppositions as enforced through patriarchal prescriptions of gender by hegemonic masculinity. This enforcement occurs by patriarchy defining masculinity as an attainment achieved through the denial of the feminine and deeming homosexuality as pathological to the male gender. This results in the rise of hypermasculinity (in attempting to attain the patriarchal ideal), which is located in a homosocial context (in its denial of the threats to masculinity). The second insight is that fundamental to both hypermasculinity and homosociability is violence and expulsion against those deemed a threat to hegemonic masculinity. Violence against 'the other' is crucial for the attainment of hegemonic masculinity, in that masculinity is constituted by its opposition to 'the other' and the containment of deviant and transgressive identities to the periphery of society as a measure of what masculinity is not. This is achieved through the 'policing of borders' and 'scapegoating' that both embody the violence and expulsion of transgressive gendered individuals.

As a scapegoat for hegemonic masculinity, Steven Cohen reveals to the viewer the existence of the structures that discipline individuals to gender binary conformity. Cohen exhibits the violence that he encounters by his performances transgressing the norms of gender constructs through performing another version of masculinity. This different 'translation' of masculinity reveals Cohen's refusal to mirror back an imposed patriarchal masculine identity that is ultimately flawed in its negation of the marginalised identities of both the Jew and the homosexual. Cohen disarms the mimicry of hegemonic masculinity and constructs an identity that transgresses firstly the patriarchal efforts to contain deviance by his use of the 'reverse discourse' to articulate the evils of patriarchy, and secondly, Cohen transgresses the taboos that structure the representation of the sexualised body.

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[121]   'Gender matters. The relation of gender theory and semiological theory' http://www.cyberartsweb.org/cpace/gender/raymond/performativity.html (accessed 3 July 2005).

Three / The aspirational aesthetics of 'Gentlemen's pornography'[1]

Stella Viljoen

1. Introduction

The rising popularity of 'glossy men's magazines' in South Africa is all too clear with the emergence of the South African issues of *Gentlemen's Quarterly* (*GQ*), *For Him Magazine* (*FHM*) and *Maxim* in the past decade. This chapter examines the visual and social mythology that gave rise to this new brand of objectifying imagery, and proposes a new term for this more elusive pornographic genre.

In 1953, Hugh Hefner launched the first so-called soft-porn magazine targeted at upwardly mobile men. *Playboy* (it was originally going to be called *Stag Night*), was similar to other pornography in that it objectified women for the purposes of male pleasure, but unlike its various predecessors it also included what Gail Dines[2] terms 'service features' on sexy consumables, current events, advice columns, reviews, interviews and short stories. The much-imitated genre of soft (softer and softest) pornography is no longer the novelty it was in the 1950s, but has grown to a billion dollar industry with manifold faces. The political and economic valorisations that have fed and milked this cash cow are in part also responsible for the continued ennobling of female objectification that forms a kind of Ariadnian thread throughout the history of western visual representation.

Pornography, whether subtle or explicit, is not a contemporary phenomenon; it has a long and politically diverse history.[3] Since the 'erotic', similarly, seems to have existed throughout western history, it too may seem to be a transhistorical concept. However, it was specifically in the nineteenth century that the pornographic was categorised as separate and distinct from the erotic, and it is in this

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[1] This chapter is based on a conference paper delivered at the annual Design History Society Conference (Norwich, UK) in September 2003 and was posted on the African Gender Institute's Gender and Women's Studies website (http://www.gwsafrica.org/knowledge/manet.html) in 2004.

[2] G Dines 'I buy it for the articles: Playboy Magazine and the sexualisation of consumerism' in G Dines & JM Humez (eds) *Gender, race and class in media, a text reader* (1995) 254 255.

[3] See W Kendrick *The secret museum: Pornography in modern culture* (1987); L Hunt (ed) *Eroticism and the body politic* (1991).

Figure 1: *GQ* Cover (*GQ* November 2000)

apparently aesthetic distinction that commodified obscenity found its reprieve. The battle between freedom of artistic expression and the curtailment of obscenity is one that has raged within public and private discourse from the time when obscenity legislation was established in western society in the 1950s. Since then, there have been many examples of the manner in which the delineation of obscenity or 'pornography' is related to accessibility, class and societal perceptions of public morality. D H Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's lover* was canonised as a work of art in the test case of the British Obscene Publications Act of 1959, when it was found to be for the 'public good' because of its literary value. Not only did this ruling establish the concept of the pornographic as something likely to deprave and corrupt, but also implied that the 'erotic' was something that more refined minds could enjoy without risk.[4] In a similar vein, the canonical paintings and photographs today lauded as erotic art are in many cases the ironic articulators of the codes of display that frequently form the visual markers of contemporary soft(est) pornography, such as that presented by 'glossy men's magazines'[5] like *GQ* and *FHM* (figure 1). These magazines, in other words, merely represent a new gloss on an old theme, that of sex and materialism (or exclusive, moralistic elitism) as a commercially profitable alliance.[6] This chapter investigates the manner in which *GQ* creates a façade of exclusivity by manipulating the gloss of 'acceptable' sexualised display established in canonical erotic art. *GQ* is singled out for analysis because it boasts a more 'high-brow' editorial tone than the other glossy men's magazines published in South Africa. *GQ* seems the most appropriate glossy men's magazine for the analysis of an aestheticised objectification since it attempts

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4   Most legislative definitions of 'pornography' follow the criteria set out by the United States Civil Rights Ordinance of 1985. It is defined as material that is simultaneously sexually explicit, subordinating and complies with the 'proof of harm test'. Rembar argued that in the seminal case concerning *Lady Chatterley's lover*, it was 'social-value' that distinguished the erotic from the pornographic, and that artworks have some redeeming intellectual significance that pornography lacks. Although fraught with polemical ambiguities, these definitions are used for the sake of consistency within the scope of this article. See C Rembar *The end of obscenity: The trials of Lady Chatterley, Tropic of Cancer and Fanny Hill* (1969) 467; I Tang *Pornography; the secret history of civilization* (1999) 13.

5   A Dworkin & CA MacKinnon *Pornography and civil rights: A new day for women's equality* (1988) 138. This is Andrea Dworkin and Catherine A MacKinnon's term for expensive, (therefore 'glossy') up-market magazines aimed at a male readership, in which the content is sexually focused. These magazines are also known as men's general interest magazines; see S Nixon *Hard looks: Masculinities, spectatorship and contemporary consumption* (1996). This phrase or category does not include overtly pornographic magazines such as *Playboy* or *Penthouse*.

6   A question that results from this statement is whether *GQ*'s superficial appropriation of canonical erotic art unveils any pornographic qualities in this art. This question will not be addressed here, but rather it is assumed that Manet's *Olympia*, for instance, although 'art', is also in some ways pornographic and that, as a result, 'art' and 'pornography' are not mutually exclusive categories, but slippery rhetorical devices, easily coaxed into one corner or another.

to be more overtly sophisticated. This effort toward creating an urbane tone is related to the magazine's brand differentiation strategy. *GQ*, for instance, procures more advertising from luxury brands than *FHM*. According to Sean Couves,[7] a former marketing manager for *GQ South Africa*, this is due to the fact that *GQ* is considered to be less laddish. Nevertheless, these differences are marginal and *GQ*, thus, forms a purposive sample of glossy men's magazines as a genre.

In a sense, this study has failed before it has even started, for by investigating *GQ* and then capturing this process in writing, one is removing the magazine from the very real context in which it is made and distributed (the studio, factory, newsagent, home, and so on). Language, nevertheless, plays a critical role in invoking public awareness and responsibility (in terms of the content of popular culture). In order to stress this role, the emphasis of this chapter is firstly on the process of defining the new, hybrid form of pornography that is glossy men's magazines. Towards this end, the term 'gentlemen's pornography' is proposed as an rhetorical gimmick to emphasise the manner in which *GQ* aesthetically borrows from canonical erotic art in order to disguise its objectification of women. Secondly, this chapter comprises a semiotic investigation of the stylised aesthetic veneer that typifies glossy men's magazines. Feminist discourse is divided on the potential harmfulness of pornography. This analysis builds on the assumptions of feminists such as Laura Mulvey[8] who have highlighted the potential for objectification contained within the artistic or mechanical process employed in art, photography and popular magazines. This chapter, in other words, builds on the assumption that novel strains of aestheticised objectification are worthy subjects of investigation because of their stereotypical representation of gender.

2. Gentlemen's pornography

In the nineteenth century, Alphonse de Lamartine commented: 'One feels, one knows, one lives and at need, one dies for one's cause, but one cannot name it. It is the problem of this time to classify things and men... The world has jumbled its catalogue'.[9] Into the 'jumbled catalogue' of visual rhetoric this article introduces yet another tag, namely 'gentlemen's pornography'. It is an awkward, ambivalent phrase that is an inadequate signifier for the irony that defines this taxonomy, but it is nevertheless useful in the absence of a more erudite (or politically correct) one. Gentlemen's pornography is a

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[7]   S Couves, personal interview (2002).
[8]   L Mulvey *Visual and other pleasures* (1989).
[9]   N Harris *Beliefs in society* (1968) 24.

new, hybrid form of pornography that is used in this chapter to refer to both contemporary glossy men's magazines, and the canonical erotic paintings of women (such as Edouard Manet's *Olympia*, 1863, figure 2) that ostensibly form the iconographic forefathers of glossy men's magazines.[10] As mentioned previously, the objectification of women is frequently deemed to be socially 'acceptable' in canonical sexualised artworks, and as a result these works have become a kind of reference material for glossy men's magazines that wish to sublimate their objectifying imagery. This discussion proposes that gentlemen's pornography is indeed similar enough to conventional pornography (in that it objectifies and stereotypes women) to be classed as a type of pornography, while recognising that it is distinct enough from conventional pornography to warrant a separate category.

There are two obvious (visual) differences between conventional pornography (*Playboy* and *Hustler*) and gentlemen's pornography (Manet's *Olympia* and *GQ*).

The first is that gentlemen's pornography, whether *GQ* or canonical erotic art, does not explicitly depict sex, and as such does not comply with any legislative definitions of 'pornography'. This is not immediately problematic since it is not the intention here to argue that *GQ* or Manet's *Olympia* should be legislated against, but merely to draw attention to and question the similar, objectifying practices of conventional pornography, *GQ* and canonical erotic art. However, it may be argued that 'sex' is implied in *GQ*, without being explicitly shown and that this is enough to 'stimulate' a visually sophisticated viewer. Pornography is not about explicitly showing sex; many images do this without being pornographic. Rather, at its core, pornography is about subordination, and what are objectification and stereotyping other than subordination? The second, and arguably, more evasive difference is aesthetic. The style and aesthetic experience of *GQ* are the focus of this discussion, since aesthetic sophistication is the cornerstone of *GQ's* aspirational branding, and hence its social acceptability. In particular, this discussion concerns the manner in

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[10] The problematics of conflating mainstream media with 'high art' under a single heading are numerous and well theorised; see J Berger *Ways of seeing* (1972); W Benjamin *Illuminations* (1973) 219-244; M Pointon *Naked authority. The body in western painting 1830-1908* (1990); and I Tang *Pornography; the secret history of civilization* (1999). However, the value of the term 'gentlemen's pornography' lies precisely in its ability to conflate these genres and thereby emphasise their commonalities. Although the use of the word 'pornography' does seem to imply that 'erotic' artworks (such as *Olympia*) are pornographic, this is not necessarily the intention of the phrase. The term is rather meant to couple elitist ideals (hence 'gentlemen's') and sexualised representation in an ironic manner. The term is not intended to be functional outside the context of this article. The canonical erotic artworks referred to in this article are, furthermore, a small and convenient sample.
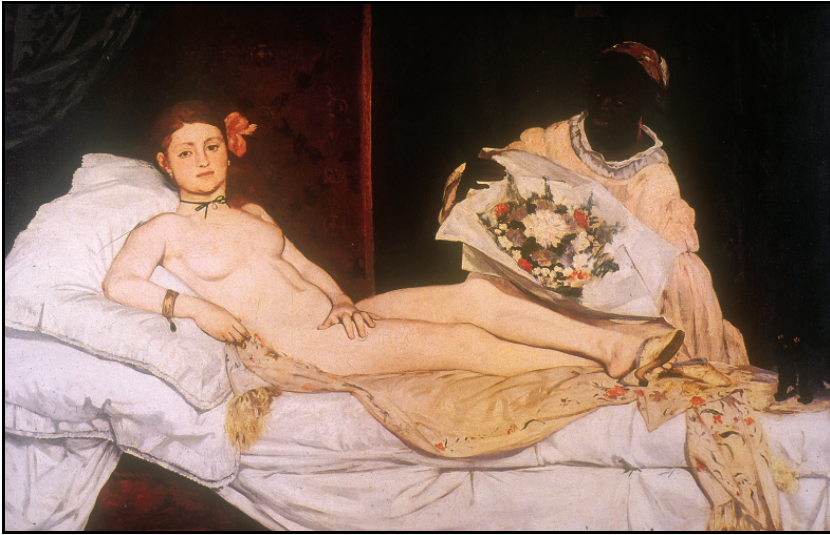
Figure 2: E Manet, *Olympia*, 1862-1863, Oil on Canvas, 1.3 x 1.9m
Musée d'Orsay, Paris (Honour & Fleming 1999:714)

which *GQ* apparently positions itself within the 'artistic' framework of gentlemen's pornography by summoning up aesthetic experiences that are ostensibly similar to the experience of entering an art gallery.

3.   Genteel Aesthetics

The oppositional spaces from which conventional pornography and gentleman's pornography originated perhaps explain their initial aesthetic divergence. While pornography, as the term is currently understood, has its origin in the invention of the camera — a process marked by industry, innovation and egalitarian ideals (in the Rousseauean sense) — gentlemen's pornography is intimately con-nected to the nineteenth century's creation of a new recondite social space, which Walter Kendrick calls 'The Secret Museum'.[11] The former led to mass-production and mass-consumption of the obscene, and the latter to its concealment in a cloak of acceptability. Where conventional pornography 'pours out ... into the city streets', in the words of Linda Nead,[12] gentlemen's pornography confines the obscene

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[11]   Kendrick (n 3 above).
[12]   L Nead 'Female nude: art, obscenity and sexuality' in N Mirzoeff (ed) *The visual culture reader* (1992) 487.

to the sanctified passages of high culture. Victorian (1837-1901) society's dilemma of what to do with the 'obscene' artefacts unearthed from Herculaneum and Pompeii (drawers full of phalluses, for instance), was resolved in the creation of a new social space, where inappropriate objects could be separated and access was restricted, preserving both knowledge and public morality. Access to secret museums, such as the one in the Museum of Naples in 1819, was limited to mature and genteel men, since they were presumed to be incorruptible.[13]

Foucault searches in the materialist incentive for some riposte to this double standard of Victorian 'repression'.[14] For, while sex was deemed 'obscene' in the streets, it seemed to be acceptable in public galleries. Mark Twain remarked of Titian's *Venus of Urbino* in the Uffizi Gallery (1538):[15]

> There, against the wall, without obstructing rag or leaf, you may look your fill upon the foulest, the vilest, the obscenest picture the world possesses - Titian's *Venus*. I saw a young girl stealing furtive glances at her; I saw young men gazing long and absorbedly at her; I saw aged infirm men hang upon her charms with a pathetic interest ... Without any question it was painted for a bagnio and it was probably refused because it was a trifle too strong. In truth, it is a trifle too strong for any place but a public art gallery.

Gentlemen's Quarterly, or *GQ*, continues the relational tradition between masculinity and materialism. It is filled with articles on testosterone, sexual conquest and extreme sports (the bastions of commodified masculinity), *and* offers a guide to contemporary corporate culture and gendered etiquette for the modern man. Subtlety, discretion, and humour create a sense of dignified responsibility and maturity. But the tone of presumed harmlessness merely softens the indulgent display of women as sexualised visual pleasure. *GQ* functions like a kind of modern-day secret museum, where right of access is restricted to those who can afford, understand and enjoy it, without supposedly being corrupted by it. In the secret museum of glossy men's magazines, the drawers full of phalluses from Pompeii are replaced by catalogues of breasts, and the locked glass case is replaced by the plastic cover, implying that what is inside is for certain eyes only.

Like the works of Titian and Manet, *GQ* relies on aesthetic motifs in visual culture that carry predictable and immutable meaning. These motifs may simultaneously synthesise new meaning and relay significations from the past into the present. The aesthetic codes or

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[13] Similar collections opened in Florence, Dresden and Madrid. In 1865 the British Museum in London also created a Museum Secretum for 'obscene relics' from the Classical world. Kendrick (n 3 above) 6 9.

[14] M Foucault *The history of sexuality Volume 1: An introduction* (1980) 5.

[15] D Freedberg *The power of images* (1989) 345.

Figure 3: *Man's World* (*GQ* November 2000:130)

visual prototypes established by artworks such as Titian's *Venus of Urbino* and Manet's *Olympia* have been extensively mimicked since the invention of the camera, and early erotic photography introduced this genre into humbler, but more far-reaching markets. Today, these codes persist primarily in pornographic publications that may benefit from an ennobling association with art. The appropriation employed by the pornography trade is occasionally tongue-in-cheek, but 'classical' poses, gimmicky props and the trope of exoticism are used to elevate 'obscene' representations to the status of 'erotic art'.

Although complex and varied, such iconographic codes may be narrowed down to the rudimentary conventions. Firstly, the 'classical pose' of the reclining nude is a recurring compositional motif found in many erotic artworks, particularly prior to the mid-1900s. The fetishistic manner in which the trope of exoticism further constructs woman as other, as hinted at in many of these paintings, is the second code. The authoritative 'stare' of the models in Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (1538), Goya's *Maya unclothed* (1798-1806), Ingres' *La grande Odalisque* (1814) and Manet's *Olympia* (1863),[16] echoing the 'gaze' of the viewer, is the third. Whether consciously or not, *GQ* appropriates and pastiches the codes of 'form', 'fetish' and 'gaze' identified above in numerous variations. In the image of Kristy Hinze (figure 3), the reclining nude becomes the seated nude, while overtly exotic props such as the peacock-feather fan in *La Grande Odalisque* and hibiscus flower in *Olympia* are replaced with a more subtle wolf-skin rug, fingered sensually by Hinze. *GQ* rarely tampers with the power of the model's 'steamily consensual' stare,[17] and thus Hinze is photographed as her gaze confronts that of the viewer's. In representing Hinze within the framework of historically authoritative sexualised display, *GQ* reflects the power relations implicit in these iconographic codes. Woman, for instance, is present as the image, but since *GQ* positions her within the rhetoric of the 'reclining' nude she is 'passive, available, possessable, powerless'.[18] These affected iconographic devices (equally present in conventional pornography) are subdued and revived in *GQ* to contribute to the general hue of aestheticised sexual difference that is the brand identity of glossy men's magazines.

The 'artistic' offers a cloak of acceptability for sexualised representations, but clearly it is an elusive trait. What invokes an 'aesthetic experience' in the viewer, is furthermore an intangible notion, compounded by the fact that popular culture frequently mimics

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[16] It should be noted that these paintings were not necessarily deemed 'acceptable' when first exhibited (at the Salon of 1865, *Olympia* was largely thought of as an offence to public morality), but have over time gained the general status of 'acceptable' (inoffensive, justified) sexualised representation.

[17] C Paglia *Vamps and tramps: New essays* (1995) 65.

[18] R Parker & G Pollock *Old mistresses: Women, art and ideology* (1981) 116.

'great' art in order to capitalise on 'aesthetic emotion'. The industries responsible for sexualised imagery benefit from the association with art, and therefore form the most obvious site for the 'production' or re-production of qualities that are perceived to be 'artistic'. The symbiotic co-existence of 'obscenity' and 'accept-ability' within gentlemen's pornography is possibly its strategic incentive, since it is this paradox that differentiates it from conventional pornography. Towards this end, namely creating a brand that encapsulates 'class' *and* sexualised display, gentlemen's pornography commodifies female sexuality in order to re-present it as available only to a select few. *GQ*, for instance, fluently juxtaposes sexualised display with up-market advertisements (Mercedes, Tag Heur, Armani), and in so doing, sexualises materialism. Subtle references to the genteel customs of old (hunting and hand-tailored suits) are employed to remind the reader that 'gentlemen' are their demographic, thus encouraging aspirational branding and shrouding sexualised objectification in the exalted aestheticism associated with elitist class and artistic ideals. Within the confines of the 'artistic', the so-called 'obscene' and 'acceptable' thus become likely bedfellows.

With the development of photography, pornography came to be associated with the tawdry and the tasteless, even where it attempted to imitate art.[19] Art, by contrast, was aligned with 'significant form', originality and modernity, the buzzwords of the *avant-garde*. Moholy-Nagy, Man Ray and Edward Weston combined the Modernist ideals of form, originality and modernity in their celebration of the 'photographic' (as opposed to the painterly). Their abstracted style soon became encoded with the semantic ideals of progress, minimalism and *avant-gardism*. Nowhere is this more obvious than in their representations of the female body. In order to strip the body of its obscene history, these Purist photographers refused the sexual charge of the mythic gaze and fetishised accessories and, instead, abstracted the body. Details such as nipples and pubic hair were avoided, and the intimacy of seeing a naked woman's face was circumvented by cropping or blurring her head. Perhaps these photographs are sexual rather than being sexualised or fetishised; they were thus perceived to be so tasteful, so effective in

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[19]   These associations are not only value judgments, but also material ones, since early pornographic photographs were printed on low-cost (low grade) paper with inexpensive inks that smudged easily. The models and props also had an air of low-cost convenience to them, and indeed police records show that quite often wives and daughters were roped in to pose for pornographic pictures. So ingrained is the association of pornography with the cheap and the dirty, that in *Chambers Thesaurus* the word pornographic appears as a synonym for the adjective 'dirty' (*Chambers Thesaurus* (1992)) 97.

communicating style, modernity, and elitism, that the same aesthetic is used in aspirational branding today.[20] In an ironic twist, *GQ* now makes use of the stylistics of Modernist photography to hide explicit sexuality and convey a tone of sophistication.

The aesthetic experience of an artefact, posits Dilthey,[21] is dependant on imaginatively unifying disparate sensory perceptions through the interpretation of the general symbolic constructs within the work (a process he terms *Erlebnis*). The link between aesthetic experience and the imagination is a crucial one in understanding gentlemen's pornography. Within *GQ*, mythic social triggers (must-have objects, do's and don'ts of dress, interviews with corporate celebrities) elicit this connection between commercialised aesthetic experience and sexual desire. Through their participation (imaginary and consumerist) in the visual tropes represented in glossy men's magazines, readers thus participate in the ritualistic aesthetic masking of sexual difference. In this way, the magazines continue the active/passive gender relations established in canonical erotic art (particularly prior to the twentieth century).

GQ will never wholly imitate art, because then it would lose its obscene connotations; its intention is not to mimic artworks, but merely to hint at their mythologised tone or form and appropriate the aesthetic experience thereof. Donald Kuspit describes this play between a hidden signification and an understandable visual or mythological trope as the 'dialectic of decadence'.[22] Decadence, comments Kuspit, is always with us,[23] a consistent inevitable in art and life, and perhaps most insidiously, in the dialectic between them. He explains: 'Decadence is ... a deliberate short-sightedness, making one's art seem more significant, original and ultimate than it is'.[24] *GQ* hovers between limitation and decadence, between the acceptable and the obscene. It discreetly appropriates the classical codes of art and the 'artful' techniques of Modernist photography and commodifies and sexualises these under an aestheticised veneer. The *GQ* calendar is an example of this.[25] It is a pin-up style calendar not unlike those of *Pirelli* or *Sports Illustrated*. For each month of the year an auteur photographs a model with his own particular signature style. The element that is most important in terms of communicating

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[20] Most notably the Purist or Straight photographic style has been employed in the marketing campaigns of Calvin Klein, BMW and Gucci.

[21] In P J McCormick *Modernity, aesthetics, and the bounds of art* (1990) 80.

[22] D Kuspit *The dialectic of decadence. Between advance and decline in art* (2000).

[23] Kuspit (n 22 above) 91.

[24] As above, 92.

[25] The sense of expressionism or overt stylisation that seems to be a common thread throughout, is perhaps somewhat akin to the expressive gloss of early attempts at photographic art, where photographers still seemed quite swayed by the idea that the artistry of an image lay in its expressive style.

Figure 4: *GQ* Calendar 2000 - February (*GQ* Millennium 2000)

its 'artistic' sexual representation is the ease with which each image draws from what Laura Mulvey calls the 'language of desire'.[26]

Noelle Hoeppe's February (2000, figure 4) photograph continues the Modernist tradition of raising the woman's arms, presumably for the sake of significant form, and obscuring her face. Hands, feet and background are disregarded, and the body's contours become a pure expression of line and form. This simplistic minimalism is echoed in the June 2000 pinup, where illustrator Mats Gustafson translates a similar composition into the more nostalgic medium of watercolour. The model touches herself in a teasing manner, reminiscent of Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (1538). Her ecstatic pose denotes her willing participation in the viewer's voyeurism. The emphasis on her abstracted torso ostensibly elevates the image to the status of art.

Albert Watson's contribution (December, 2000, figure 5) is possibly a cheeky pastiche of Man Ray's famed *Prayer* (1930, figure 6). Watson exchanges the serene nakedness of Man Ray's image for black, lacy knickers and stilettos, thereby fetishising the already provocative image. These images attempt, by association, to be called art. However, once juxtaposed with the more garish September and November pinups which employ 'kitsch' accessories like teddy bears and dog-collars, the viewer is reminded that this is not a gallery, it merely pretends to be.

As opposed to the calendar, images inside *GQ* generally appear to be less overtly 'staged' and more 'naturally' aesthetic. The aesthetic of *GQ* (and other glossy men's magazines) presents a paradoxical pose that pretends to be unaffected, while being artfully composed. The customary 'natural' settings such as the beach and the home contribute to the authenticity of the aesthetic (as opposed to the more contrived backdrops and sets of pornography). Colour is arranged with cohesive integrity, taste is sophisticated and subtle, with occasional witty intertextuality.

Furthermore, whereas in early pornography models often seem to be left 'as they are', in *GQ* models are obviously retouched, improved on, or aesthetisised, reminding the viewer that the female has been 'made', constructed and authored by the male. In much the same way that Ingres elongates the spine of *La Grande Odalisque*, photographs of famous models are digitally manipulated in *GQ*.[27] In such images

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26 Mulvey (n 8 above).
27 The manner in which digital intervention is made apparent in glossy men's magazines (as opposed to the way it is often concealed in other media) possibly hints at the 'mechanised woman' of nineteenth century popular culture, such as the fembot Maria in Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*. See L Hunt *Eroticism and the body politic* (1991) and I Hedges *Breaking the frame: film language and the experience of limits* (1991) for more on the 'mechanised woman' of the nineteenth century.

Figure 5: *GQ* Calendar 2000 - December (*GQ* Millennium 2000)

the plasticity of the female body becomes a misogynist garment that is more related to the viewer's sexual desire than the model's.

Throughout *GQ*, the layout, photography and overall style are designed to stimulate an aesthetic (read: legitimised) as well as a sexualised experience. Celebrity photographers, journalists and models, for instance, add credibility to the artistry of the magazine and thereby further naturalise the male gaze. *GQ's* reliance on western codes of sensuality and beauty, in other words, make it seem beautiful in a generally agreed upon, even universal sense,[28] a quality that may disguise its objectification of women.

Umberto Eco explains the medieval understanding of beauty as ethereal rather than material.[29] The most obvious and most pervasive symbolic representation of the kinship between godliness and beauty was thus light. The perception of light as the embodiment of 'theophanic harmony, primordial causes, [and] of the Divine Persons'[30] is complemented by the archetypal understanding of evil and subversion as dark. When the first mainstream pornographic magazines came out, the overriding atmosphere of the photographs was dark. This may simply have been the result of unsophisticated technology, but soon dingy lighting became synonymous with the clandestine. By contrast, *GQ* strives to create a 'lightness of being'. With the exception of the occasional thematic shoot, most of the photographs are deliberately enlightened (a white studio is a favourite location, figure 7). *GQ* is hardly a conscious attempt at conjuring a medieval appreciation for light as spiritual, but the images seem to want to create a metaphorical link between beauty, goodness and harmlessness.

The role of the aesthetic is obviously different in today's commercially driven materialist culture, from what it was in medieval times. Beauty in a purely metaphysical sense was typically perceived as stimulating a concern for the beauty of objects, whereas in contemporary culture, the opposite is true. Nowadays, feeling, sublimity, and emotion are stimulated by objects and images, and consumer culture is anxious to invest in products that stimulate the desired emotion most effectively. In many cases, the more acute, impassioned and antithetical the sensations roused by a product, the more likely it is to sell. For *GQ* the challenge is to differentiate itself from the predictable promises of the traditional pornography 'rags'

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[28] This assumption can perhaps be traced to earlier moral and aesthetic theories that claimed that the capacity to respond to beauty is universal; E Burke *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful* (1990) 104.

[29] U Eco *Art and beauty in the Middle Ages* (1986) 57. This belief is still largely evident in contemporary popular culture. A typical manifestation of this notion is the ironic beauty pageant mantra, that beauty 'shines' from within.
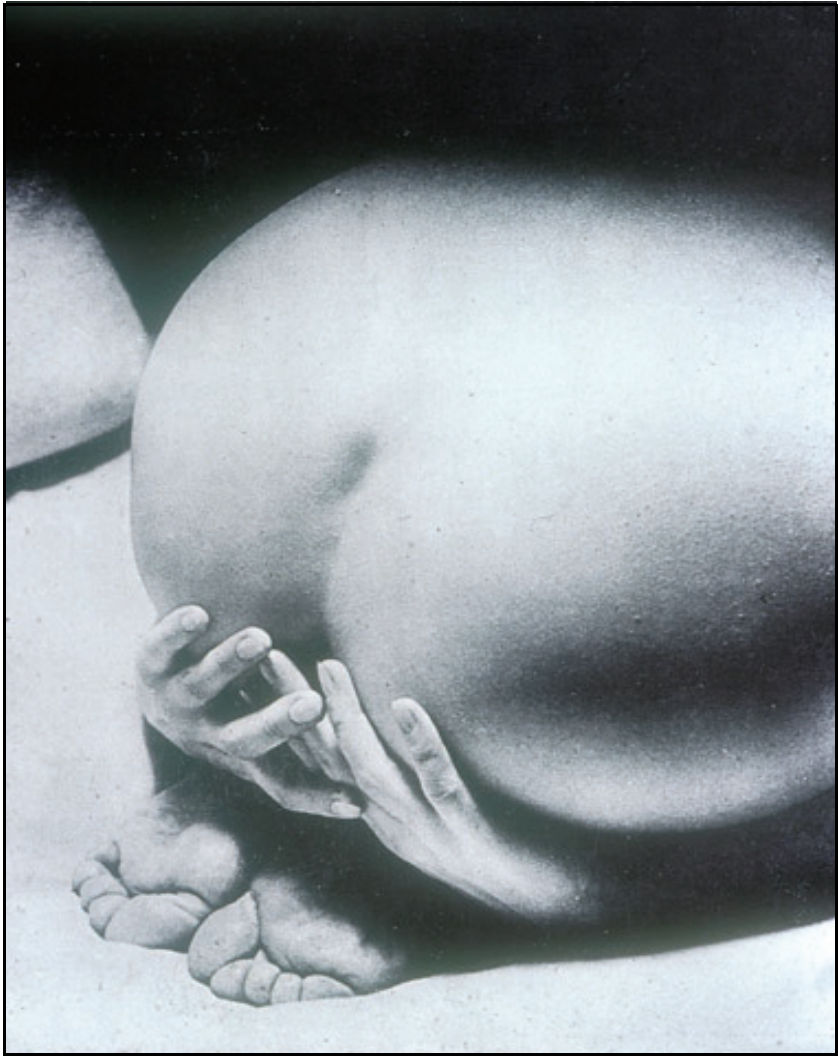
[30] Eco (n 30 above) 57.

Figure 6: Man Ray, *Prayer*, 1930. Photograph. Lee Miller Archives, East Sussex (University of Pretoria slide archive)

by offering a range of subversive, contradictory and empathetic encounters. From the designed-to-attract cover to the lucrative back page advertisement, the *GQ* reader may expect to feel confidence, camaraderie, trust, lust, envy, greed, aggression, and control. Yet, in the same way that 'literary texts never "mean what they say" because they are fiction',[31] so too, glossy men's magazines create a realistic (trustworthy?) fabrication, while benefiting from the ennobling status of being artfully constructed. Like Manet's *Luncheon on the Grass* (1863), they are realistic in style, imaginative in content, *and* perceived to be aesthetically authored.

Intimately related to the question of reality or truth in aesthetic composition is the gendering of aesthetics, and in particular the notion that woman conventionally signifies abstractions such as truth.[32] This notion has significant bearing to art historical philosophy and in particular on Modernist aesthetic theory, which involves a masculinisation of aesthetics, as opposed to the so-called feminised (empathetic or emotionalised) aesthetic response of the spectator. In so far as this feminising of response is related to the level of empathy or sensational emotion that the viewer may experience in looking at an artwork, the feminine, according to Rampley functions as a metonym of truth.[33] Accordingly, feminine presence in visual media impacts on viewers' perception of the relationship between art and truth. Pornography utilises a so-called 'feminised' (loud, hysterical, uncontrolled, messy) aesthetic to heighten the sense of reality (truth), and therefore the sensationalism with which the images are received. *GQ,* on the other hand, opts for a so-called masculinised (weighty, controlled, reticent, cognitive) aesthetic that, like *Luncheon on the Grass*, places the feminine, as a symbol of truth, within the framework of the masculine.

For Barthes,[34] photography is about *affect*, 'the "pathos" of which, from the first glance, [a photograph] consists'. Spectators thus explore photography, 'not as a question (a theme) but as a wound'.[35] The man-made image cannot be created independently from man's desire, repulsion, nostalgia or euphoria, and for this reason it frequently invokes empathy. The varying degrees to which photographs may affect or excite viewers, accounts for the difference between conventional pornography and gentlemen's pornography. Conventional pornography, according to Barthes, is unary:[36] 'it emphatically transforms 'reality' without doubling it, without making

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[31] T Eagleton 'Text, ideology, realism' in EW Said (ed) *Literature and society* (1980) 155.
[32] M Rampley *Nietzsche, aesthetics and modernity* (2000) 190-214.
[33] Rampley (n 33 above).
[34] R Barthes *Camera lucida reflections on photography* trans R Howard (1984) 21.
[35] Barthes (n 34 above) 21.
[36] As above, 41.

Figure 7: *She's Our Girl* (*GQ* September 2000: 130)

it vacillate', it is 'completely constituted by the presentation of only one thing: sex'. The manner in which pornography simultaneously evokes empathy and restricts the duplicity of that empathy, is linked to its unary nature. The banality of conventional pornography is related to this, '"unity" of composition being the first rule of vulgar ... rhetoric'.[37] *GQ*, because of its aggrandised aesthetic tone, may conversely be equated with Wilhelm Worringer's notion of 'abstraction'.[38] The appeal of elitist signification is that it affords the viewer distance from the concerns of pedestrian life. However, *GQ* is not without affect; readers' responses to such magazines are presumed to be cognitive and reasoned aesthetic experiences, as well as empathetic. The glamorous *mise-en-scène* and canonical aesthetic codes thus articulate the vision and desire that define *GQ* (and arguably gentlemen's pornography), what Chantal Ackerman calls '*la jouissance du voir*' (the ecstasy of seeing).[39]

4. Conclusion

This chapter examined the design and aesthetic principles used by *GQ* to elevate its contents through an implied association with art. *GQ*'s artistic or stylised *savoir faire*, it was argued, obscures the pornographic conventions of female objectification embedded in the magazine through its association with art. In tracing the visual tropes of objectification prevalent in *GQ* back to canonical erotic art, the areas of slippage between the 'pornographic' and the 'artistic' were underscored. For this reason, namely, to collapse the oppositional reading of art and pornography, both *GQ* and certain canonical erotic art works (such as Manet's *Olympia*) were relegated to the same categorisation, here termed 'gentlemen's pornography'.

Throughout this analysis, the particular aesthetic similarities between *GQ* and erotic canonical art were highlighted, possibly at the expense of demonstrating the similarities between these and conventional pornography. Most pornography today is aestheticised and visually sophisticated, and most popular culture (advertising, film, music-video) is sexualised. The taxonomies of 'obscenity', 'pornography' and 'popular culture' thus seem too extreme or simplistic to describe the grey areas of contemporary media. However, the value of such labels is that, whether politically correct or not, they warn the reader about the nature and ideological charge of a text. In a climate where 'porn-star' is a clothing label and Hugh Hefner guest stars in family situation comedies, 'pornography' hardly seems like a slur, but maybe

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[37] Barthes (n 34 above) 41.
[38] W Worringer *Abstraction and empathy. A contribution to the psychology of style* (1967).
[39] In R Stam *et al New vocabularies in film Semiotics Structuralism, Post-structuralism and beyond* (1992) 182.

there is still a warning of potential harm built into this label. In the light of the subtly-nuanced aestheticism of *GQ,* it is clear that the many variations of 'soft-porn' cannot simply be 'cut and pasted' into the discourse on explicit, violent or 'hard-core' pornography. At the same time, there are certain unmistakable similarities between the various forms of pornographic media that render them all, soft or hard, pornography.

The perception that gentleman's pornography, whether the canonised art of the gallery or the commercialised 'art' of *GQ,* is harmless because it is more subtle than conventional pornography, is a flawed one. It is a perception that resulted from the notion that the extent to which sexualised material is harmful, should be measured in terms of how much it 'shows', instead of the message it communicates. Gentlemen's pornography differs from conventional pornography in a number of ways, but the message that it conveys is essentially the same: the objectification of women. The extent to which this message is 'harmful', within conventional pornography, is the extent to which it is harmful in *GQ.*

Four / Shopping for gender

Jeanne van Eeden

1. Introduction

This chapter considers some of the roles that gender plays in the act of shopping and in the constitution of shopping malls. Shopping malls arose from the profound changes encapsulated in the process of suburbanisation from the 1950s onwards; they not only symbolise the American dream of consumerism, but have also become the principal sites of social communion that embody a new type of public space. The old notion of neighbourhood and an intimate knowledge of the people and places in it have been replaced by impersonal shopping malls, and these spaces of consumption are now believed to be the spaces in which people form their identities and interact with each other.[1] The mall is a sign that connotes far more than its function as a seller of goods;[2] it has become a 'shaper of community patterns and character ... [and] a social force'.[3] Because of this, malls can be read as texts sited within the ideology of capitalism that articulate ideas concerning space, identity, class, race, and gender. In this essay I focus specifically on the notion of shopping as a so-called female activity and point out a few instances of how this manifests in the promotional material and spatial practices of selected South African shopping malls.

Shopping is an everyday social activity with networks of societal processes, relations and conventions inscribed in it that are socially acquired.[4] Shopping is the second most important contemporary leisure activity in the Western world (watching television is the first), and because shopping is enacted within specific places, it is a spatial activity.[5] Malls are typical postmodern spaces dedicated to consumer culture because they combine shopping with leisure activities such as entertainment and tourism; not only has buying become part of a new contemporary lifestyle, but it has also inveigled itself by pretending

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[1]   S Chaplin & E Holding 'Consuming architecture' in S Chaplin & E Holding (eds) *Consuming architecture* (1998) 8.

[2]   M Gottdiener *Postmodern semiotics. Material culture and the forms of postmodern life* (1995) 86.

[3]   R Maccardini 'Foreword' in JR White & KD Gray (eds) *Shopping centers and other retail property. Investment, development, financing, and management* (1996) xv.

[4]   D Miller *et al Shopping, place and identity* (1998) 14-15.

[5]   J Goss 'The "Magic of the Mall": an analysis of form, function, and meaning in the contemporary retail built economy' (1993) 83(i) *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 18.

to offer a new form of community life. Jon Goss therefore alerts us to the fact that 'shopping has become the dominant mode of contemporary public life' that has in effect colonised other spheres of activity.[6] In South Africa, the shopping mall has become the preferred site of entertainment (in cinemas, pubs, restaurants, and such), and worldwide it has appropriated the place of the former market square in social life. Critics have observed that the privatisation of public space in South African cities, represented by the proliferation of places such as malls, creates 'whimsical settings for consumption and pleasure' that divides space along socio-economic lines but does not construct meaningful public spaces in post-apartheid society.[7] Shopping malls are therefore a contemporary cultural form or landscape that deserves to be studied critically from diverse vantage points.[8]

In order to undertake a more detailed analysis of some of these aspects, I first point out some issues related to shopping and spatial practice and their alignment with gender. I then trace how spaces were gendered during nineteenth century modernity and indicate how this led to the separation of the masculine and feminine spheres. I then point out the implications of this split for the acts of consumption and shopping, and lastly explore some of the aspects of gendered space in shopping malls. Gender politics, (feminist) cultural geography, and (visual) cultural studies inform this investigation, which does not pretend to offer a definitive explanation but rather an exploratory account of some contemporary tendencies that support retail specialist Paco Underhill's assertion that 'shopping is female'.[9]

2. Shopping for pleasure

The practice of shopping has elicited extensive academic debate. Most strands of thought focus on shopping as part of the commodification of western society that inscribes all manner of identities and consumer lifestyles. The specific prominence given to gender and shopping acknowledges that shops have colluded in the creation of so-called sexual cultures that influence social perceptions regarding the act of shopping. Many interpretations of malls have been overwhelmingly negative since they are believed to be

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[6]   Goss (as above).
[7]   R Marks 'From densification to Disneyfication. Architecture and urbanism in the post-apartheid city' (2001) *The Digest of South African Architecture* 22, 24.
[8]   In particular, a detailed historical and ethnographic study of South African shopping malls needs to be done in order to determine more accurately the differential use and co-option of mall space than is attempted in this chapter (cf J Fiske *Reading the popular* (1989); M Morris 'Things to do with shopping centres' in S During (ed) *The cultural studies reader* (1993) 391; Miller (n 4 above); J van Eeden '"All the mall's a stage": the shopping mall as visual culture' in J van Eeden & A du Preez (eds) *South African visual culture* (2005) 39).
[9]   P Underhill *Why we buy. The science of shopping* (2000) 113.

indicative of the manipulation and seduction implicit in late capitalism (eg Jean Baudrillard's C*onsumer society,* 1988). In terms of this essay, a specifically feminist critique of commodity semiosis that investigates the 'tendency to feminise (for example, through a theme of seduction) the terms in which that semiosis is discussed' is also relevant.[10] Another position that is pertinent in terms of a gendered reading of shopping reclaims the mall as a site for potential resistance and polysemic meanings. Accordingly, John Fiske believes that the mall offers a space of potential empowerment for women because it allows them to escape the confines of patriarchal domesticity.[11] Some examples of how this manifests in the promotional material of South African malls are referred to later in this chapter.

Shopping malls are significant sites because as well as being physical spaces that are conceptualised in a specific manner, they are also signifiers of the expansion of the commodity and advertising sign systems in society.[12] As such, malls are good examples of Sharon Zukin's explanation of landscape as 'an ensemble of material and social practices and their symbolic representation [that] ... represents the architecture of social class, gender, and race relations imposed by powerful institutions'.[13] The academic discourse dealing with shopping malls dates from key texts such as William Kowinski,[14] but the study of contemporary urban culture was already anticipated by Walter Benjamin of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research during the 1920s and 1930s. In *One-way street and other writings* (1928) and the unfinished *Passagenwerk* (*Arcades Project* 1927-1940),[15] Benjamin reflected on aspects of modern consumer culture as exemplified by nineteenth century arcades and the figure of the *flâneur* or stroller. The field of cultural studies took up Benjamin's groundbreaking work during the 1960s; because cultural studies is interested in the 'integrated experience of everyday life including the urban environment, architecture, [and] consumer culture',[16] it is an obvious approach by which to study shopping malls. Cultural studies acknowledges that culture, as a social product, is fluid and is constantly being created, contested, negotiated and recreated, specifically within the context of a mass-mediated world.

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10   Morris (n 8 above) 406.
11   Fiske (n 8 above) 19-20.
12   Gottdiener (n 2 above) 84, 92.
13   S Zukin *Landscapes of power: from Detroit to Disney World* (1991) 16.
14   W Kowinski 'The malling of America' in CD Geist & J Nachbar (eds) *The popular culture reader* (1983)137.
15   Translated and edited by Susan Buck-Morss as *The dialectics of seeing: Walter Benjamin and the arcades project* (1989).
16   A McRobbie *Postmodernism and popular culture* (1994) 97.

The investigation of shopping and malls as explicitly gendered social practices and spaces[17] is based on the recognition that the economic structure of capitalism and the ideology of patriarchy contribute to the definition of gender and space in society. Gender relations are not consistent, but can vary according to the social spaces where they are enacted, which means that most social spaces are symbolically gendered in some manner.[18] From the 1960s onwards, the constitutive power of spatial practices and the desire to uncover the hidden geographical texts that underpin the masculinist and phallocentric gendering of space generated considerable debate.[19] This found expression in cultural geography, which is particularly concerned with modalities of power, hegemonic practices, and representational strategies that operate in landscapes.[20] The manner is which the unequal status of women has been rendered in spatial practices forms one of the focus areas of feminist cultural geography, which interrogates the 'spatial dimensions of power relations between the sexes [as embodied in] ... the differential use, control, power and domination of space, place and landscape for social, economic, [leisure] and environmental purposes'.[21] According to Meagan Morris, a feminist analysis of shopping malls ought therefore to be concerned with the 'critical study of myths of identity and difference, and the rhetoric of "place" in everyday life'.[22]

3. Spatial practice and gender

Michel Foucault's conviction that space is 'fundamental in any exercise of power' has assumed significance in contemporary cultural studies and the analysis of the social construction of space.[23] Space and place are constructed in terms of social beliefs concerning gender, class, race, and ethnicity, and are informed by ideologies such as capitalism and modernism. In this manner, symbolic and material manifestations of power and value systems become embedded in landscape. Henri Lefebvre's statement that *'([s]ocial) space is a (social) product'* alludes to the fact that all constructed spaces embody a process of signification that operates according to social practices that reflect power relations.[24] This implies that space

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17   R Bowlby 'Modes of shopping: Mallarmé at the Bon Marché' in N Armstrong & L Tennenhouse (eds) *The ideology of conduct* (1987)?; Fiske (n 8 above); Morris (n 8 above).

18   C Barker *Cultural studies. Theory and practice* (2000) 293.

19   E Soja *Postmodern geographies. The reassertion of space in critical social theory* (1989) 2.

20   D Gregory & D Ley 'Editorial: culture's geographies' (1988) 6 *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 115.

21   C Aitchison 'New cultural geographies: the spatiality of leisure, gender and sexuality' (1999) 18 *Leisure Studies* 24, 25.

22   Morris (n 8 above) 395.

23   M Foucault 'Space, power and knowledge' in During (n 8 above) 168.

24   H Lefebvre *The production of space* (1991) 17, 26.

is always a potential site of hegemonic and ideological struggle, which is demonstrated in South Africa's history of spatial conflict and 'segregation across a wide range of work and leisure activities'.[25] The built environment therefore has the capacity to signify abstract concepts, social relations, and ideologies; it is telling that the places that are considered to be important in society today are those that are essentially dedicated to leisure, consumption, and tourism.[26]

Lefebvre identifies three methods of conceptualising space that function in accordance with social modes of production and historical circumstances; space is therefore never neutral or transparent but is constantly produced, negotiated, and reproduced. Lefebvre distinguishes between spatial practices (how space is perceived), representations of space (how space is conceived), and representational spaces (how space is lived). Spatial practices include 'property and other forms of capital',[27] whereas representations of space encompass the manner in which space is designed, managed, presented and represented in relation to ideological structures. In this regard, Lefebvre singles out architecture because of its ability to construct spatial identity.[28] Representational spaces resonate with cultural and symbolic meanings that are embedded in the history of people, but since commercial and leisure spaces commonly obscure historical specificity in order to create new myths, '[h]istory is experienced as nostalgia, and nature as regret'.[29] What is important for an investigation of gendered space in shopping malls is that representational spaces can connote binaries such as masculine/feminine or work/leisure and can consequently influence the manner in which space is represented.[30] Goss accordingly comments that the shopping mall is a 'representation of space masquerading as a representational space ... space conceptualised, planned scientifically and realised through strict technical control, pretending to be a space imaginatively created by its inhabitants'.[31]

Lefebvre is particularly concerned with the production of space under capitalism and identifies the succession from natural to absolute to abstract space whereby nature is progressively excluded from the social. Lefebvre's 'abstract space' designates space devoid of space-time specificity that sustains the discourses of technology, knowledge and power, whereas 'absolute space' reflects the 'bonds of blood, soil and language'.[32] Abstract space is the space of bourgeois capitalism,

[25] A Bank & G Minkley 'Genealogies of space and identity in Cape Town' (1998) *Kronos. Journal of Cape History* 1.
[26] J Urry *Consuming places* (1995) 1, 21.
[27] Urry (n 26 above) 25.
[28] Lefebvre (n 24 above) 42.
[29] Lefebvre 42, 51.
[30] Lefebvre 245.
[31] Goss (n 5 above) 40.
[32] Lefebvre (n 24 above) 50, 48.

and its dominant forms of space are hubs of wealth and power, characterised by Lefebvre as 'commercial centres packed tight with commodities, money and cars'.[33] Capitalism is able to extend its authority by sustaining the structures that define it, leading to the commodification of public space, corporate landscapes, and spaces of consumption. Abstract space, according to John Urry, 'is the high point of capitalist relations leading to the quite extraordinary "created spaces" of the "end of the millennium"'.[34] What is significant in terms of shopping malls is that Lefebvre argues that abstract space uses ideological representations such as fantasy to obscure real relations between people and commodities.[35] Similarly, he reasons that the metaphorical use of the eroticised and fragmented female body as a commodity for exchange value is also a product of abstract space.[36]

Feminist cultural geography has been concerned with the manner in which spatial practices have excluded women from social spaces and activities. This feminist perspective has drawn attention to the fact that:[37]

> Men and women have different relations to the 'city' which is often dominated by male interests and the main forms of representation, such as monuments, commemorative buildings, historic sites and so on [that] predominantly record male activities ... landscapes and townscapes should not be viewed as neutral objects on which to gaze but as irreducibly gendered.

Theorists such as Doreen Massey have consequently pointed out that the limitation on women's mobility has been an essential agent in their subordination. She thus believes that spatiality is one of the cardinal means by which social power, entrenched in ideologies such as capitalism and patriarchy, is realised in society. Massey furthermore points out that it is frequently overlooked that Lefebvre suggested that the spaces and cultural practices of modernity were already decisively gendered as masculine.[38]

In her critique of David Harvey's book *The condition of Postmodernity. An enquiry into the origins of cultural change* (1989),

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[33]   Lefebvre (n 24 above) 50.
[34]   Urry (n 26 above) 25.
[35]   Lefebvre (n 24 above) 311.
[36]   Lefebvre (n 24 above) 309-310. Lefebvre (n 24 above) 56, 384 furthermore remarks that the rituals and gestures of leisure spaces sanction the 'genital order of the family', hence a normative gender code is already embedded in the ideological representation of spaces of consumption and leisure.
[37]   Urry (n 26 above) 26. M Gottdiener *The theming of America. Dreams, visions, and contemporary spaces* (1997) 136 points out a parallel in the themed environment: 'the experience of themed environment is filtered through the optic of gender. Most places, for example, reflect the values in the larger society by celebrating machismo and peculiarly male fantasies'; although he refers in this context primarily to casinos, the principle is applicable more widely.
[38]   D Massey *Space, place and gender* (1994) 183.

Massey draws attention to the fact that his reading of space, time, and money in modernism takes no cognisance of gender.[39] She relates this to the notion that time has been gendered as male and space as female. Massey explains that time is habitually equated with history, progress, civilisation, science, politics, reason, transcendence, order, narrative, politics, vitality, sequential coherence, and logic — in other words, so-called (male) modernist ideas.[40] Space, on the other hand, signifies statis, reproduction, nostalgia, emotion, aesthetics, the body, immanence, chaos, neutrality, passivity, description, and lack of coherence. The dichotomies or binary oppositions such as culture/nature, based on the ideological construction A/Not-A, establish differences that privilege the dominant social group. Massey therefore postulates that the time/space dichotomy is similar to the man/woman binary wherein the latter signifies lack or absence. This, she argues, underlies not only the social construction of gender difference, but also the power relations instituted and maintained by this process.[41]

Massey contends that both Harvey (1989) and Fredric Jameson (in *Postmodernism, or, the cultural logic of late capitalism,* 1991) decry the loss of temporality in the postmodern world, which they believe has been supplanted by spatiality.[42] Elizabeth Wilson explains that the male city culture embodied in modernism was threatened both by the presence of women and their potential to escape the confines of patriarchal control[43] — the fear of sexual licence in the city, as personified by the dyad of woman/disorder, and the fear of unordered spatiality resulted in the controlling spatial mechanisms of modernity. Massey similarly believes that the spatial dislocation or complexity that Jameson characterises as vertiginous terror caused by the hyperspaces of postmodernism that defy cognitive comprehension, aligns with the perception that space is coded as female.[44] The spaces of shopping malls are often chaotic and labyrinthine and resist the ordering machine of modernity and its desire to transcend the disorder of space (and the feminine).

Malls are frequently invested with nostalgic imagery, and as Massey observes, places that 'reverberate with nostalgia for something lost [as well as for stability, reliability and authenticity] are coded female'.[45] The biological model that sees cities as bodies that are born, grow, conceive, reproduce and die is also a gendered position that holds that cities resulted when the male world of hunting gave

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39   Massey (n 38 above) 230-235.
40   Massey 257, 267.
41   Massey 257.
42   Massey 258.
43   E Wilson 'The invisible flâneur' (1992) 191 *New Left Review* 90-91.
44   Massey 258, 267.
45   Massey 180.

way to a sedentary female life.[46] Lewis Mumford maintains that this legacy is reflected in the female sexual symbolism of early urban existence that is implicit in many architectural structures: 'the house and the oven, the byre and the bin, the cistern, the storage pit, the granary ... the moat, and all inner spaces, from the atrium to the cloister'.[47] It is interesting that shopping malls frequently echo this morphology in their use of the atrium and the cloister, as well as the landscaped 'moats' that isolate them from their surroundings.

4.   Modernity and the gendering of space

Many theorists have devoted time (and space) to the explication of the relationship between modernity and masculinity, and have pointed out that the rise of the aesthetics of modernity can be associated with particular spatial and social practices that privileged the male. The experience of modernity was located in city life, work, and politics, which reflected the so-called male domain that was inextricably linked with the growth of industrial capitalism in the middle to late nineteenth century.[48] Because modernity was born in rapidly growing cities such as Paris and London, the new spaces of the city — the arcades, boulevards and cafés — and the anonymity of the crowd established a set of relationships between modernity, space, social relations,[49] the gaze, and gendered subjectivities. The nineteenth century expansion of capitalist markets created new spaces for consumption that overlapped with leisure and produced modern forms of visual consumption. Not only were the spaces of modernity coded as masculine, but the manner in which modernity privileged a male way of seeing also designates a politics constituted on 'particular forms of gender relations and definitions of masculinity and of what it means to be a woman' that relate directly to how space was organised.[50]

The explanation of the separation of the spheres is based primarily on findings related to Europe. Nonetheless, many of the same tendencies have already been identified in South African cities. Andrew Bank and Gary Minkley have pointed out, for example, that public spaces in Cape Town were male-dominated from the early years of its history,[51] and the social history of cities such as Johannesburg reveals a similar gendering of space. Johannesburg in the late nineteenth century was a 'predominantly male town' with a thriving bar and brothel industry, and typical male enclaves such as the Rand Club were founded in the

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[46]   D Cavallaro *Critical and cultural theory. Thematic variations* (2001) 175.
[47]   L Mumford *The city in history. Its origins, its transformations, and its prospects* (1991) 21.
[48]   J Wolff *Feminine sentences. Essays on women and culture* (1990) 34-35.
[49]   Massey (n 38 above) 233.
[50]   Massey 183, 232, 233, 235.
[51]   Bank & Minkley (n 25 above) 2.

1880s to serve male interests.[52] The rise of wealthy suburbs like Parktown in Johannesburg during the 1890s confirmed the split between office and home for the well-to-do middle classes.[53]

The expansion of capitalism during the nineteenth century disrupted the existing relations between men and women; as men increasingly worked outside the home, they developed shared interests with other men, and the notion of domestic production was dislocated by the alignment between capitalism and patriarchy.[54] Modern urban experience and gender divisions can be traced back to the division between work and home and the related development of factories and offices; the new ideology of separate spheres for men and women was reinforced by the rise of suburbs in major cities after the middle of the nineteenth century.[55] The modern city engendered a sharp line between public and private spaces, and whereas men enjoyed the freedom to move in the crowds of modernity, middle class women were confined to the private sphere symbolised by the suburb and the home.[56] The public life of modernity was performed in places such as cafés, boulevards, bars and brothels that were patronised by men. Janet Wolff comments that the experience of the institutions of modernity was thus 'equated with experience *in* the public arena' that inevitably became an almost exclusively masculine domain.[57]

Not only were middle class women banned from the male world of work, but they were also excluded from the dominant forms of political and social life, and male activities were separated from female concerns. Furthermore, industrial capitalism successfully parted work from leisure, whereby leisure was feminised and defined 'in relation to paid (male) employment';[58] women who entered the public sphere were usually regarded as objects for male consumption. Femininity was believed to 'find its meanings in the domestic, in consumption, in leisure',[59] and hence it was located in the decorative, minor, insignificant and frivolous and came to be associated with mass culture from the nineteenth century onwards. As Andreas Huyssen contends, 'the political, psychological, and aesthetic discourse around the turn of the [nineteenth] century consistently and obsessively genders mass culture and the masses as

52 E Palestrant *Johannesburg one hundred. A pictorial history* (1986) 46-47, 51.
53 J Clarke *Like it was. The Star 100 years in Johannesburg* (1987) 36; Palestrant (n 52 above) 43.
54 Massey (n 38 above) 191, 193.
55 Wolff (n 48 above) 36, 44.
56 Wolff 40; Massey 233.
57 Wolff 34-35, 45.
58 C Aitchison 'Poststructural feminist theories of representing Others: a response to the 'crisis' in leisure studies' discourse' (2000) 19 *Leisure Studies* 141.
59 Fiske (n 8 above) 24.

feminine, while high culture, whether traditional or modern, clearly remains the privileged realm of male activities'.[60] John Fiske notes that the following binary oppositions, which are embedded in patriarchal capitalism, revolve around the basic split between women (leisure) and men (work): domestic/public, spending/earning, consumption/production, and disempowered/empowered.[61] Anne Friedberg adds that malls are typical contemporary sites because consumption is foregrounded and production is obscured from sight,[62] confirming the gendered binary that accords 'feminine' status to spaces of consumption, leisure and entertainment.

The male figure that embodied the new experience of modern, capitalist spaces was the heroic *flâneur*.[63] The *flâneur* is a key figure in Walter Benjamin's analysis of modernity in nineteenth century Paris. The *flâneur* was typically an 'independent yet impecunious young man, an artist or writer, who wanders the streets and cafes, dreaming, desiring, devouring the city with a cynical, yearning hunger'.[64] He haunted the new commodified spaces of modernity — the boulevards, cafés, department stores,[65] hotels, and arcades — where everything was for sale in the city-as-spectacle.[66] The *flâneur* was free to patronise these half-public, half-private spaces of consumption, and became associated with new urban diversions and crowd watching.[67] The *flâneur's* status as a detached, all-powerful viewer was gendered from the start; his objectifying, covetous and often erotic gaze signalled that the modern gaze belonged to men who had the freedom to roam and look that was not sanctioned for women.[68]

[60]   A Huyssen *After the great divide. Modernism, mass culture, Postmodernism* (1986) 47.

[61]   Fiske (n 8 above) 22.

[62]   A Friedberg 'Window shopping: cinema and the postmodern' in MJ Dear & S Flusty (eds) *The spaces of postmodernity. Readings in human geography* (2002) 446.

[63]   S Buck-Morss 'The *flâneur*, the sandwichman and the whore: the politics of loitering' (1986) 39 *New German Critique* 104-105 suggests that the *flâneur* should possibly not just be read as a gendered position, but rather as one that encapsulates the contemporary 'consumerist mode of being-in the-world'.

[64]   S Zukin *The cultures of cities* (1995) 188.

[65]   The founding of department stores was deeply influenced by the twin pillars of modernity, namely industrialisation and urbanisation B Lancaster *The department store. A social history* (1995) 7.

[66]   A Munt 'The lesbian *flâneur*' in I Borden *et al* (eds) *The unknown city. Contesting architecture and social space* (2001) 248; Wilson (n 43 above) 96.

[67]   Wilson (n 43 above) 101, 94.

[68]   Massey (n 38 above) 234.

The inscription of gender relations in the geography and spatial practices of modernism, patriarchy, and capitalism identified women with the spaces of domesticity and barred them from the freedom to wander in the city like the *flâneur*. Griselda Pollock argues that women 'could enter and represent selected locations in the public sphere — those of entertainment and display'[69] — and shopping. Pollock further argues that for men, public space signified freedom from the constraints of both work and domesticity, whereas for women public space connoted dirt, danger, and the possible loss of virtue: 'going out in public and the idea of disgrace were closely allied'.[70] From the nineteenth century onwards, woman's entry into the public sphere was associated with consumption and not production, and this consumption was sited in the new department stores that allowed women to become browsers and to engage in light sociability in a semi-public domain. Department stores such as Bon Marché, Printemps and Galeries Lafayette in Paris and Macy's in New York changed the face of consumption because they were convenient and provided a vast variety of goods, services, and entertainment.[71] Many large department stores in South Africa — OK Bazaars, Ackermans, Stuttafords and Greatermans — also date from the middle decades of the nineteenth century[72] and started to change the face of South African consumption.

Like the shopping mall of the twentieth century, the nineteenth century department store may be considered a liminal or in-between zone that provided a safe and generally respectable 'arena for the legitimate public appearance of middle-class women' from the 1850s onwards.[73] Because the department store interiorised the public street and transformed it into a private space, it became an acceptable extension of the home that the bourgeois woman could enter alone[74] — the only other place that conferred similar liberty was the church. The department store's liminal status between the public and the private was embraced by women, and they assumed an active role as consumers. Although women in a department store were highly visible, they were also afforded anonymity, which frequently caused unease in patriarchal society.[75] The majority of the shop assistants in department stores were women, and consequently shopping not only inscribed appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour and sexual relations, but also class relations.[76] In the half-public, half-private

[69] G Pollock *Vision and difference: femininity, feminism and the histories of art* (1988) 79.
[70] Pollock (n 69 above) 69.
[71] M Crawford 'The world in a shopping mall' in M Sorkin (ed) *Variations on a theme park. The new American city and the end of public space* (1992) 17-18.
[72] CE Cloete *Shopping centre management in South Africa* (2002) 21.
[73] Wolff (n 48 above) 46.
[74] M Crang *Cultural geography* (1998) 54, 125.
[75] Lancaster (n 65 above) 188.
[76] Miller (n 4 above) 13; Crang (n 74 above) 125; Pollock (n 69 above) 68.

space of the department store women could look, socialise, and stroll — here 'a woman, too, could become a *flâneur*'.[77] The fantastic and festive atmosphere of most department stores was consciously constructed by means of the manipulation of colour, glass, mirrors, and light; as William Leach comments, this decisively distinguished 'the world of [female] consumption from that of [male] production'.[78] Margaret Crawford accordingly notes that department stores emphasised the theatricality of how goods were displayed specifically for the (visual) pleasure of *female* browsers and consumers.[79] Bill Lancaster shows that by the end of the nineteenth century, the feminine domination of department stores reached a highpoint; many British department stores excluded men or provided them with separate entrances or men's rooms with newspapers, cigars and coffee.[80]

Nineteenth century bazaars were also intended primarily for female consumers. Places such as the exotic Soho Bazaar (1816) in London displayed luxurious commodities in small shops and included spaces dedicated to leisure.[81] Bazaars were generally represented in contemporary culture as 'respectable female zones' that were safe but also, perhaps surprisingly, proffered the potential for sexual intrigue and contact.[82] This *risqué* connotation was also encountered in the liminal space of the department store where the rules of polite society could be stretched to allow illicit assignations and sexual innuendo to flourish — either between middle class women and their lovers, or between men and female shop assistants.[83] Indeed, Leach suggests that the desire to show things off in department stores may have encouraged a culture of personal sexual display not previously sanctioned in the public domain.[84] The alliance with temptation — whether sexual or commercial — manifests compellingly in the Edenic rhetoric inscribed in shopping, and is clearly demonstrated in a print advertisement for Dubai International Airport (2003). Entitled '100% pure temptation', it shows a woman as a marker for the activity of shopping, and promises the consumer 'pure, unadulterated shopping pleasure'.

[77] Wilson (n 43 above) 101.
[78] W Leach 'Transformations in a culture of consumption: women and department stores, 1890-1925' (1984) 71 *Journal of American History* 323.
[79] Crawford (n 71 above) 18-19.
[80] Lancaster (n 65 above) 182.
[81] J Rendell '"Bazaar beauties" or "Pleasure is our pursuit": a spatial story of exchange' in Borden et al (n 56 above) 111-112.
[82] Rendell (n 81 above) 112-113.
[83] Lancaster (n 65 above) 178-179.
[84] Leach (n 78 above) 325.

5. The gender of shopping

The fact that shopping has been gendered as a female pursuit since the 1860s when both consumers and shop assistants were primarily women continues to inform malls and the connotations attached to shopping.[85] Many of the distinctive features of today's malls were already established in the arcades and department stores of the nineteenth century. Critical issues that influenced the practice of shopping and the design of malls in the twentieth century were also sited in changes in societal habits and attitudes. Consequently, by the end of the nineteenth century, shopping was established as a social activity that took place in fashionable, often enclosed, venues. Secondly, shopping was associated primarily with women, and lastly 'looking became a leisure-time activity'.[86] Window-shopping was associated mainly with women, offering them not only escape from the domestic space, but also the opportunity to compare goods.[87] As twentieth century shopping malls increasingly invoked the rhetoric of the entertainment business — Las Vegas, advertising, Disney — the context of shopping was further mystified and trivialised (and it could be argued feminised) through the 'spatial strategies of dissemblance and duplicity'.[88] This dissemblance indicates that shopping had become both an act and a displacement activity; according to journalist Lin Sampson, shopping became 'a substitute for sex'. 'I am going shopping' no longer means 'I am going out to get what I need'. It translates into 'I am going out to have some fun'.[89]

Consumption studies have identified three shopping modes: demand shopping; comparison shopping and cross shopping; and impulse shopping[90] and three types of shopper: economic, recreational, and pragmatic.[91] These divisions can be linked broadly to a gendered style of shopping; accordingly, men are perceived to see shopping as a maintenance activity that is approached in a workmanlike manner, whereas women are believed to engage in shopping for more aesthetic and expressive purposes, including browsing, leisure, and the pleasure of 'seeing, and being seen'.[92] Underhill reasons that gendered shopping behaviour can be explained in two ways: according

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[85] The visual representation of this gendering is also visible in many artworks, including James Tissot's *The shopping assistant* (1883-1885), Florine Stettheimer's *Spring sale at Bendel's* (1921) and Minette Vari's *Decoy. Perfume* (1997).

[86] N Backes 'Reading the shopping mall city' (1997) 31 *Journal of Popular Culture* 2.

[87] Lancaster (n 65 above) 174-175.

[88] Goss (n 5 above) 19, 21.

[89] L Sampson 'The buying game' (1997) May *Femina* 77.

[90] LK Josal & JJ Scalabrin 'Planning, designing, and renovating retail properties' in JR White & KD Gray (eds) *Shopping centers and other retail property. Investment, development, financing, and management* (1996) 201.

[91] Morris (n 8 above) 398.

[92] M Emmison & P Smith *Researching the visual. Images, objects, contexts and interactions in social and cultural inquiry* (2000) 177.

Figure 1: Advertisement for Brooklyn Mall, Pretoria, 2004
Source: Brooklyn Mall

to the nature over nurture theory, the prehistoric role of women as gatherers around the perimeter of the home rather than as peripatetic hunters endowed them with a biological propensity for skilful shopping.[93] The nurture-over-nature theory argues, on the other hand, that patriarchy confined women to the domestic domain and consequently barred them from the world of commerce, thereby relegating them to the role of consumers. These gendered positions are naturally not watertight, and as Lancaster comments, the 'majority of women shop in a highly rational manner, and most base their purchases upon a carefully controlled budget'.[94] In this light, it is interesting that men are apparently more liable to indulge in impulse shopping,[95] which is customarily associated with shopping as a form of entertainment.[96]

Nevertheless, the overwhelming perception that shopping is fun and accordingly an appropriate endeavour for women has categorised females as the prototypical consumers in patriarchal capitalist society[97] (Figure 1). The belief that 'women shop' is founded on the social constructs of both women and shopping and the intimate association between the two.[98] The stereotypical equation between females and shopping either considers that shopping is part of domestic labour and the hard work associated with it, or reasons that shopping is a daydream-like activity and 'to enjoy shopping is to be passively feminine and incorporated into a system of false needs'.[99] This trance-like state, hinted at in a print advertisement for Eastgate Mall (Figure 2), seems to typify the ideal mall walker. Zukin acknowledges that although shopping has been criticised as a vacuous activity, for many people it is one of the most important ways of dealing with alienation and of identity formation.[100] Morris endorses the view that shopping is one of the forms of cultural production that is almost exclusively carried out by women, putting it on a par with 'the organisation of leisure, [and] holiday and/or unemployment activities'.[101] However, Underhill points out that in a post-feminist world shopping is no longer women's main entry into public life and instead of affording them the welcome chance to socialise with other

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93 Underhill (n 9 above) 114.
94 Lancaster (n 65 above) 175.
95 Lancaster 202.
96 Josal & Scalabrin (n 90 above) 203.
97 I do not offer a summary of theories of consumption or the critique of mass consumption and consumerism under commodity capitalism, as this is available in many sources. For an overview of the most important theories see Miller (n 4 above) 1-8 and R Bocock *Consumption* (1993). The critique of excessive and conspicuous consumption in a South African context is naturally pertinent.
98 Bowlby in Fiske (n 8 above) 18.
99 McRobbie (n 16 above) 136.
100 Zukin (n 54 above) 187.
101 Morris (n 8 above) 392.

Figure 2: Advertisement for Eastgate Mall, Johannesburg
Source: Über

adults, for many it has become just another routine responsibility for which they have little inclination.[102]

Despite this, statistics worldwide confirm that women still do the most shopping. A report from Great Britain in 1982 found that 80 per cent of domestic purchases were made by women, or were influenced by them,[103] and an American study from 1986 claimed that 85 per cent of mall shoppers were female.[104] Goss surmises that because of the gendered division of labour, 67 per cent of shoppers are female, even though the activity is increasingly being associated with males. The space manager for Old Mutual Properties agrees that women in South Africa do 90 per cent of the shopping,[105] and women make most of the decisions regarding purchases for the family.[106] Carol Grolman, marketing director of Woolworths, confirms that 'women are still the shoppers in South Africa and the real money is to be made by making retailing styles more female-friendly. Men are lazy shoppers ... men in South Africa don't even buy their own underwear — women do it for them'.[107]

A further gendered construct in relation to shopping concerns 'family shopping'. The notion of shopping as an integral component of the nuclear family unit is important because it underlines one of the crucial contexts in which the relationship between consumption and identity formation is constructed. Moreover, the familial context of shopping signifies the dominant and naturalised context of consumption and division of labour in patriarchal society. The perception of the mall as a space for families is a gendered construction framed by the historical link between women and shopping. The reality is that few families enjoy shopping together; parents want to get away from their young children, and teenagers do not want to be seen shopping with their parents.[108] The idea that families that shop together stay together is a social myth based on a specific cluster of capitalist values. The myth of the family is often invoked as a metaphor to reinforce the ambience of shopping malls as warm, safe, convenient, friendly, and welcoming places[109] — in other words, in terms of so-called feminine characteristics. The stereotypically representative nuclear family of two parents and a boy and a girl is fore-grounded as a unit of blissful consumption in a print advertisement for the Board of Executors (2003). This shows the patriarch leading his family home after a fruitful day of consumption in upmarket London stores such as

[102] Underhill (n 9 above) 114-115.
[103] Lancaster (n 65 above) 202.
[104] Friedberg (n 62 above) 449.
[105] S Burdett 'Mall fever' (2003) May *Fairlady* 174.
[106] J Cameron 'Designed to shop "til you drop"' (2000) September *Fairlady* 73.
[107] Sampson (n 89 above) 76.
[108] Miller (n 4 above) 97-102.
[109] Miller (n 4 above) 93-94, 96, 104-105.

Figure 3: Advertisement for Woodlands Boulevard, Pretoria, 2004
Source: Woodlands Boulevard

Harrods and Selfridges; appropriate shopping behaviour is implicated as one of the ways by which familial, gender, and social identity are enacted in society.

The gender of shopping changed after World War II when men started to participate in the shopping experience, although this was often limited to the purchasing of 'technical' products for the home.[110] Men now do more shopping than ever before, mainly because they are marrying later and have to look after themselves.[111] The rise of new sexual cultures since the 1980s has also led to the increase of male shoppers and their symbolic entry into so-called 'ornamental culture' usually aligned with femininity.[112] The rise of men as consumers of mall culture is represented by figures such as the 'metrosexual', a heterosexual urban man who adopts a tasteful lifestyle and is in touch with his feminine side.[113] This is underlined by Underhill's remark '[s]hopping is still and always will be meant mostly for females. ... When men shop, they are engaging in what is inherently a female activity'.[114]

What is interesting is that although advertising images of men as consumers of 'feminised' products of ornamental culture such as face cream and hair dye are relatively common, representations of men in the act of shopping are very rare. One of the few South African print advertisements shows a well-dressed man with a Sandton City shopping bag (2004). He is seen from behind and consequently rendered anonymous in a manner reminiscent of how females have traditionally been represented. But the visual representation of shopping in South Africa is still overwhelmingly gendered in favour of women. This not only sanctions the gendered nature of shopping, but also supports Lefebvre's conviction that women are commodified and used metaphorically to stimulate desire in abstract space: they are thus both consumers and consumed.[115]

Women are either represented on their own (Brooklyn Mall, 2004), with another woman (Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, 2003), or with a daughter (The Mall of Rosebank, 2003; Woodlands Boulevard, 2005), specifically in advertisements for upmarket malls that are geared to the desires of the so-called woman of leisure. Depictions of couples engaged in shopping are rare (Figure 3), which is not surprising in terms of findings by Underhill that show that women who shop with a

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[110] Lancaster (n 65 above) 202.
[111] Underhill (n 9 above) 100.
[112] Miller (n 4 above) 13; S Faludi *Stiffed. The betrayal of the modern man* (1999).
[113] It is interesting that the South African artist Peet Pienaar, who investigates the construction of masculinity in many of his artworks, often enacts performance art in the space of the mall, thereby interrogating the slippage in fixed signifiers regarding male identity today.
[114] Underhill (n 9 above) 113.
[115] Lefebvre (n 24 above) 309-310.

Figure 4: Advertisement for Eastgate Mall, Johannesburg, 2004
Source: Über

man spend less than half the time they would than if they were shopping with a female friend.[116] When a man and a woman are depicted together in a mall environment, they are usually represented engaged in social activities such as eating or drinking rather than shopping (The Mall of Rosebank, 2005; Eastgate Mall, 2005). Rob Shields draws attention to the fact that the appearance of most malls is not seductive enough to use in advertisements; hence, they are promoted as 'people spaces' that focus attention on happy shoppers enjoying the myriad activities offered by the mall.[117] It is interesting that depictions that feature solitary women do not invoke this carnivalesque revelry but rather a state of introverted reverie attendant upon the serious business of shopping. This is obvious in a series of print advertisements for Sandton City from 2003 to 2004 that feature beautiful women wholly self-absorbed in the fruits of their shopping.

As opposed to the commonly held belief that shopping is a means of enslaving women as stereotypical consumers in capitalist society, a contrary position has been voiced that stresses the potential of shopping as an agency of empowerment and self-actualisation rather than as an instrument of false consciousness. This position takes cognisance of the fact that contemporary self-concept, identity, and social position are increasingly defined by the commodity; according to Mark Gottdiener, '[a]s capitalist society has shifted from an emphasis on production to consumption, subjectivity is realised through the activity of buying and the persona of the consumer'.[118] This means that personal identity is believed to be constituted through a relationship with the symbolic arena of consumption that privileges people's relationships with goods rather than with other people. Accordingly, buying and spending have the potential to be the means of empowerment and the performance of choice in capitalist society.[119] Leach offers compelling evidence that suggests that although the culture of consumption at the end of the nineteenth century had many negative aspects, it also had the potential to offer women emancipation from the limitations of established gender roles.[120] He refers in particular to women, both workers and consumers, who were involved in consumer institutions such as department stores, and demonstrates how consumer capitalism

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[116] Underhill (n 9 above) 102-103.
[117] R Shields 'The logic of the mall' in SH Riggins (ed) *The socialness of things. Essays on the socio-semiotics of objects* (1994) 214.
[118] Gottdiener (n 2 above) 96.
[119] J Williamson in Fiske (n 8 above) 25.
[120] Lancaster (n 65 above) 177 points out that department stores realised the importance of involving women in responsible positions and were the 'first institutions that opened the door of middle and high management to women' in the modern period. The visual examples used in this chapter are taken from a purposive sample; a content analysis of South African mall advertising warrants further attention.

Figure 5: Advertisement for Canal Walk, Cape Town, 2001
Source: Canal Walk

appealed to the growing desire of women to detach themselves from confining roles in society.[121]

John Fiske takes a similar point of departure by referring to slogans from popular culture that deal with the putative transformative relationship between women and shopping. Fiske maintains that catchphrases such as 'When the going gets tough, the tough go shopping' and 'Woman's place is in the mall' mock masculine power and endow success in shopping with as much 'power as [male] success in sport, war, or business'.[122] He therefore suggests that the mall can be a site of female empowerment precisely because it is a liminal space; by being active consumers in the public sphere, women can subvert the patriarchal shackles of domesticity and the demands of the nuclear family.[123] As beguiling as this explanation sounds, Anne Friedberg warns that the basic economic correlation between female spending power and female earning power should not be disregarded.[124] Whereas at the end of the nineteenth century Thorsten Veblen interpreted female consumption as a 'vicarious' sign of a husband's or father's wealth, Friedberg believes that the female consumer today 'may be enacting a postmodern version of an equally 'vicarious' empowerment; instead of deferring payment to husband or father, she defers payment to the bank'.[125] The choices conferred by shopping may therefore be nothing but chimera constructed on the false desires endemic to consumer capitalism.

Underhill believes that women's relationship with consumption can verge on the metaphysical, signifying how 'human beings go through life searching, examining, questioning, and then acquiring and assuming and absorbing the best of what [they] see. At that exalted level, shopping is a transforming experience, a method of becoming a newer, perhaps even slightly improved person'.[126] Clearly, the notion that shopping is a positive form of self-actualisation is seductive as it elevates consumption to the level of a conscious and transformative gesture and endows it with respectability. This strategy manifests clearly in many print advertisements for South African malls; it is again noteworthy that the figures that are interpellated are invariably female (Figures 4, 5). So, for example, a print advertisement for Sandton Square from the late 1990s features a blonde woman in a mini dress in a provocative, confident pose; the copy reads, 'Speak for yourself'. The myth of material consumption as empowerment and the means whereby an idealised self can be attained continues to en-

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121   Leach (n 78 above) 320-321.
122   Fiske (n 8 above) 18-19.
123   Fiske 19-20.
124   Friedberg (n 62 above) 449.
125   As above.
126   Underhill (n 9 above) 116-117.

Figure 6: Advertisement for Sammy Marks Square, Pretoria, 2003
Source: Connections PR & Advertising Consultants

dure. The alliance between shopping and abstract self-worth rests upon the implication that the 'buying and possession of material goods is an outward, physical sign of inner goodness and the value of the person possessing the goods. Shopping thus becomes a virtuous ritual'.[127] The perception that shopping is a patriotic duty that bolsters national economies is encountered in most countries, and comes to the fore in two print advertisements for the Proudly South African campaign (2004). The copy reads respectively 'Clothe yourself, clothe the nation' and 'Feed yourself, feed the nation'. In both examples, the figure who is addressed and who holds the future of the South African economy in her hands (and purse) is a discerning black female consumer.

The use of the black woman as a marker of the new face of consumption in South Africa can be related to the myth that consumer choice and consumption are signifiers of personal freedom. This rhetoric has been invoked in many examples of South African advertising since 1994. Eve Bertelsen points out that when the African National Congress came to power in 1994, it moved away from its critique of capitalism and the attendant inscription of classed and gendered relations in society to endorse the notion of the 'free market' of late capitalism.[128] The project of producing a new national identity, a new black elite class, and new subjectivities was embraced with alacrity by the 'institutions and agents of consumer culture' that aimed their advertisements at the new black consumers.[129] Bertelsen shows convincingly how the discourse of political 'struggle' was appropriated by consumer culture, which then redefined democracy as 'individual freedom and, especially, the freedom to consume'.[130] A recent advertisement for Sammy Marks Square in Pretoria (2003) addresses the black female consumer in a similar mode (Figure 6).

Shopping has also been reclaimed as a proto-feminist gesture that objected against the masculinist colonisation of the public sphere; this can be located in the historical alignment between feminism and female consumerism that accordingly sees the contemporary mall as the logical culmination of female empowerment. Friedberg thus detects a key moment in the nineteenth-century American feminist Elizabeth Stanton's exhortation that women should go out and spend their husbands' money.[131] Stanton's rallying cry 'GO OUT AND BUY!' met with female delight, and the burgeoning feminine individualism of the late nineteenth century was endorsed by the realisation in

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[127]   J Nachbar & K Lause *Popular culture. An introductory text* (1992) 196.
[128]   E Bertelsen 'Ads and amnesia: black advertising in the new South Africa' in S Nuttall & C Coetzee (eds) *Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa* (1999) 221.
[129]   Bertelsen (n 128 above) 221-224.
[130]   Bertelsen 228.
[131]   Friedberg (n 62 above) 449.

department stores that 'the customer is always right' invariably translated into 'the woman is always right'.[132] Leach notes that many American feminists in the late nineteenth century embraced the culture of consumption because it seemed to offer them independence and a rejection of outmoded gender roles.[133] He accordingly establishes that the notion of shopping as empowerment is not far-fetched:

> [women's] participation in consumer experience challenged and subverted the complex of qualities traditionally known as feminine – dependence, passivity, religious piety, domestic inwardness, sexual purity and maternal nurture. Mass consumer culture presented to women a new definition of gender that carved out space for individual expression similar to men's and that stood in tension with the older definition passed on to them by their mothers and grandmothers.[134]

A travesty of the ensnarement entrenched in consumer society is found in the contemporary 'bag lady', a homeless person who carries all her possessions in tattered bags from famous department stores.[135] Similarly, Friedberg comments that the contemporary 'street person' with mandatory shopping cart displays 'a dire parody of a consumer culture gone awry. As a grim reminder of the excessive valuation of the perceptual mode of shopping — *flânerie*, the *flâneuse* as 'bag lady' can stroll the 'aisles' of a derelict urbanity, where shopping can be done without money, the 'shelves' stocked with refuse and recyclable debris'.[136] It is certainly not coincidental that just as shopping is associated with pleasure and fulfilment, it is also related to pathological conditions such as compulsive shopping, 'shopaholicism', kleptomania, and shoplifting, and that these are yet again gendered.[137] Goss observes that in the tactical misuse or abuse of malls by users, incidents of interpersonal violence are invariably overt and male-dominated, whereas theft is 'an example of a covert, female-dominated tactic'.[138] Having established that shopping and

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[132]   Lancaster (n 65 above) 190-191.
[133]   Leach (n 78 above) 337-339.
[134]   Leach 342.
[135]   Buck-Morss (n 63 above) 118.
[136]   Friedberg (n 62 above) 443.
[137]   Kleptomania was identified as an aberrant form of consumer behaviour in the late nineteenth century, and was gendered as a so-called female disease; Crang (n 74 above) 124. Shoplifting was almost exclusively committed by middle to upper class women. The anonymity of the crowd and the carnival atmosphere in department stores seemed to condone different rules of behaviour and shoplifting was blamed on the innate weakness of women, biological factors such as menstruation, and sexual frustration (Lancaster (n 65 above) 185; Leach (n 78 above) 333-334). Friedberg (n 62 above) 450 posits the 'compulsive shopper' as an equivalent of the nineteenth century hysteric: 'Like the hysteric, the shopper may be calling into question constraining identities – sexual, racial, class – but, to act out anxieties about identity in the realm of the market, one must believe in the commodity's transformative power'. The popular designation of shopping as 'retail therapy' reveals a comparable belief that loneliness, low self-esteem, and powerlessness can be ameliorated by one's purchasing power.
[138]   Goss (n 5 above) 42.

the connotations associated with it are gendered, the next section considers whether shopping malls have been assigned a gendered identity.

6. The gender of shopping malls

As previously stated, although modifications in gender roles since the 1950s initiated changes in shopping patterns, women are still the principal patrons of malls. There is some debate concerning the extent to which malls are actually feminised in terms of their representation of space. Hence, Chaney claims that malls are prime examples of gendered spaces that appeal to female shoppers by means of their imagery and rhetoric, but does not substantiate this statement in detail.[139] Gottdiener explains that because shopping is constituted in terms of gender differences, malls generally express 'the commercialised fantasies of women'.[140] However, Gottdiener differs with Chaney by arguing that most malls are constrained to project a gender-neutral style, and that perceptions regarding the gendered nature of malls result rather from the gendered filters though which people experience space.[141] Conversely, Goss argues persuasively that the discourse of mall design (ie, its representation of space) 'is both manifestly elitist and gendered — from "market penetration analysis" to the persistent tropes of seduction, stimulation, and physical manipulation'.[142] It appears that the so-called femininity of South African malls does not reside primarily in their style, which is frequently modernist and hence 'masculine', but rather in the alignment between malls, the feminine, mass culture, an emotional attachment to place, and the unimaginative use of clichéd codes and themes that support the notions of safety, fantasy, escapism, and leisure.

Morris endorses the idea that the rhetoric and aesthetics of shopping malls invoke intertextual cultural references that refer to other sites dedicated to the performance of leisure activities, family life, and so-called women's work.[143] I believe this rhetoric offers a useful point of entry for an enquiry into the gendered nature of the spaces in which shopping is performed. Malls are an example of what Zukin calls liminal or in-between spaces that straddle the public and the private, the collective and the individual, the material and the symbolic, and

[139] D Chaney *The cultural turn. Scene-setting essays on contemporary cultural history* (1994) 176.
[140] Gottdiener (n 37 above) 136.
[141] Gottdiener 136-137.
[142] Goss (n 5 above) 19.
[143] Morris (n 8 above) 407.

the domestic space of home and practices of urban consumption.[144] According to Goss, the market has always been a place of liminality between 'the sacred and secular, the mundane and exotic, and the local and global', and in malls this translates into the substitution of nostalgia for experience, absence for presence, and representation for authenticity, sanctioning a politics of exclusion and the exclusion of politics.[145] Liminality extends into the incorporation of both the best of nature and the best of city bustle and dynamism in malls[146] and is also reflected in the ambiguity between going shopping and going for a walk that is inscribed in the mall's representation of space.[147]

Consequently, the rhetorical trope of nostalgia is frequently enacted in shopping malls by recourse to a vocabulary that is already gendered. It is surely not coincidental that suggestively feminised words such as paradise, oasis, and cocoon are used to characterise 'the consumer culture's Eden, the post-urban cradle, the womb, the mall'.[148] Malls are inward looking, escapist cocoons in which Edenic and paradisiacal allegories of consumption betray 'a mirror to utopian desire, the desire of fallen creatures nostalgic for the primal garden, yet aware that their paradise is now an illusion'.[149] Edenic rhetoric and imagery and the morphology of the womb serve to naturalise and mythologise the spaces in which shopping is performed. Although Edenic[150] imagery clearly signifies the sphere of consumerist temptation, it also designates a specific iconography that resonates with ideas concerning nostalgia, safety, refuge, and the myth of a former Golden Age. Robert Simon supports this reading of the mall as a modern version of an imperfect paradise that operates not only as a garden of earthly delight, but also as a site of temptation.[151] He maintains that the shopping mall is the contemporary version of the western formal garden since both are social spaces that are rich in meanings: 'where once the vista was of the grandeur of nature, it is

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[144] Zukin (n 13 above) 142 explains:
  much maligned for their standardised architecture and 'decentered' social life ... shopping centers are nonetheless significant liminal spaces. They are both public and private – privately owned, but built for public use. They are both collective and individual – used for the collective rites of modern hunting and gathering, but also sites of personal desire. They are ... liminal spaces between the intimacy of the home, car, and local store and the impersonal promiscuity of chain stores, name brands, and urban variety. Shopping centers ... are both material and symbolic: they give material form to a symbolic landscape of consumption.

[145] Goss (n 5 above) 27-30.
[146] Crawford (n 71 above) 22.
[147] Miller (n 4 above) 133.
[148] Kowinski (n 14 above) 137.
[149] Morris (n 8 above) 397.
[150] In a similar vein, Friedberg (n 62 above) 446 sees malls as 'heterodystopias, the dialectical shadow of an Edenic ambulatory'.
[151] R Simon 'The formal garden in the age of consumer culture: a reading of the twentieth-century shopping mall' in W Franklin & M Steiner (eds) *Mapping American culture* (1992) 232, 241.

now of the grandeur of manufactured commodities, the second "nature" of capitalist economy'.[152] This 'second nature' is naturalised by resorting to organic imagery that evokes an ideal state 'prior to the rise of human artifice'[153] and nostalgia for civil society and public space of the past. Miller *et al* note, for instance, that glass ceilings in malls serve to incorporate nature and symbolise 'letting nature in to ameliorate the concern of shoppers that the act of shopping might represent an un- or anti-natural activity'.[154]

The representation of space in malls thus seems to focus on the creation of interior spaces that are ostensibly 'natural' and friendly and convey a 'park-like, holiday atmosphere'.[155] In a similar manner, the nineteenth century department store acted as a metaphor for a miniature utopian world of plenitude and choice.[156] The mall as an autonomous oasis of timelessness, perfect weather and statis, free from the constraints of history, reinforces the impression that its space is gendered as female. The alliance between the feminine and Edenic in malls is generally affirmed by means of the following: the use of circuitous, labyrinthine or garden maze layouts that disrupt the rational, modernist use of space[157] (eg, Menlyn Park); the addition of natural daylight and exotic plants to evoke cleanliness, freshness and a 'tropical vacation setting'[158] (eg, Canal Walk); fountains, benches, and statuary signify nostalgic longing for lost urban space and the community of the piazza and forum[159] (eg, Hyde Park); and the use of innocuous and beguiling motifs like animals, water and tropical colours present, according to Zukin, 'the friendly face of power' in landscapes of economic power[160] (eg, Brooklyn Mall).

It is also significant that food courts generally assume an important position in malls, adding to the connotations of feminine nurturing and abundance. Women have a more tactile approach to shopping and the tactility of the mall experience differentiates it from places such as museums.[161] The entrances to malls often deliberately suggest an oasis or sanctuary by means of plants and festive canopies, yet the self-enclosed, fortress-like walls of the exterior are controlled by the 'gaze of a paternalistic security force',[162] again inscribing the notion of male control of feminised space (eg, Sandton City).

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152 Simon (n 151 above) 231, 234, 241.
153 Miller (n 4 above) 128-129.
154 Miller 115, 132; Goss (n 5 above) 36 also points out that plants in malls create a garden setting that 'naturalises consumption, and mitigates the alienation inherent in commodity production and consumption'.
155 Josal & Scalabrin (n 90 above) 202.
156 Crawford (n 71 above) 19.
157 Shields (n 117 above) 207; Backes (n 86 above) 11.
158 Goss (n 5 above) 24.
159 Goss 40.
160 Zukin (n 13 above) 228-229.
161 Sampson (n 89 above) 76; Shields (n 117) 220.
162 Gottdiener (n 2 above) 90.

The gendered setting of the mall was already created by department store decorators in the nineteenth century who consciously designed interior spaces and colour schemes to institutionalise gender distinctions and stereotypes. Consequently, 'the color in the stores ... the indulgence and the impulse became ever more associated in the minds of both sexes with femininity'.[163] In American department stores after 1890, men had separate street and elevator entrances and departments that were decorated in dark and 'rugged' colours, creating discrete gender spaces for men and women.[164] This distinction has been reinforced in today's malls, so that the shopping experience they offer is primarily geared towards the female shopper. This translates into the use of increased lighting to improve women's perception of safety[165] as well as things like packaging design, advertising, merchandising, store design and fixturing.[166] Underhill establishes that women need to feel comfortable when they shop and have different spatial requirements.[167] In the South African context, this perception has influenced the representation of space at Century City's Canal Walk mall in Cape Town which has, for example, special 'hospitality lounges' because research suggests '*women* like to be made to feel at home while shopping'.[168] According to the managing agent for Canal Walk:[169]

> Male minds may wander, but women like a quieter style of shopping. We've listened to shopping opinions of women in research focus groups and have realised that the key to catering to the needs of women is convenience ... Canal Walk [does not] have spiral ramps leading to its parking lot. Women drivers find these frustrating ... so the centre ... boast[s] gradually ascending ramps that go straight up, so we can reduce stress experienced by women when they search for parking.

At the same time, South African malls have devised strategies by which to encourage men to spend more time in them. Because men have to be kept occupied or involved,[170] malls have focused on men's needs by creating 'playpens' and spaces dedicated to activities, gadgets, and shops for men. Accordingly, The Gateway Theatre of Shopping in Umhlanga offers men '*Boys' Own*-type adventure' in an aqueous tank, climbing wall, and simulated wave pool,[171] again establishing gender distinctions in terms of space, shopping, and gender performativity. According to Canal Walk developers:[172]

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163   Leach (n 78 above) 331.
164   Leach (as above).
165   H Newman 'Prologue' in JR White & KD Gray (eds) *Shopping centers and other retail property. Investment, development, financing, and management* (1996) 13.
166   Underhill (n 9 above) 98.
167   Underhill 118-119.
168   Cameron (n 106 above) 73, my emphasis.
169   As above.
170   Underhill (n 9 above) 102-103.
171   Cameron (n 106 above) 72.
172   As above.

Men have a desperately short attention span when it comes to shopping. To capture men's attention ... developers have set up what seems to be an endless variety of leisure possibilities, ranging from state-of-the-art multidimensional computer games to comfortable vantage points for watching sport on television.

7. Conclusion

This chapter has suggested that the gendering of the representation of space and spatial practices in shopping malls is still reflective of a form of gender politics. Consumption, leisure, instant gratification, escapism, warmth, safety, carnival, and entertainment merge in the seductive spatiality of the mall, which, I have demonstrated, is already inscribed with myriad gendered connotations that colour the act of shopping and the place assigned to it by society. Although the representation of space in South African shopping malls is not necessarily presented in an overtly 'feminine' manner, accrued social codes still align shopping with the female domain quite compellingly. It is certainly suggestive that attempts to resuscitate contemporary public life are symbolised by the private and commercial spatiality of the mall, a liminal space that ostensibly projects so-called feminine values in society. But, as many critics have pointed out, the notion of urban civility and social communion offered by the mall is a simulacrum that employs nostalgia and seduction to promote consumption. The mall itself becomes an ambient pleasure zone and a space that is consumed; this alliance with consumption, leisure, and pleasure establishes the feminised nature of the mall wherein people themselves become commodities and objects of the gaze of others. Resistance to the meanings of the mall as a sign seems to be rare and this demands a rigorous interrogation of societal discourses whereby a social activity in which everyone participates has assumed, and maintains, a gendered identity.

Five / Agency amidst adversity: Poverty and women's reproductive lives[1]

Kammila Naidoo

1. Introduction

This paper examines the way in which changing structures, socio-economic and domestic realities are shaping reproductive dynamics in South Africa. More specifically, it considers the social context of child-bearing in a particular area, Winterveld, and probes the ways in which motivation for bearing children is affected by the combined effects of domestic violence and economic insecurity. As such, the paper draws on the vignettes and nuances of a case study. Case studies are used in different ways by various authors: either to develop generalisations, albeit 'fuzzy generalisations',[2] or sometimes to criticise, challenge or draw attention to some of the limitations of existing assumptions.[3] This case study is used to raise discussion on the relevance of an alternative argument in demography. It is also used to focus attention on the difficulties women face, and the actions they take to contend with them, in social environments experiencing high levels of poverty. The paper aims to (1) offer insight into how deteriorating socio-economic conditions might influence the nature of fertility transition in developing countries and (2) illuminate how micro-demographic studies of fertility behaviour could complement or offer more in-depth understandings of the numerous issues influencing women's lives and shaping their reproductive histories.

2. Background

Until the 1960s, the demographic transition theory remained the dominant paradigm in demography. In his paper written in 1945, *Population: the long view*, Frank Notestein put forward the view that fertility transition took place in terms of stages accompanying the processes of modernisation and industrialisation. It was maintained

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[1]   This is an edited version of the article: 'Reproductive dynamics in the context of economic insecurity and domestic violence: a South African case study' (2002) 37 *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 376.

[2]   M Bassey *Case study research in educational settings* (1999).

[3]   S Reinharz *Feminist methods in social research* (1992).

that countries with underdeveloped economies, hindered by constraints which kept fertility high, would in time follow the trend of European countries that had experienced incipient mortality and fertility decline. When historical evidence failed to support this assumption the focus turned to broadly-defined 'cultural' variables such as language, religious affiliation and women's education and to alternative explanations such as those linked to diffusionism and 'ideational change'[4] — as well as the New Household Economics arguments linking demand for children to 'costs' and 'prices'.[5] An exhaustive overview of contending and contesting positions is not possible here. However, it might be important to note that whilst the assumptions of structural change of classic transition theory were superseded by often more micro-level and household based analyses, these were still located within the framework of modernist arguments about rational decision-making on family size and the roles of knowledge, modern values and new technologies and their contribution to declining fertility rates. What remained absent was more meaningful and complex treatment of 'women' or 'gender' in the demographic literature. Whilst statistics 'on women' increased in volume the emphasis initially was largely on descriptions of 'women's role' and 'women's status' notwithstanding the fact that both concepts were being severely criticised within feminist discourse.[6] More crucial shortcomings, though, relate to the fact that reproductive behaviour and fertility outcomes were rarely studied within the context of power inequalities at the societal and domestic level or as a consequence of conflicting gender interests.[7] Nor was it common to see efforts at 'situating fertility', that is, 'to show how it makes *sense* given the socio-cultural and political economic context in which it is embedded'.[8]

African reproductive regimes are commonly discussed as fertility maximising regimes reflecting universal marriage, high values placed on large families, resistance to fertility limitation and consequently strong desires for large numbers of children.[9] However, in the 1990s the signs of declining fertility in many African countries raised questions about many of the assumptions and preconceived notions of African fertility. Debate raged on about the particularities of fertility

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[4]   J Cleland & C Wilson 'Demand theories of the fertility transition: An iconoclastic view' (1987) *Population Studies* 5 42.

[5]   G Becker 'An economic analysis of fertility' in *National bureau of economic research, demographic change and economic change in developed countries* (1960) 10.

[6]   S Greenhalgh 'Anthropology theorises reproduction: Integrating practice, political economic, and feminist perspectives' in S Greenhalgh (ed) *Situating fertility: Anthropology and demographic inquiry* (1995) 157.

[7]   N Kabeer *Reversed realities. Gender hierarchies in development thought* (1994).

[8]   S Greenhalgh in Greenhalgh (n 5 above) 17.

[9]   RJ Lesthaeghe *Reproduction and social organization in sub-Saharan Africa* (1989).

transition in Africa[10] and the extent to which African fertility regimes were beginning to transform in line with trends followed by the rest of the world. In some senses, transition theory arguments have been revived, and assessments of the success of development initiatives, literacy, media messages, imported technologies and, generally, the role of modernising institutions in these transitions have been central foci of attention. As an illustration, note the optimism with which Robinson[11] speaks of changes occurring in Kenya. He says: 'it now does appear that couples in Kenya *are* conceptualising an ideal family size, and that a rational weighing of costs and benefits now does frequently occur'. He links these to the processes of modernisation and argues that Kenyan society finds itself 'in collision' with customs promoting pro-natalism. Health, immunisation and development programmes are improving child survival rates and the cost of having children is increasing. At the same time, contraception is becoming cheaper and more easily obtainable. The claim is that with the continuation of these interventions alongside the modernisation of Kenya, fertility will continue to decline. Similarly, Gaisie[12] says of the Botswana fertility decline: 'Botswana's experience shows that a firm economic base providing a sustainably adequate standard of living for the people and a well organised family planning programme can, to a large extent, narrow the gap between fertility and mortality ...' With respect to the South African transition, Caldwell and Caldwell[13] suggest (drawing on social capillary arguments) that fertility decline was modest in the apartheid era because South Africa was a caste society, with black people restricted from climbing up occupational ladders. The proposition offered is that post-apartheid South Africa is likely to witness significant shifts in fertility as a consequence of general improvements in living conditions and socio-economic opportunities, particularly for women.

Whilst the dominant arguments continue in the 2000s to reiterate the crucial role of socio-economic development to fertility transition, little attention has been paid to less popular positions such as those put forward by Lesthaeghe in 1989. Lesthaeghe posed an interesting but speculative question about the possible initiation of a 'crisis-led' fertility decline in African countries experiencing the effects of severe economic downturns, natural disasters and the 'shaking of aspirations'. He raised the argument that fertility transitions could occur in environments where living conditions do not appear to be

[10]   WTS Gould & M Brown 'A fertility transition in sub-Saharan Africa' (1996) *International journal of population geography* 1 2.
[11]   WC Robinson 'Kenya enters the fertility transition' (1992) *Population Studies* 445 46.
[12]   SK Gaisie 'Fertility transition in Botswana' (1998) 16 *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 277 292.
[13]   JC Caldwell & P Caldwell 'The South African fertility decline' (1993) 19(2) *Population and development review* 225 250.

improving, 'that is, in contrast to the conventional wisdom of demographic transition theory which connects a fertility transition to increased prosperity and advancing structural transformation'.[14] He suggests that whilst there are many cases of short-term declines in fertility in response to hardship, there are few indications of sustained crisis-led fertility transitions. Nonetheless, he surmises that stagnant and poor economic conditions in Africa might place enormous pressure on families and individual women to reduce the number of children they bear. His argument contrasts with more dominant inferences which link changes in reproduction to improvements in the economic lives and social positions of women, and to their greater independence and empowerment.

Candice Bradley's[15] more recent discussion of women's empowerment, domestic violence and fertility decline has some parallels with Lesthaeghe's arguments. In examining fertility decline in Kenya she suggests that, paradoxically, the transition might be a result of women making gains on the one hand, but losses on the other. She suggests that alongside data which show increases in the number of women taking on formal work and acquiring higher levels of education are statistics which show that violence against women has increased tremendously over the years. She maintains: 'More equitable education and broader career choices do not occur in a vacuum. In an atmosphere of growing scarcity, both men and women feel the pinch. It may be scarcity rather than empowerment which is fuelling a turn toward lower fertility'.[16] Such an argument might have relevance for South Africa where sectors of the population have been experiencing deepening poverty over the past few decades and where levels of gender-based violence have increased.

3. Some indicators of women's social and economic position in South Africa

Understanding the situation of women in any society requires paying close attention to the institutional and contextual parameters within which fertility is declining. General statistics can be useful in offering a snap-shot, macro-level, overview of the 'social position' of women. For the purposes of this paper data that offer some indication of: (1) fertility levels, (2) contraceptive use, (3) women's education, (4) domestic violence and (5) employment of women will be offered.

[14]   RJ Lesthaeghe 'Social organization, economic crises, and the future of fertility control in Africa' in Lesthaeghe (n 8 above) 476.
[15]   S Greenhalgh in Greenhalgh (n 5 above) 157-178.
[16]   C Bradley 'Women's empowerment and fertility decline in western Kenya' in Greenhalgh (n 5 above) 157 176-177.

The 1998 South African demographic and health survey (SADHS) showed the total fertility rate (TFR) to be 2,9 children per woman. This recent estimate is considerably lower than the 4,1 children per woman revealed in the 1987-1989 SADHS. Although conceding that the direct and indirect determinants of fertility require further study to provide more conclusive research results, Mostert *et al*[17] maintain that the progressive decline in fertility in South Africa has been attributed to increasing contraceptive use to space births, rising levels of women's education, urbanisation, women's employment and changing economic conditions. South Africa's family planning capacities, extensively improved during the apartheid era, are a consequence of what Caldwell[18] suggests is an experiment of global significance. In the 1980s South Africa's contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR) was the highest in Africa — South Africa's CPR (48%) was followed by Tunisia's (41%), Zimbabwe's (38%), Morocco's (36%), Egypt's (30%) and Botswana's (28%).[19] This rate increased in the 1990s. The 1998 SADHS revealed that 61% of all sexually active women between the ages of 15-49 and almost 67% of sexually active teenagers were using modern contraception. Contraceptive use varies between provinces. It is as high as 75% in the Western Cape and as low as 55% in the Northern Province.

At the level of women's education, there are quite positive signs. The proportion of girls successfully completing their high school education has been, over the years, consistently higher than that of boys. Unterhalter[20] shows that 31,9% of girls and 25,9% of boys belonging to the 1976 cohort, and 53,5% of girls and 38,1% of boys belonging to the 1983 cohort, completed their schooling within the normative time-frame. Whilst a large number of pupils fail to complete high school, the majority who do pass are women. In South Africa, attainment of a high school education is also strongly linked to lower desires for bearing large numbers of children and high levels of contraceptive use.[21] However, it is conceded that these positive spin-offs are often undermined in less developed countries by the high levels of poverty experienced. It is also maintained that low fertility in the case of highly educated women is linked more strongly to their occupations and their husband's educational level than their own educational positions.[22]

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17 WP Mostert *et al Demography. Textbook for the South African student* (1998).
18 Caldwell & Caldwell (n 12 above) 250.
19 Mostert (n 16 above) 119.
20 E Unterhalter 'The schooling of South African girls' in C Heward & S Bunwaree *Gender, education and development* (1999) 49 51.
21 G du Plessis 'Reproductive choice and motivation in South Africa, 1987-1989' (1996) 6 *Southern African Journal of Demography* 33.
22 Mostert (n 16 above).

About 57% of all people in South Africa are living in poverty and the poorest 40% of households have been enduring worsening economic circumstances over the past few decades.[23] About 40% of all South Africans are unemployed, and of these about 51% are women.[24] The number of women job-seekers has increased rapidly since 1990, and women continue to encounter discriminatory practices and beliefs that they are 'expendable' because they are not regarded as breadwinners.[25] Where dependencies do exist, the 1998 SADHS reveals that one in five currently married women report that their partners withhold money which can be used on rent, food or bills and use it for other purposes. Whilst the media and women's activist groups suggest that women are being subjected to increasing acts of violence, these estimates have been imprecise, given the problem of underreporting. The SADHS found that 4% of women had experienced rape at some point during their life-times; the HSRC and Statistics South Africa argue that about 30% to 70% of rapes are not reported each year.[26] A National Victimisation Survey[27] which was carried out in 1998 found that most assaults (54%) and sexual offences (68%) occur within the victim's home and that most perpetrators (33,8%) are closely related to the victim.

These macro-statistics suggest the co-existence of different realities: those which indicate that reproductive rights and control over reproductive lives are being asserted more readily (as in contra-ceptive use) and those which suggest the potential violation of those rights (through experiences of violence and poverty). A more nuanced reflection on a case study illustrating dynamics at the micro-level, and the implications thereof, is presented to draw out the argument of this paper.

4. Research site, methods and preliminary findings: the Winterveld case study

Fieldwork for this project was conducted in Winterveld, an area approximately 40km north of Pretoria, between July 1998 and July 1999. A few follow-up visits to the area were also conducted in December 1999, and in 2000 and 2001. Key informants (government officials, health, community and social workers, priests and nuns, activists, elderly men and women) were interviewed in all parts of Winterveld. However, this research has been developed primarily

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[23]   H Forgey *et al South Africa survey 2000/01* (2001); A Whiteford & M McGrath *Distribution of income in South Africa* (1994).
[24]   Forgey *et al* (n 22 above).
[25]   V Taylor 'Economic versus gender injustice: The macro picture' (1997) 9 22.
[26]   Forgey *et al* (n 22 above).
[27]   South African Police Service (SAPS) *Domestic violence: The new approach* (2001) http://www.saps.org.za/domestic/index.htm (accessed 5 September 2001).

through the qualitative analyses of thirty-three life histories. Mothers and daughters from fifteen families resident in the Winterveld area were interviewed over the approximately twelve months of fieldwork. The fieldwork also entailed the conducting of group interviews with six interest groups[28] and a survey of 293 women within the boundaries of the fieldwork site. My fieldwork site was restricted to a central portion of Winterveld between a district referred to as Jakkalas in the north to Vezaubuha in the south. The site encompassed about 10 000 or more dwellings.

Winterveld covers an expanse of 10, 386 hectares which was sub-divided into 1, 658 plots of various sizes and sold, in the 1930s to 1940s, to relatively well-off black purchasers.[29] Although the early land-owners had hoped that the area would turn into profitable agricultural holdings, the tide of history transformed it into a densely populated informal settlement with little infrastructure and high levels of poverty. The social existences of land-owners and tenants living in the area have been considerably challenged over the years by political repression and tensions, economic crises and increasing poverty. Economic hardship and insecurity became particularly entrenched in the 1970s to 1980s when the Bantustan government of Bophuthatswana took over jurisdiction of Winterveld and initiated a process of large-scale evictions and harassment of the non-Tswana sector of the population. It is within this framework of disorganisation and political dissension that we need to locate the transformation of domestic units, the weakening of kin relations and disintegration of wider family structures. Living with the constant threat of arrest in those difficult times forced many tenants into clandestine and insecure living and working arrangements. These arrangements have had, in general, severe effects on the sustaining of conjugal unions, familial relationships and the stability of households. People's narratives in the area suggest that whilst the post-apartheid period has brought with it freedom from harassment, the material deprivation and isolation of a 'socially disrupted environment'[30] continue to keep relations tenuous and families apart. Women have been most vulnerable to these constraints and have endured fragile partnerships, abandonment, multiple dependencies, insecure non-formal work and much violence within and outside their domestic

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[28] These included: (1) a group of women who constituted a 'neighbourhood network', (2) a group of pensioners who engaged in collaborative income-generating work, (3) a group of young people (recent school-leavers), (4) a women's group made up of predominantly well-known plot-owners, (5) a friendship clique of women of different ages, and (6) a group of (ex) Mozambican women living in Winterveld.

[29] F de Clercq 'Putting community participation into development work: The difficult case of the Winterveld' (1994) 11 *Development Southern Africa* 379; A Simone 'Winterveld' in *Case studies on local economic development and poverty* (1998).

[30] J Garbarino & G Gilliam *Understanding abusive families* (1980).

environments. Whilst differentiating itself from many other peri-
urban areas because of its history of black land ownership, Winterveld
resembles many of them in both its lack of infrastructure and levels
of poverty. It is estimated that nearly 75% (of all men and women)
living in the area are unemployed and, of those employed, 50% are
involved in informal sector activities.[31] In the survey which I
conducted around my fieldwork site, over 50% of all women were not
earning any money and 86% suggested that they needed support from
'others' for economic survival.

What can be said about changing fertility within this site? The micro-
survey revealed that while the number of children born to women
aged 15 - 50 years ranged from none to thirteen, the mean number of
children born (to individual women) was between two to three. Most
older women (over 45 years) tended, in both the survey and life
history interviews, to talk in terms of five children being the 'ideal',
but younger women (between 15 and 44 years) rarely expressed
desires to bear more than two children. In line with this, a very large
proportion of women (71%) were using contraception, in most cases to
prevent rather than space pregnancies. With respect to women under
25 years, 76% of those with primary school education and 85% with
high school education were using contraception. This latter
percentage includes women who have completed (some years of) high
school as well as those currently in high school (when the risk of
falling pregnant is particularly high). Nonetheless, irrespective of
educational level, contraceptive use can be argued to be unusually
widespread for an area experiencing poverty.

Throughout the period of my fieldwork numerous explanations were
offered for this declining commitment to bearing children. A central
explanation commonly offered was that marriage or stable unions, as
institutions within which children are born, were becoming
infrequent. In the group sessions some of the younger women (many
of whom had already had babies) also maintained that they preferred
not to marry, and that they would rather live alone with their
children. Others expressed ideal-types of men[32] in marriage — eg he
must 'not have another wife', he must 'be educated' and he must be
'democratic'. Early experience of abuse at the hands of men was also
a factor which, women suggested, made them reluctant to enter into
a union and bear children, especially if there were possibilities of
mistreatment or if the lasting potential of the union was doubtful.

Unemployment and poor economic means were commonly cited as the
main reason why women were reluctant to bear additional children.
In addition, the 'costs' of bringing up children and low expectations

[31]   Simone (n 28 above).
[32]   Group session, 'Youth Group', 22 June 1999.

of adult children reciprocating in economic terms in the long run, were very frequently raised during the group sessions and interviews with individual women. It was also apparent that high rates of unemployment in recent years have led to a situation where younger people are becoming increasingly dependent on their parent's pensions for survival. The magnitude and direction of 'wealth flows' were predominantly from parents to children (or from older to younger generations). In a community enduring economic insecurity this scenario entrenches perceptions that children (both young and old) are likely to be a drain on the stretched resources of the individual and household.

At the same time, finding employment or a partnership which secured greater financial security sometimes led to women talking about children becoming more affordable. Having another child might become a fairly immediate need of a woman who has been delaying having additional children in the belief that she could not properly support them. Thus, it is common to see women bear second children about eight to ten years after their first child was born[33]. At a superficial level, some credence for diffusionist interpretations (given considerable use of contraception to regulate births) and new household economics arguments suggesting economic choices on appropriate number of children to bear seem evident. However, these practices and decision-making processes are being shaped and driven by a number of broader experiences of 'crises', complexities and dilemmas as the vignettes in the following section reveal.

5.   The social context of reproduction: dominant 'patterns' in Winterveld

5.1   *Responses to pregnancy, the possibility of pregnancy and abandonment*

Questions on teenage pregnancy often elicited negative responses from both parents and teenagers alike. In Winterveld there was frequent reference to the problem of unplanned, teenage pregnancies as illustrated by the following comment from a group session:[34]

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[33]   Garenne and Halifax suggest that one-third of total fertility in Southern Africa is made up of premarital births. They also suggest that high levels of early premarital births have created two peaks (modes) in age-specific fertility rate (ASFR) values. One peak is centred on ages 18-20 years (predominantly premarital fertility) and the other on 28-30 years (predominantly marital fertility). Reasons for this lengthy spacing still require more intensive investigation. See M Garenne & J Halifax 'Pattern of premarital fertility in Southern Africa, and its correlates' workshop paper, University of London, 1999.

[34]   Group session, 'Ndlovu's Group', 15 October 1998.

> Today, girls fall pregnant early. Mostly in standard 8 [10th year of schooling]. Some can be pregnant in standard 5. Middle School is the dangerous time. Many fall pregnant at 16, 15, 14 years. Girls sometimes even fall pregnant at 12 years. Guidance counsellors come to school. They come to talk to teenagers mainly at the time they start menstruating or when there are changes in the body. They speak to both boys and girls. But it does not seem that these teenagers take this advice seriously. Maybe they are serious in those few minutes when spoken to. After 2 to 3 months some of them are already pregnant.

The micro-survey was not stratified to allow for a sizeable representation of teenagers; only nineteen women from fifteen to nineteen years were included in the sample. Although this number is far too small for the purpose of generalising, it may be of interest to note that ten of these young women were already mothers. Eight had one child each, whilst one had two children and another woman of 19 years already had three children. Seven of the women were in partnerships, and sixteen were using modern contraception. Of the total sample of 293 women (of all ages) 55% had had their first child as a teenager.

Although there is much diversity in the circumstances of mothers and daughters who have had teenage births, in more recent years the consequences of these pregnancies have weighed more heavily on the family and family networks of the pregnant girls. In a poor area such as Winterveld, the frequent occurrence of abandonment of a girl after she is discovered to be pregnant is explained in terms of a man's or boy's need to avoid the economic and emotional responsibility of parenthood, leaving the burden of upbringing with the girl's family. As JP[35], a teenager, explained to me in a group discussion[36], 'boys leave girls because they fear being fathers'. Admission of fatherhood has financial implications which many boys and men commonly seek to avoid, particularly in these early pregnancies.

Although the sense, in interviewing parents, was that teenagers were careless or did not 'take advice seriously', there were many teenagers who engaged in relationships, at least partly, for rational and specific purposes. LM, a teenager, who returned to school two years after falling pregnant, said the following:[37]

> Many girls are falling pregnant in Winterveld because of the poverty. Sometimes it is because the boy gives you money. My boyfriend used to give me R10 each time we met. At school I used to struggle to pay my school fees. When they could afford it at home they would give me R5. I would not spend it. I would save it for my school fees. When I fell

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[35]   Initials or pseudonyms will be used to retain the anonymity of interviewees and informants. This is in terms of an undertaking not to use original names in publications.
[36]   Group session, 'Youth Group', 22 September 1999.
[37]   Interview, LM, 8 November 1998.

> pregnant and he left me, I had to give up school and use all the money that I had saved — for the baby.

Although women have shouldered the burden of childrearing and child-support for many generations, younger women (particularly in the aftermath of a first birth and desertion) seem to be more cautious in averting possibilities of further unplanned pregnancies, and in some cases delay marriage and desire fewer children in the long run. In the case above, LM's mother permitted her to go back to school only after she agreed to use contraception to avoid any future pregnancies.

A further recurring difficulty talked about by schoolgirls has been the role of teachers and taxi-drivers, that is, men regarded as having status and money. As a school pupil in a group session claimed:[38]

> Male teachers are not too strict because some are going with schoolgirls — even 14 and 15-year-olds ... There was this teacher who ... promised a girl a number one pass — in exchange for sex. At the end of the year that girl fainted when she saw her results because she had failed. That teacher got into serious trouble.

Another pupil remarked, 'Sometimes teachers do give students a child and promise to look after them. But they have their own wives and children to look after'. Not only was it claimed that teachers often abuse their authority in initiating relationships with schoolgirls, but it was also suggested that money is sometimes exchanged in these encounters. Money is also the main reason offered for schoolgirls pursuing relationships with taxi-drivers. Having a taxi-driver's baby is also a way of ensuring some measure of financial support over the years.

In the course of fieldwork I often heard it suggested that intra-familial sexual encounters, as in those between teenage girls and their mother's partner(s), sometimes lead to pregnancy. Community workers also referred to many instances in which they have had to 'rescue' a girl from a situation in which she was being sexually abused by a stepfather or relative upon whom the family was dependent financially. Given high levels of female unemployment and partici-pation in a predominantly informal economy, women in families often find themselves highly dependent on men. Sister IM at St. Peter's Clinic in Winterveld said:[39]

> At times you find a mother knows the child is having sex with her husband — that he is using her. By challenging him they will be left without an income. She keeps quiet so that the husband can continue to look after them. Sometimes the child may report the incident to the mother. In some cases she may protect the husband even though she knows that it's true. The child is then helpless.

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[38] Group session, 'Youth Group', 22 June 1999.
[39] Interview, Sister IM, 11 February 2000.

Step-children or children of an earlier union are generally not afforded the same kinds of rights and privileges as children from a current union. Many go on to live with grandparents when the possibility of abuse emerges. MS, the community worker instrumental in setting up programmes dealing with cases of abused women in Winterveld, said:[40]

> Mothers come in early when the child is about 13 years to put them on contraception for fear of fathers raping them and of pregnancy arising from sexual abuse. In the mother's absence the eldest daughter is often expected to replace the mother. Our response has always been to remove the child from an abusive situation — but we are learning about the problems of alternative arrangements for the girl and the many problems inadequate alternatives may hold.

Of the fifteen families I interviewed, there was one within which a teenage girl was sexually abused and later gave birth to her stepfather's child. I am thus not in a position to argue that such cases are very common. Even if such cases are aberrant, I believe (from talking to key informants) that many women fear that such incidents have occurred and might be occurring within their families. This seems to be an additional factor encouraging contraceptive use of young women and facilitating tensions within households.

The early stages of women's lives are usually considerably affected by attempts at gaining control over sexuality and reproduction. Widespread use of contraception, however, does not suggest 'empowerment' in the conventional sense. For young women to be regarded as empowered there should be evidence of them taking charge (simultaneously) of the various aspects of their lives (both in the privacy of homes and public arenas of school and work).[41] The shift towards attempting to control fertility does not appear to be a simple case of 'ideological change' but a more grounded defensive reaction of women to survive in a social environment in which they endure inequality, sexual abuse, desertion and poverty.

5.2   Responses to domestic instability, infidelity and violence in conjugal unions

Although early sexual experiences and pregnancies are generally outside the confines of sanctioned unions, later child-bearing commonly takes place within marriage or consensual unions. Of the 293 women interviewed in the micro-survey, about one-third claimed to have had (at least) a customary union, a further one-third were in consensual unions (some 'living together' and some in 'visiting'

40   Interview, MS, 12 June 2000.
41   SE Longwe 'Women's empowerment framework' in C March *et al A guide to gender-analysis framework* (1999) 92.

associations) and the remaining number of women had never married. All three groups of women had borne children over the years, with those in customary unions having the highest mean number of children (3,4) as opposed to those in consensual unions (2,5) and those never-married (1,7). However, the women's narratives suggest that marital unions are often undermined by violence, accusations of infidelities and disputes of various kinds and that many women have borne children in different types of unions at different points in their lives. In the early stages of my fieldwork I did not anticipate that the issue of violence as a reflection of and contribution to the instability of households and conjugal unions would emerge so strongly in the stories of women. However, increasingly the stories of violence and their link to the dissolution of relationships became evident. In the story below, FM was accused of adultery and ran away from home after hearing that her husband was threatening to kill her. She said:[42]

> After I heard that I ran away and hid in my uncle's house.' But JM [her husband] did not come after her. Instead he confronted her neighbour with accusations of having an affair with FM. A fight broke out on the street, and JM stabbed the neighbour to death. The stabbing, witnessed by people all around, invited what has become commonly known as 'community justice'. JM faced the wrath of people from the surrounding homes, as they kicked and beat him. They left him after they thought that they had killed him, and his elder brother rushed to his rescue. His brother, with the assistance of the police, took him to hospital, where the doctors managed to save his life ... When he recovered he was charged with murder and was sentenced to a long prison term. He then disappeared completely from her life. 'I started to breathe again ... I was now free'. He never attempted to make contact with them again. Her children today, she said, understand all that she went through. 'They are not depressed about the situation. They are not worried about him ... They know he was a trouble-maker'.

In another story that reveals domestic violence and break-up of a union, NN attempted to punish her husband for treating her badly, and for subjecting her to a poor set of living conditions, whilst at the same time bringing a second 'wife' into the domestic unit.[43]

> On 2 March 1999 I went to see SN. Mr N was in detention at the time and she expressed much distress about the fact that almost no-one had offered her any financial assistance. Her house was in disarray, and she looked very ill. She needed R41 to get to her son in KwaNdebele to borrow a larger sum of money from him. She had thought that her daughter, NN, would be able to get money from her businessman husband, but instead NN's marriage had broken down completely a few days before. NN had for a long while been unhappy with her husband bringing home a 17-year-old girl, and relations between them had soured. She began to spend longer hours outside the house running one of the shops which he owned. Then the previous week he apparently

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42   Interview, FM, 7 September 1998, Winterveld.
43   Interview, SN, 2 March 1999, Winterveld.

walked into the shop and accused her of having an affair with another man [a regular customer]. After a violent argument he beat her and then asked her to leave his house. He asked her not to pack because everything belonged to him — but simply to leave. NN went to her room and proceeded to set some of her husband's belongings alight. Her husband had her arrested for arson and she was jailed for four days until a neighbour paid her bail, an amount of R500. She then suffered from depression because she did not have R500 to pay him back.

In an earlier interview[44] with her, NN had expressed considerable distress about her husband's new, young partner. The weakening of their relationship had raised fears about her own daughter's possibility of falling pregnant. She had said:

It doesn't bother me [that her husband had a new partner]. The young ones are just after money. I am only worried about my own daughter. She is 13 years old now. She has started sex already. I am encouraging her not to run after boys. She must finish school and look for a job. She must get a baby when she is married. I have not taken her to the clinic yet. She has only just started menstruating but I will take her soon.

Thirty of the thirty-three women whose life histories were constructed, talked about violence threatening the strength of their unions and, in a number of cases, breaking them down completely. Some women talked about the experience of rape and sexual abuse and the way in which these experiences had shaped their ideas about men and marriage. Fragile and often short-term partnerships, and the experience of male violence were offered as reasons at different points as to why women were taking deliberate steps to avoid pregnancy and have fewer children. One woman offered the following explanation as to why she resorted to sterilisation after bearing two children, one of whom was in a non-formal liaison:[45]

MS ... was widowed after being married for a short while. She never contemplated remarriage although she had a number of relationships after her husband's death. When she was giving birth to a child (whose father [she said] she barely remembered) she knew that she would find herself in that predicament again and was therefore prompted to 'close herself up'. This was a good decision [she claimed] because 'she never found a good man since'. The problem with men, in her experience, was that 'men like to hit. I only seem to meet violent men. Some of them hit because they are jealous. You have to watch out if you are late, or if you come home with less money. They ask: where is your money? Or, you came home yesterday at 6 pm, now today at 5 pm. Why were you late yesterday?' After her daughter [her second child] was born she had a relationship with a violent man. He used to beat her until she could take it no longer. 'In the end, when you tell them to go — they take time to go ... I also did not want another husband because loyalty is a problem. They always find another woman. You never know what they're doing'.

44   Interview, NN, 13 December 1998, Winterveld.
45   Interview, MS, 10 February 1998, Winterveld.

Violence, domestic discord and non-egalitarian relationships have implications for fertility. The weakening of bonds, periods of separation (eg when being 'chased away') and breakdowns of unions, suggest fewer opportunities to conceive and bear children than would be the case with unions exhibiting stability and continuity. Spousal separation due to the system of migrant labour has been commonly cited as a central debilitating factor shaping marriage, family life and reproductive regimes in Southern Africa.[46] However, Winterveld is not a rural area from which migrants have traditionally left in large numbers for faraway places of employment, returning infrequently. It is a peri-urban area within close proximity to the wealthiest core of the country — the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging business districts. Whilst social bonds in the area have been weakened by constant population mobility (due to work-seeking efforts, political or community tensions), they have also been undermined by the high levels of stress and violence generated within Winterveld's poor and contracting households as men and women struggle with each other for control over domestic decisions and limited resources.

People living in environments experiencing high levels of poverty and insecurity are often rescued, in part, by familial support networks and by grandparents who might assume the role of parent for grandchildren. The meanings attached to child fosterage and the circulation of children between the homes of their parents, grandparents, and other kin and the implications of child circulation for future fertility considerations have persistently been raised by anthropological demographers.[47] The specific questions here are how resilient social networks of support are and to what extent grand-parents willingly assume responsibilities for children in these situations.

In both the focus groups and life histories there were clear indications that whilst many elderly women were of support to daughters and daughters-in-law with respect to child-care, many others were becoming fairly resistant. Perhaps the clearest indication of how financial constraints and the acknowledgement of limited reciprocal long-term support were affecting the willingness of older women to play the 'traditional' supportive role to younger women, came from the frank comments of CM.[48]

> In March 1999 when I went to see CM she was quite depressed, claiming to be suffering with a 'problem of the heart'. Her problem was that her

[46] I Timaeus & W Graham 'Labor circulation, marriage and fertility in South Africa' in Lesthaeghe (n 8 above) 385-388.
[47] C Bledsoe & U Isiugo-Abanihe 'Strategies of child-fosterage among Mende grannies in Sierra Leone' in Lesthaeghe (n 8 above) 442; JC Caldwell *Theory of fertility decline* (1982); H Page 'Childrearing versus childbearing: Coresidence of mother and child in sub-Saharan Africa' in Lesthaeghe (n 8 above) 40.
[48] Interview, CM, 15 March 1999, Winterveld.

> 28-year-old son was very troublesome. She told me that some time ago he had chased his wife and child away and then seemed to prefer the company of other women. Now she learnt that he had been arrested for car theft, and was an awaiting-trial prisoner. 'I have been talking to him a lot, but he does not listen'. She said that she loved her grandson 'but because of his father I do not know what to do'. Her son had never supported his wife and child; they had survived because she had given them food to eat. 'The daughter-in-law was staying with me when he was staying with other women in Atteridgeville ... I told her that I am a pensioner. I cannot support her. She must go and find a job. Then she left. She found a job as a domestic servant in Hartebeesfontein. She was better off. Then I told her to come back and take the child away'.

I do not suggest that women no longer have recourse to their mothers for the purposes of child-rearing and child-care, but simply that older women (or grandparents), equally subjected to the stresses of poverty, often contest normative expectations of themselves, particularly when compensating monetary benefits are not forthcoming. With respect to forms of neighbourly support, Yawitch,[49] writing about Winterveld twenty years ago, maintains that, '[i]t would seem that in Winterveld the fear and insecurity that characterise life ... has (sic) in many cases led to the creation of a "cut-throat" mentality. Women do not trust, speak to or help neighbours — "friends destroy marriages" is a typical response to questions related to the nature of social interaction'. The lack of social support networks, both friendship and familial, in a context of insecure, fluid and often violent unions appears to place considerable pressure on women to 'weigh the benefits' of reproduction against the risks of poverty and marital dissolution.

5.3   Responses to insecure employment and weakening economic support base

The inability to find a secure means to earn a living, against the background of unstable relationships and weakening kinship bonds, presents what Lesthaeghe[50] suggests are 'frustrated aspirations' driven by a general decline in opportunities and conditions for men and women. Daily struggles to survive increase awareness of the monetary implications of bringing up children. In Caldwell's[51] wealth-flow theory, lowered fertility is an indication of the progressive nucleation of families as the costs of children become higher than their anticipated productive contributions to the household economy. Despite acknowledging responses to the burden of costs, it would be difficult to argue that families in Winterveld are becoming

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[49]   J Yawitch 'Women and squatting: A Winterveld case study' in P Bonner (ed) *Working papers in Southern African studies 2* (1981) 199 219-220.
[50]   RJ Lesthaeghe in Lesthaeghe (n 8 above) 477.
[51]   Caldwell (n 46 above).

'nucleated' or necessarily 'child-centred' in the sense suggested by Caldwell. The younger women in my stories have borne smaller numbers of children but remain primarily a part of female-headed households or of fragmented extended families. Given signs of child neglect (limited feeding, late entry into schools, early end to schooling and the like), the movement towards smaller numbers of children does not appear to be altruistic attempts to assure 'quantity-quality' trade-offs as rationalistic discourse would suggest, but, is in a sense, a 'women-centred' response to limited economic means and high levels of insecurity.

The fact that life circumstances for, in particular, most women in Winterveld are not improving, but remain harsh, offers some credence to Lesthaeghe's[52] views on how living with economic hardship over lengthy periods of time may result in definite attempts to limit and control child-bearing. Rather than smaller family size being associated with signs of upward economic and social mobility,[53] it is linked in Winterveld with resistance to poverty. The two responses below, extracted from the life histories of two young women, are typical responses to questions on marriage and child-bearing.

> KS said[54]: 'My main aim is to find work. I will want to be about thirty years old when I marry ... and have another child. The man I marry must be educated. He must be supportive and not 'mess around'.

> MG said[55]: 'I want to have a career. Marriage is something for later ... When I fell pregnant my boyfriend said the baby was not his. His mother and sister were talking for him. He gives them money. They did not want me to have any of it ... I am bringing up my daughter myself ... I need money for her food and clothes ... I think two children is a good number of children.

My original research report contains detailed probing of the linkages between women's work, or lack thereof, and reproduction. I will omit such quantitative analysis from this paper and make only a few related cursory observations. Macro-level quantitative data in South African research consistently find an association between occupational category and reproduction — eg unskilled workers have higher fertility than skilled workers.[56] Whilst this kind of categorising is important, we need closer interrogation of motivations in 'moments' when people face the prospect of unemployment or lose their jobs unexpectedly. Women in economically insecure situations were revealed, in the micro-survey, to want to delay or avoid pregnancies and women in secure jobs were less 'unhappy' about

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52   RJ Lesthaeghe in Lesthaeghe (n 8 above) 475.
53   Caldwell & Caldwell (n 12 above) 250.
54   Interview, KS, 11 October 1998, Winterveld.
55   Interview, MG, 8 November 1998, Winterveld.
56   du Plessis (n 20 above).

'falling pregnant soon'. These sorts of findings contradict dominant arguments that suggest that, in the absence of work opportunities, women may be more willing to have larger numbers of children as 'insurance' and as safeguards against 'risk' in the future.[57] It is also at odds with macro-survey data results that show women's involvement in work to be a deterrent to childbearing. As already maintained, the qualitative interviews showed, somewhat confidently, that when women found work they sometimes talked about children as becoming more affordable. This can be illustrated by reference to TM's story[58]. I include this fairly lengthy vignette to draw attention to one woman's decision about when and under what circumstances an additional child was desirable. The vignette is intended to illustrate some elements of the broader context within which this decision is made.

> TM (29) explained why she did not want a second child in the near future: 'When I finished school I wanted to be a social worker but I had no money. I had a teacher in school who was very good to me. He wanted to sponsor me for tertiary education. He promised to help me even before we wrote our examinations. I did well in my examinations. I got a matriculation exemption. My best subjects were English and Geography. After that he said I should come to his house and speak to his wife. Unfortunately, his wife said "no". She did not want him to support my studies or give me money. His wife was also a teacher, and they had no children, but she did not want him to help me. I was very disappointed. Of all my disappointments in life this one was my biggest disappointment'. TM said that she saw this teacher in 1999 and he was very disappointed that she had not progressed academically. In 1993 her grandmother's younger brother had also offered to help her 'but he did not keep his promise. I used to keep telephoning him until I gave up hope'. TM talked about her younger sister, Lena, who was supporting the family. Lena was working at a carpentry place. Her work entailed varnishing the planks. "She does not tell anyone what she earns. She does not support the family like I used to. She buys things only if she wants. We do not know what she does with her money. Her child does not have clothes ... the child is struggling now. She is no longer at pre-school. If you ask her why — she says she does not have money. Lena and her boyfriend separated recently. We see that he does not come home anymore". At that stage, communication between the sisters had deteriorated and they no longer talked much about anything. TM said, 'Lena is stubborn. You cannot ask her why the father of her child has left. If you ask she will insult you. She will also say, "women of your age have their own homes". Then you regret asking. I cannot talk to Lena. It is better to talk to my younger sister, Nomsa'. Attached to TM's and Nomsa's mud and tin home is another smaller 'room' cleverly structured and made of mud and wooden planks. Lena built a room for herself separate from the rest of her kin, possibly as a sign of independence but

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[57]   M Cain 'Perspectives on family and fertility in developing countries' (1982) 36 *Population studies* 159.

[58]   Interview, TM, 27 February 1999, Winterveld.

also to avoid dealing with their demands and the pressure of responsibility.

TM's boyfriend, Samson, lived in Makaunyane nearby. She said, 'maybe we will get married if his job pays him well. Then we will move out on our own'. She also talked about her thoughts on having children. 'I wanted to get another child now, so that by the time I am thirty years I will be sterilised, but I do not have money. My boyfriend was not earning much. Now he is gone to his brother at Bushbuckridge [in the Northern Province] to get a driver's licence. Maybe then he can work as a driver. There are many chances for a job then. He was working last year but he is retrenched now. In April [1999] he must reapply; he could get a temporary post'.

TM explained why she wanted only two children. 'Life is not like those old days. Two is enough. Samson and I talked about this before. He is happy with two children. He has no parents. He lives with his sisters. The sisters used to talk to me. They said that Beverly [TM's daughter] is getting too big [she was 8 years old] and I should have another child. I said, 'money talks'. It is too much money to bring up another child. I am lucky that this child of mine was never sickly. Since she was born she has never been to a doctor. Her only sickness was coughing. I took her to the clinic for some cough mixture. I need to save all my money to prepare for the next child. If I find a job I will have another child ... I still take the pill but I need to be careful about how I take it. Samson wants me to have another child now. I said I do not want another one now. He feels that he will get work soon ... Last year we agreed to have another child this year [1999] but I did not know that I was going to lose my job then'.

Although TM is in a comparatively strong relationship she did not trust Samson's promises of finding a job soon, nor could she rely on members of her family for financial support. The crucial issue delaying her willingness to have another child was her concern, in view of her unemployment, about whether she could afford to support another child. At the same time, it is also important to emphasise that women's thoughts and 'decisions' about children were often changeable. There were numerous times in the course of fieldwork when I re-asked women about whether or not they would prefer to have more children than they already did. Often women reassessed their original answers, particularly when economic circumstances had changed favourably or when they had entered into more secure relationships. As an illustration:

When I first interviewed FN[59] in 1998 she worked long hours as a travel consultant for Dixie's Travel Agency[60] in Pretoria. Her tasks were varied but she dealt mainly with aliens who wanted to remain for longer periods in the country. The priority areas were re-entries, work permits, passports and IDs. For this she earned only R750 per month. Her transport costs per month were about R200. Her actual income in hand was therefore lower. Her employers first paid her R1000 a month, then

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[59]   Interview, FN, 10 June 1998, Winterveld.
[60]   A pseudonym.

reduced it to R800 before it dropped to R750. FN accepted lesser remuneration rather than face retrenchment. She was understandably very frustrated with her work. She said at the time: 'I need to buy beautiful things for myself. I cannot manage to buy anything with the way they pay me'. She was quite sure at the time that she would not be having another child because she was happy with one child. 'It has been hard to bring up my child [he was a teenager at the time] ... having another child will be a burden'.

By December 1999 FN[61] had resigned from her work and obtained qualifications to set up her own travel agency. She was planning to run her business from home. Through various schemes FN was accumulating the start-up capital for this small business venture. On the brink of being self-employed and now almost forty years old, FN said the following: 'I am owing myself one more child. I am not yet settled. It was not good to have just one. I will be happy to have one more. If I do not, I will accept having just one' ... When asked again what her 'ideal number' of children was, she responded: 'The "ideal number" of children to have is two. It does not matter, though, it depends on God and if God allows me to have one more ... I am having a relationship now. It is not a bad relationship. It has been going on for about a year now'.

FN's sense of security increased quite significantly after she became self-employed. It forced her to re-evaluate aspects of her life, including her prior thoughts on relationships and child-bearing. It was in this context that an additional child was considered desirable. Work, for some women, might invite intentions to fulfil what they might consider as previously unfulfilled reproductive roles. In reality, though, FN's plan to set up an agency did not materialise. By 2003 she was still not able to secure the necessary finances to initiate the venture. Her relationship had also ended and she no longer contemplated an additional child. FN's case and those similar suggest that reproductive decisions fluctuate; the haphazardness of the child-bearing pattern in Winterveld is shaped by a broader nexus of relationships and structures. The fluidity of the decision-making processes is thus contingent on the simultaneous interplay of these constraints and women's actions to contend with them in gaining more control over reproduction.

There are a number of factors, apart from affordability, that intervene in taking the simple choice out of women's hands. The most obvious of these is reduced fecundity as a result of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), which are widespread in Winterveld. Whilst women did not talk about HIV/AIDS with any great urgency in the period of fieldwork (1998-1999), in 2005 the rapid increase in the deaths of young women is generating much discussion and anxiety. The spread of HIV/AIDS is an additional factor cited by Lesthaeghe[62] that he suggests could lead to certain parts of Africa steering 'away

61   Interview, FN, 18 December 1999, Winterveld.
62   RJ Lesthaeghe in Lesthaeghe (n 8 above) 480.

from a classic fertility transition'. This new regime which South Africa is producing is likely to impact significantly on population dynamics, particularly in poverty-stricken areas such as Winterveld. Thus, Lesthaeghe's argument that fertility could decline owing to the effects of a series of hardships, entrenched over a sustained period of time, does have relevance for this particular case study. Arguably, it will become all the more significant as the HIV/AIDS pandemic begins to affect (in more ruthless ways) relationships, sexual behaviour and levels of mortality.

6. Conclusion

The women's stories in Winterveld suggest gendered responses to poverty that are having an impact on fertility and gender relations. Masculine responses to economic hardship and domestic strife have included desertion and violence against women. In circumstances where women are not abandoned they often complain about their partner's inability to earn a living and to the enormous demands on them to maintain their children and see to the needs of a household. Stress within households is generally aggravated by abusive acts and accusations of infidelity. Households without the daily presence of men are common and the general experience of poverty keeps familial bonds fragile and subject to the constant threat of dissolution. The life histories of both older and younger women indicate that while family life has always been subject to various kinds of domestic and economic pressure, the structure of households and support networks have been severely challenged by Winterveld's endurance of increasing marginalisation and neglect in recent years. In these circumstances it has been common for women to bear children in more than one union, to avoid pregnancy when it does not serve material interests, and to seek to have as small a number of children as is commonly associated with well-educated women in developed countries.

Increasingly, studies argue that more needs to be understood about how reproductive decisions are made,[63] whether these 'decisions' can be seen to be stable fertility goals[64] and the extent to which they reflect power differentials in the domestic domain.[65] However, it is largely within the framework of formal marriage structures that negotiations and decision-making are explored. It is rarely the case that marriage or the weakening of conjugal and social bonds becomes the focus of in-depth scrutiny in the predominantly large scale studies of fertility. Nor is it common for demographers to explore and re-

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[63]   Eg AK Blanc *et al Negotiating reproductive outcomes in Uganda* (1996).
[64]   C Bledsoe *et al* 'Reproductive mishaps and Western contraception: An African challenge to fertility theory' (1998) 24 *Population and Development Review* 15.
[65]   Kabeer (n 6 above).

explore complex behaviours in diverse social and economic micro-settings despite the analytical benefits of such undertakings. The demographic enterprise is currently giving rise to concerted efforts to develop more unifying and universalistic explanations for fertility decline,[66] at the same time as anthropological demographers are reiterating the necessity to recognise the cultural embeddedness and specificity of fertility behaviour in different socio-economic contexts.[67] It could be argued that within the African, or developing countries context, a lot more exploration of local realities and the way they impact on 'decisions' and 'choices' is required before more universalistic explanations can be sought.

With respect to the Winterveld case study, I would like to argue that the issues of domestic violence and economic insecurity combine to make Lesthaeghe's hypothesis of a crisis-led or hardship-driven fertility transition particularly relevant. At its most basic level, it relies on 'frustrated aspirations' because of expectations of changes in economic circumstances but continuing experience of 'rising costs of childrearing, reduced prospective utility of educated children, and declining opportunities for adults in general'.[68] Women in Winterveld, who have lived with uncertainties and insecurities in the past, continue to live with deep disappointment in the state and local structures as few social and economic changes are witnessed in the present. Inability to find independent work leads to attempts to elicit support from familial and other social networks. Lesthaeghe[69] argues that 'it is not at all clear whether the added strain leads to tighter solidarity and mutual sacrifice or to harder bargaining'. Mutual sacrifice and harder bargaining co-exist in Winterveld. Increasingly, though, the space for bargaining is declining as families and networks resist child-rearing responsibilities and familial obligations. 'Greater dependency of children on female incomes', which Lesthaeghe[70] cites as an important factor intensifying a sense of crisis, is becoming the norm in Winterveld.

It is not being argued that fertility decline in South Africa is largely a consequence of a struggle against poverty and hardship. Of course, different factors, some associated with 'economic improvement', might be operating at different levels (and in different contexts) to shape the general picture of lowered fertility. However, central to a more qualitative study of reproduction and to an understanding of what these different factors are, would be the need to broaden

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[66] J Caldwell 'The global fertility transition: The need for a unifying theory' (1997) 23 *Population and development review* 803.

[67] DI Kertzer & T Fricke *Anthropological demography. Toward a new synthesis* (1997).

[68] RJ Lesthaeghe in Lesthaeghe (n 8 above) 477-478.

[69] RJ Lesthaeghe 478.

[70] As above.

perspectives on the conditions of women's lives and the way these conditions lead to the adoption of particular survival strategies and shifting of practices. Demographic studies do not usually integrate notions of women's agency into analyses of fertility.[71] Paying close attention to gendered actions, and the social constraints shaping them, would be essential in developing more complex and gender-sensitive accounts of changing reproductive dynamics.

[71]   JM Abwunza *Women's voices, women's power. Dialogues of resistance from East Africa* (1997).

Six / Engendering mobility: towards improved gender analysis in the transport sector

Christo Venter
Mac Mashiri
Denise Buiten

1. Introduction

Day-to-day travel to access paid employment, undertake household maintenance tasks, and for social interaction, is both an important determinant of individual welfare and a significant cost to individuals and their households. Traditional transport planning has tended to focus primarily on access to employment, addressing the travel needs of regular commuters through the provision of improved transport infrastructure and services while paying limited attention to non-work travel occurring outside the morning and afternoon peak periods.

However, in recent years there has been a relatively strong consensus to move towards understanding and meeting a wider range of travel needs, including those of particular user groups such as low-income persons. These travel needs include those relating to servicing social and reproductive work, as well as informal productive work — the types of activities that tend to be performed by women, yet are seldom sufficiently recognised or valued for the function they perform in sustaining households and communities.[1] A result of the more narrow focus of traditional transport planning, as Mahapa points out, is that transport systems have tended to 'function in ways which prioritise men's needs and viewpoints over those of women'.[2] Transport needs arising from women's multiple roles are often not adequately addressed in transport research and implementation initiatives. Furthermore, evaluations of the success of development initiatives often neglect to reflect the gendered distribution of benefits or consider the influence of social-reproductive work on these interventions.

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[1] M Mashiri *Improving mobility and accessibility for developing communities* (1997).

[2] S Mahapa *Spatial & social exclusion: Travel & transport needs of rural women in Limpopo, South Africa* (2003) 4.

Research on gender and transport in developing countries has to date mostly focused on rural areas. In review two main findings stand out. Firstly, most of the literature indicates significant differences in the transport needs of men and women, reflecting to a large extent differences in the constructed roles of men and women in society. Secondly, studies across the developing world have highlighted the transport burden women face on a daily basis — perhaps best illustrated by the dominance of head-loading and the transport of firewood and water by rural women.[3]

However, there is a paucity of information relating to urban and peri-urban women's transport needs, and their effects on the socio-economic and physical welfare of women and their communities. In addition, a tendency to equate 'gender' with 'women' has led to insufficient attention being paid to the relationship between men and women as an important determinant of mobility outcomes. The result has been, at times, that interventions aimed at reducing women's transport burden, for instance by increasing access to appropriate technologies such as bicycles, have failed because of cultural prohibitions or because men enjoy privileged access to vehicles in a household.[4]

For development to be sustainable and equitable, gender needs to be mainstreamed into transport research and implementation initiatives. This is important for the design and implementation of transport systems that are responsive to the practical needs of women, households, and indeed communities. Mainstreaming gender is also necessary for the empowerment of women, particularly the poor, by addressing their strategic needs such as access to socio-economic opportunities. Although a few systematic gender inclusion procedures exist to promote gender-sensitivity and responsiveness in transport sector policies in developing countries, the institutional framework as well as the official and political will to operationalise them is weak.

In South Africa, the need to put in place transport sector gender analysis frameworks and methodologies, predicated upon a rights-based approach to, as Grieco puts it, 'move from the activities of marginal policy activists to mainstream professional practice',[5] is of critical importance. It is the purpose of this chapter to advance the

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[3]   DF Bryceson & J Howe 'Rural household transport in Africa: Reducing the burden on women?' (1993) 21(11) *World Development* 1715; M Grieco & J Turner 'Gender, poverty & transport: A call for policy action' (1997) *Proceedings of the UN International Forum on Urban Poverty (HABITAT): 'Governance & participation: Practical approaches to urban poverty reduction'*; M Mashiri *et al Towards a rural accessibility planning framework* (1998); P Maramba & M Bamberger *A gender responsive monitoring & evaluation system for the Rural Travel & Transport Programs in Africa: A handbook for planners, managers and evaluators* (2001).

[4]   Bryceson & Howe (n 3 above).

[5]   M Grieco & J Turner (n 3 above) 2.

discourse between gender analysis and transport, specifically within the urban development context, with a view to promoting an understanding of the strategic role of transport, access and mobility in addressing strategic human (including gendered) development issues. The objective is to explore the use of practical frameworks and tools that can be used by transport and urban analysts in starting to examine the gender aspects of their work. In 1993, Moser noted that analysts often 'lack the necessary planning principles and methodological tools'[6] to do so. This is felt to be true still of the area of transport, mobility and access, which could benefit from drawing on existing gender analysis frameworks and further developing them towards the engendering of the field.

The gender analysis framework explored here is based on Caroline Moser's well-known work in the gender and development field,[7] but is extended for application specifically in the transport field. The framework's application is illustrated briefly with examples from recent research undertaken by the authors in South Africa. The chapter first provides a brief overview of previous work on gender, transport, and development, in order to place the present discussion in a larger context. Then the proposed framework is discussed with its examples, highlighting methodological issues that are relevant to the discussion.   A final discussion and conclusions follow at the end.

2. Gender and transport in developing countries: Previous research

In developed countries research on the travel patterns and needs of women has been ongoing for several decades. The gender perspective in transport followed partly from an increased awareness of the ways in which societal expectations of differing economic and social roles for men and women impose different travel needs and constraints on each group.[8]

Gender aspects of transport have also been the focus of an increasing number of studies in developing countries, where surveys relating to

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[6]   C Moser *Gender planning and development: Theory, practice and training* (1993) 5. See also M Mashiri *et al* 'Towards setting a research agenda around main-streaming gender in the transport sector' (2005) *Proceedings: South African Transport Conference* for an overview of critical issues around the mainstreaming of gender in transport in Southern Africa.

[7]   Moser (n 6 above).

[8]   M Wachs 'The Gender Gap' (1997) *ITS Review* 1. Good overviews of previous and contemporary work on women and travel in developed countries are provided by S Rosenbloom (ed) *Women's travel issues: Proceedings from the Second National Conference, October 23-26, 1996* (1996); K Hamilton 'Gender and transport in developed countries' in *Expert Workshop 'Gender perspectives for Earth Summit 2002: Energy, Transport, Information for Decision Making'* (2001); and A Root & L Schintler 'Gender, Transportation, and the Environment' in DA Hensher & KJ Button (eds) *Handbook of transport and the environment* (2003) 647.

transport have increasingly incorporated gender-disaggregated figures and analyses.[9] Gender differences in time spent on travel and transport, as well as socio-economic and health costs relating to transport, have been highlighted. The consensus within gender and transport research has been that women bear a greater transport burden than men. This leads to what has been termed 'time poverty' for women, especially in rural and peri-urban areas where the excessive amounts of time spent walking to fields or collecting firewood and water reduces the time available for undertaking other personal or household tasks. Time poverty is considered a key constraint to low-income women's ability to accumulate assets and reduce their vulnerability.[10] The overview below discusses previous findings on women's transport burdens related to women's demand for travel, and the mobility constraints faced by many women.

Furthermore, although the diversity of women's activities — relating to commercial and subsistence production, social-reproduction and community development — are deemed important for sustaining households and communities, they are inadequately supported by transport sector initiatives.[11] The second and third sections below summarise arguments around the linkages between gender, transport, and development, and around the mainstreaming of gender analysis in transport policies, strategies and programs.

2.1   Demand for transport: women's activities, transport patterns, and mobility constraints

The diversity of women's travel needs stems from the variety of roles they fulfil within society. Although these roles vary between societies, classes and ethnic groups, a convenient way of examining them is to consider women's 'triple role', in which they are responsible for paid productive work, reproductive work — such as childcare and household management — and community management work — maintaining community and social networks.[12] For rural women, the travel-related tasks most frequently identified in the available literature include trips to the fields, collection of firewood and water, travel to grinding mills and dip tanks, nursing the sick and

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[9]   For example M Mashiri (n 1 above); E Vasconcellos 'Urban transport and equity: the case of São Paulo' (1998) 4 *World Transport Policy & Practice* 9.

[10]   World Bank *Cities on the move: a World Bank urban transport strategy review* (2002).

[11]   Bryceson & Howe (n 3 above); C Calvo *Case study on the role of women in rural transport: Access of women to domestic facilities* (1994); Grieco & Turner (n 3 above); Turner & Fouracre 'Women and transport in developing countries' (1995) 15 *Transport Reviews* 77; Maramba & Bamberger (n 3 above); M Mashiri & S Mahapa 'Social exclusion & rural transport: A road improvement project' in P Fernando & G Porter (eds) *Balancing the load: Women, gender & transport* (2002).

[12]   Moser (n 6 above).

taking them to clinics and hospitals, and trips to the market and shops.

The time constraints imposed by the need to engage in reproductive and community management tasks may limit the potential range of work opportunities that can be accessed in the available time. For women living on the peripheries of cities facing long travel distances to work — as is often the case with newly urbanised or resettled people — the limiting effect on their ability to pursue livelihood activities can be particularly damaging. For instance, after resettlement of Delhi's central area squatter colonies on cheaper peripheral land, unemployment among women rose by 27% compared to 5% for men.[13] Women's work trips have also been found to be more spatially concentrated in the local neighbourhood or at home, and tend to be shorter than men's,[14] although this varies according to local settlement patterns.

It has been established that while women spend much time and energy performing these critical tasks, they often have inadequate access to appropriate modes of transport for these purposes. Public transport often fails to provide for women's transport needs, as it tends to be structured around times and routes associated with peak period commuting patterns. The orientation of most public transport towards the Central Business Districts of cities poorly matches the more diverse, suburb-to-suburb travel patterns of many women.

In many cases, especially in deep rural areas, public transport does not exist. Furthermore, research shows that most vehicles (including bicycles, animal-drawn carts and wheelbarrows, collectively referred to as intermediate modes of travel (IMTs)) are owned, controlled and used by men.[15] In a vicious circle, the lack of access to faster modes contributes to excessive amounts of time spent travelling, which is considered a key constraint to poor women's ability to accumulate assets and reduce their vulnerability. As Fernando and Porter put it, 'women's transport burden contributes to women's time poverty'.[16]

The trend is reversed, however, as women gain more control over household income and men come to appreciate and depend on women's incomes (most often from informal jobs). In some Asian

13   C Moser & L Peake (eds) *Women, human settlements and housing* (1987).
14   Turner & Fouracre (n 11 above); AR Abidemi 'Gender differences in intra-urban travel behaviour: a preliminary survey in Ibadan, Nigeria' in X Godard & I Fatonzoun (eds) *Urban mobility for all – proceedings of the Tenth International CODATU Conference* (2002).
15   Bryceson & Howe (n 3 above) 15; Mashiri (n 1 above); Maramba & Bamberger (n 3 above) 2.
16   P Fernando & G Porter 'Bridging the gap between gender & transport' in Fernando & Porter (eds) (n 11 above) 2.

cities, for instance, women are increasingly gaining mobility by purchasing motorised two-wheelers as household incomes rise.[17]

Children's transport burdens and needs are often highlighted in gender and transport research, as children too generally have little control over and access to transport-related resources, and since their care is primarily entrusted to women. Most children from low-income households travel long distances — often on foot — to attend school.[18] Many are unable to attend school for this reason, particularly girls, whose safety is a concern. They are also often responsible for tasks such as firewood and water collection.[19]

2.2   Women's mobility constraints and development

Women's mobility constraints have been recognised as having an impact on women's time, security and position in society. More generally, women's mobility constraints have been linked to a lack of economic growth and social sustainability in households and communities, and as having an impact on the success of development strategies.[20] A number of stakeholders in the field, including the World Bank, have asserted that women's transport burdens and needs must be addressed in order for development to be equitable, feasible and sustainable.[21] Thus, mainstreaming gender in the transport sector is increasingly being viewed not only as a rights issue, but also as part of a business case for development projects and investments.

While gender equity (including gendered power relations issues), mobility and access are considered as basic rights in the gender and transport discourse, increased productivity by women and the overall economic growth that could result from freeing women from the time poverty emanating from domestic tasks and an excessive transport burden, have also frequently been emphasised.[22] This could improve not only women's station in society, but also the economic growth of developing countries. However, the extent to which this emphasis

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[17]   For example A Astrop 'The Urban Travel Behaviour and Constraints of Low Income Households and Females in Pune, India' in Rosenbloom (ed) (n 8 above).

[18]   G Porter & K Blaufuss *Children, transport & traffic in southern Ghana* (2002); R Behrens 'Understanding travel needs of the poor: towards improved travel analysis practices in South Africa' (2004) *Transport Reviews* 24 317-36; A Murray *et al Rural transport plan: Baseline report* 2004.

[19]   There is danger in uncritically aligning children's issues with women's as this may reinforce patriarchal approaches to women, and serve the interests of neither group. Children's mobility and access problems are of course worth studying in their own right.

[20]   J Lebo 'The importance of gender in socially sustainable transport programs: A donor perspective' in *Proceedings of the 1999 World Bank Gender & Transport Conference* (1999); Mahapa (n 2 above).

[21]   Lebo (n 20 above).

[22]   Bryceson & Howe (n 3 above) 20; Grieco & Turner (n 3 above) 2; Maramba & Bamberger (n 3 above) 2.

may contribute to women's tactical or strategic interests and objectives has been questioned.[23] Contextual specificities could impact on the ways in which 'freed up' time is used by women.[24] Furthermore, it is important not only to encourage women's participation in commercial activities, but to ensure that this participation does not merely shift the locus of their exploitation. It is thus important to understand that an increase in women's productive and commercial activities may not address the gender imbalances in time and energy spent on work, as well as imbalances in ownership and benefits gained from increased production.

The negative impacts of mobility constraints on the health and vulnerability of poor women have also frequently been raised. Women's health is negatively affected by head-loading, and a lack of access to safe transport modes can make them vulnerable to accidents (for example, when walking along transport infrastructure such as roads and paths), environmental dangers (such as snake-bites and floods in river beds) and sexual harassment (for example on public transport).[25] The links between constrained mobility and high levels of maternal mortality in Africa are also coming sharply into focus, as women struggle to access ante-natal and emergency health care services.[26]

2.3   Mainstreaming gender in the transport sector

In response to research findings regarding women's transport needs and constraints, a number of gender-sensitive approaches to transport have been suggested. In terms of transport infrastructure and services interventions that can address women's specific practical needs, the following are often suggested:
- An inter-sectoral approach in relieving women's transport burden, particularly in bringing various resources to rural women (for example, water wells closer to rural homesteads and energy efficient ovens).
- Recognition of women's social-reproductive work as work, in order to design public transport in a way that better meets women's needs.
- Building of good paths, roads and bridges connecting socio-economic activity areas frequented by women and the provision of affordable transport services to enable them to travel more easily and safely.

[23] Bryceson & Howe (n 3 above) 21.
[24] Mashiri et al (n 3 above).
[25] Bryceson & Howe (n 3 above) 7; Grieco & Turner (n 3 above) 3; Maramba & Bamberger (n 3 above) 11; Fernando & Porter (n 16 above) 10.
[26] M Grieco *Toolkit on gender, transport and maternal mortality in Africa* (2005).

- Design and promotion of appropriate and sustainable technologies such as IMTs that can meet women's transport and access needs.

Researching and considering the role of cultural practices and beliefs are also important steps towards the design of appropriate transport interventions. The importance of this has been identified as being two-pronged:

- Locally specific cultural practices and beliefs inform the allocation of roles, status, power, and resources within households and communities. Thus, knowledge of cultural practices and beliefs is essential for understanding the gendered ways in which households and communities function and thus for identifying various transport needs through a gender-sensitive lens. For this to be achieved, meaningful involvement and participation of women in the planning of transport initiatives is critical.[27]
- Cultural practices and beliefs affect the success of transport interventions. For example, the benefits for women through the introduction of IMTs will be influenced by whether or not those forms of transport are considered appropriate for women, and by the gendered control over and access to such resources.[28]

The diversity of circumstances, practices and beliefs impacting on the success of gender sensitive interventions in rural areas also underscores the need for a better understanding of gender issues in more urbanised communities.

3. Towards appropriate gender-analysis frameworks for rural and urban transport

3.1 Choosing a gender analysis framework for the transport sector

The frameworks reviewed here for application in the transport sector draw largely from a development and poverty alleviation base. Thus, these frameworks are intended to be applied in programmes, policies and initiatives involving low-income communities in both urban and rural contexts. Of course, spatial location — particularly in South Africa, where the effects of systematic and spatially designed exclusion are still visibly present — plays an important role in the

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[27]   Grieco & Turner (n 3 above); Mahapa (n 2 above); Maramba & Bamberger (n 3 above); Turner & Fouracre (n 11 above).

[28]   S Agarwal *et al* 'Bearing the weight: The Kayayoo, Ghana's working girl child' in *Proceedings of the UNICEF Conference: "The Girl Child"* (1994) 1; Maramba & Bamberger (n 3 above) 2; J A Mwankusye 'Do intermediate means of transport reach rural women?' in Fernando & Porter (eds) (n 11 above) 48; Mashiri & Mahapa (n 11 above).

socio-economic character of a community. These spatial dynamics would need to be accounted for and integrated in the application of any gender analysis framework.

A number of gender analysis frameworks have been developed for and applied in the development field. Some of the most well known ones are the Harvard Framework,[29] the Gender Analysis Matrix,[30] the Capacities and Vulnerabilities Analysis Framework[31], and Longwe's Women's Empowerment Framework.[32] The frameworks vary in their philosophical approach, scope of analysis, and the specific tools they employ for data collection and representation.

The chapter does not provide an exhaustive description or comparison of the available frameworks; other authors have done this well.[33] Rather it focuses on a single framework that seems best suited to analyse the problems and needs surrounding mobility and access, and in which the language is accessible to planners. It is also flexible enough to be applied at multiple levels of analysis, from regional or metropolitan planning and policy formulation, through to designing and monitoring transport interventions at the community level. Despite the appeal of the Moser framework on these grounds, it is not necessarily the best under all circumstances. Other approaches such as the Social Relations Approach[34] may, for instance, be better for performing gender analysis of transport institutions, while aspects of the Gender Analysis Matrix approach may be more powerful in supporting transformative community-based development work. The reader is encouraged to test and adapt or replace the proposed framework as needed.

3.2   The Moser framework: An introduction

The Women in Development (WID) approach, born in the 1970's, promoted the separate treatment of 'women's issues'.[35] In reaction, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach challenged many of the assumptions behind the WID approach, and argued for an integrated perspective and approach to gender issues in planning. One of the key elements of this was to argue for a closer look at gender *relations*, as opposed to concentrating research and analysis on 'women's issues', recognising that gendered living involves a series of relationships and,

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[29] C Overholt *et al Gender roles in development projects: A case book* (1985).
[30] AR Parker *Another point of view: A manual on gender analysis training for grassroots workers* (1993).
[31] MB Anderson & PJ Woodrow *Rising from the ashes: Development strategies in times of disaster* (1989).
[32] S Williams *Oxfam gender training manual* (1995).
[33] For example C March *et al* (eds) *A guide to gender-analysis frameworks* (1999).
[34] N Kabeer *Reversed realities: Gender hierarchies in development thought* (1994).
[35] March *et al* (n 33 above).

as such, cannot be viewed in isolation. The Moser framework, developed by Caroline Moser in the early 1980's, in many ways exemplified this shift from a WID to a GAD approach.

Apart from the reasons stated above, the Moser framework was selected for the way in which it covers many of the most salient aspects of gender analysis, from gender roles to gendered power relations. It makes the quantitative empirical enquiries associated with the Harvard Framework, but also moves beyond that by investigating the reasons and processes behind patterns of ownership, control and responsibility (a relational approach, as espoused by GAD). Various aspects of gender analysis are flagged in this framework, and while some critiques have highlighted its failure to take a firmer political empowerment approach to gender analysis, it could lend itself to strengthening and development in this area by drawing on other frameworks. The Moser framework is therefore in its approach accessible to the many planners, policy makers and development programme implementers for whom gender analysis approaches and discourses are somewhat unfamiliar.

The Moser framework is operationalised in terms of six 'tools' which systematically direct the analyst's attention to key aspects of gender analysis. The six tools are listed in the following table and described below.

Key tools of the Moser framework
Tool 1: Gender roles identification (triple role).
Tool 2: Gender needs assessment (practical and strategic gender needs).
Tool 3: Disaggregating control of resources and decision-making within the household.
Tool 4: Planning for balancing the triple role.
Tool 5: Distinguishing between different aims in interventions – the WID/GAD policy matrix.
Tool 6: Involving women and gender-aware organisations and planners in planning.

3.3   Moser framework tool one: Gender tools identification

One of the cornerstones of gender analysis for development relates to unpacking differences in gender roles. Furthermore, gender analysis frameworks make a strong point of recognising different tasks as work — for example unpaid, domestic or informal work — types of work that tend to be undertaken by women but are often not recognised or appreciated for the roles they play in society. As such, many gender

analysis frameworks include looking at gendered roles, tasks and responsibilities, as well as their status in society and development projects. This tool draws strongly on these gender analysis principles.

The Moser framework provides a tool for assessing gender roles, by mapping gendered divisions of labour. In essence, applying this tool involves asking 'who does what?' and offers three categories through which to explore labour or activities, namely: reproductive work, productive work, and community work.[36] The framework aims to ensure that traditionally 'invisible' forms of work are made 'visible' and that all tasks and activities are valued equally. For example, it has often been noted that poor women undertake all three types of work as listed above, while men largely focus on productive and community work, especially of a political nature.

The table below provides examples of these categories, and offers some guidelines for the ways in which the details of these activities can be listed and further explored.

Who	Activity	Productive	Reproductive	Community
Rural woman	What?	Brews beer	Collects water	Funeral
	Frequency?	Twice weekly	3 times a day	Occasional
	Where?	At home	At the river	Neighbouring village
	How long?	Most of the day	3 hours daily	Two full days
	How fixed?	Flexible	Fairly flexible	Occasional
Urban woman	What?	Cooks and sells food	Household shopping	Local women's group meeting
	Frequency?	Daily	Every second day	Occasional
	Where?	Taxi rank	Local spaza	Neighbour's house
	How long?	7:00 to 18:00	15 minutes	2-3 hours
	How fixed?	Little flexibility – linked to commute times	Any time before 19:00	Flexible timing

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36   March (n 33 above) 56-57.

These are not rigidly divided activities. Community work, for example, could also lead to the production of a resource, and some have criticised these categories as artificial or insufficient to analyse gender power relations.[37] However, for those unfamiliar with gender analysis, the categories can offer a useful departure point and a tool with which to explore the gendered dimensions of labour, and in so doing, identifying transport and mobility needs and interests that are often overlooked by traditional approaches that tend to recognise, primarily, the types of work performed by men.

By taking activities, rather than travel, as its starting point, the tool is in keeping with the activity-based approach to travel analysis that has in recent years increasingly been recognised as a useful way to explore mobility and access needs of individuals.[38] By looking at all activities, transport and mobility concerns are raised that may otherwise be overlooked. For example, beer brewing has transport and mobility dimensions if we explore it further. Firstly, the fact that the brewing process requires plenty of water necessitates the need for transport to collect water. Secondly, the fact that it occurs at home and takes a number of days restricts mobility for the female brewers on certain days and at certain times. Thirdly, sourcing of ingredients and sometimes even the selling of this beer could also involve transport and mobility issues. Further enquiry could reveal that the brewer uses this as an income-generating enterprise to enable her to afford the trip to town to find gainful employment.

One research tool that is well suited to collecting the information required for identifying women's activities and their attributes is activity and time-use diaries. Best practice in the design and application of such techniques is advancing fast, including their use in gender studies.[39] Analysis of time use and activity data of individuals can be facilitated through graphical representation using time-space prisms, showing the complete activity path across a period of time. The figure below shows an illustrative example of a simple home-work-home activity path. The important role of transport in linking activities, and circumscribing the feasible times and places that can be accessed for activities, becomes clear. Analysis of the potential responses open to women in reaction to transport changes — for instance by shifting existing tasks around, or using time saved travelling for undertaking additional activities — can be undertaken using such graphical methods. Where possible, participatory techniques should be the primary source of information on such responses.

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[37]   March (n 33 above) 64-65.
[38]   For example TRL *Activity patterns, transport and policies for the urban poor: Urban mobility planning guidelines* (2003).
[39]   For example P Apps *Gender, time use and models of the household* (2004).

A major strength of the activity approach is that it encourages the analyst to consider the complexity of impacts, in terms of the activities that meet the livelihood aspirations of women, of any transport interventions proposed. This is in contrast to the much more narrow focus of traditional project evaluation which attempts to quantify user cost and time savings associated with a transport project, in order to calculate a benefit-cost ratio as the major measure of its impacts.[40]

However, what the tool omits is explicitly to account for the relationships between men and women's activities. Without addressing gender *relations*, delicate bargaining and cooperation systems can be overlooked. For instance, a woman could use extra time freed up by a transport intervention for performing an additional task on behalf of a male family member, in exchange for another favour done by this person. By completing and analysing activity patterns along the lines of the table above, for female *and* male members of a community, such linkages are more likely to be picked up.

An example of the way in which a focus on women's triple roles can enrich transport analysis is shown in Box 1.

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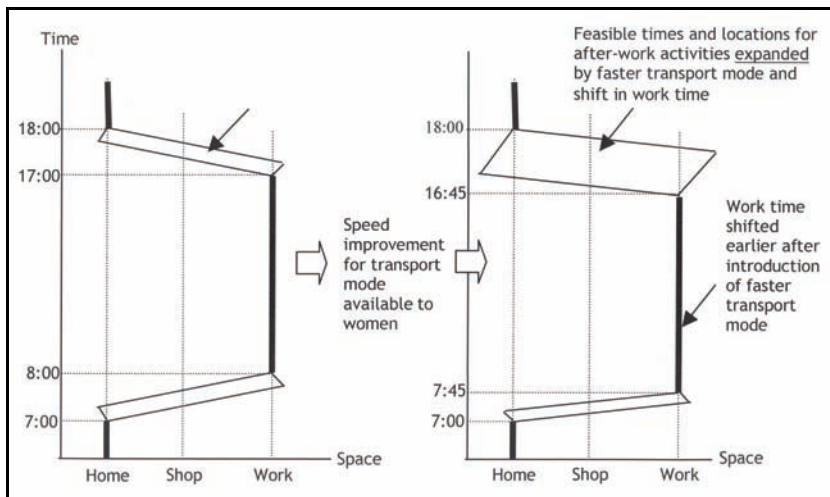
40   Vasconcellos (n 9 above) 9-20.

BOX 1 EXAMPLE: ACTIVITY PARTICIPATION

Recent household interview data from the eThekwini Metropolitan Area was used to examine gender differences in the activities attended and trips made across 600 households in different areas of the city of Durban (see Venter and Vokolkova, 2004). All households had low incomes, and lived in subsidised housing.

The graph below shows differences in the activity rates for male and female-headed households in four localities spread across the city, from rural (i.e. most distant) through peri-urban and peripheral (on the edge of the urbanised area), to urban core localities (located next to the Durban CBD).
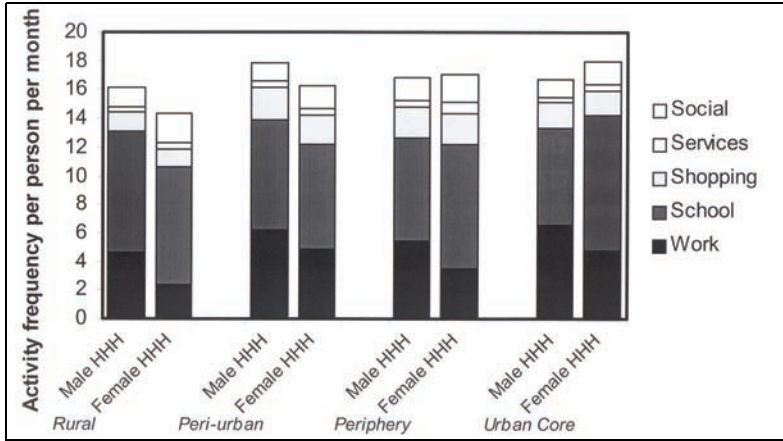
The graph not only confirms that, overall, significant differences exist between households headed by women as compared to men; but also that these differences correlate to a large degree with where the household is located within the city. In the most rural localities, female-headed households appear to be less mobile overall (on a per person basis) than male-headed households, while the opposite trend is observed in the more urban localities. This could be an indication of the relatively higher access and employment available closer to the inner city, which allows all households — and women in particular — to satisfy more of their out-of-home activity needs.

It is also evident that female-headed households tend to undertake a slightly different mix of activities: work activities are undertaken less frequently; shopping activities about as frequently; and school, services (including access to health care and pension pay-outs) and social/recreational activities more frequently than in male-headed households. This is so regardless of their location, indicating perhaps the strong effect of gender divisions of labour across a range of urban communities. Households headed by women also tended to have more children and elderly members (explaining the higher number of school and social service trips). Additional qualitative investigations could help to explore the reasons for these differences better.

3.4   Moser framework tool two: gender needs assessment

This tool leads from and builds on Maxine Molyneux's concept of women's gender interests.[41] The idea behind this concept is that women have specific interests, not only because of their triple work role (as described above) but because of their subordinate position in relation to men. Moser distinguishes between practical and strategic gender needs. Practical needs refer to those needs that, if they were met, would improve some immediately perceived situation such as housing or water provision, without challenging women's subordinate position in society. Strategic needs, on the other hand, relate to equalising the existing relationships of power between men and women, and would involve changing gender divisions of labour, power or control. Some examples of each are tabulated below.

Practical gender needs	Strategic gender needs
Water & fuel wood provision	Challenges to the gendered division of labour
Provision of contraceptives & antenatal care	Empowerment of women to have a choice over child bearing & sexual behaviour
Access to inputs for cultivation	Collective organisation
Opportunities for earning an income to provide for households	Challenges to women's subordinate position within the household

As is indicated in the table above, this tool encourages planners to move beyond the provision of services and infrastructure that meet women's immediate needs, towards the strengthening of women's position in society. In other words, the approach takes into account the reasons, and not just the symptoms, of women's subordinate positions and associated levels of poverty.

In terms of transport and mobility issues, three key elements of this tool can be emphasised. Firstly, the need to look at travel needs or interests, and not just travel patterns, is highlighted when considering strategic gender needs. For example, access to fuel wood and water for rural woman could be supplemented with initiatives that aim to facilitate access to socio-economic opportunities. Provision of improved non-motorised transport options could help alleviate a woman's domestic burden — thus meeting a practical need

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41   M Molyneux 'Mobilisation without emancipation? Women's interests, states and revolution in Nicaragua' (1985) *Feminist Studies* 11.

— as well as improve access to markets to sell produce for additional income — and thereby improving her strategic position.

Secondly, transport and mobility initiatives need to be undertaken in co-operation with other sectors. For example, providing access for women to health care services needs to be undertaken in cooperation with the health sector to ensure adequate, well-trained and gender responsive health care services are available when women get there. In addition, this could ensure that non-transport interventions such as placing a school in the middle of the catchment area or introducing a mobile clinic reducing the need for transport are considered as constituent parts of a suite of interventions.

Thirdly, the active and meaningful participation of women in transport planning and research needs to occur for strategic gender needs to emerge. This would also involve substantial qualitative research to get beyond immediate needs and identify opportunities to address strategic needs. Several of the participatory techniques developed for rural development work can be adapted to work in urban areas. An example is the 'participatory urban analysis' technique used by TRL in poor urban communities in Zimbabwe, Sri Lanka and Ghana to study the role of transport in meeting the communities' livelihood aspirations.[42] It is an adaptation of the well-known suite of techniques known as participatory rural appraisal, and includes semi-structured household interviews, mobility mapping, institutional diagramming, transport focused discussion starters, priority ranking of major concerns, and livelihoods analysis.

However, as March *et al*[43] point out, some have argued that the division between strategic and practical gender needs should not be rigidly or artificially maintained. For example, if immediate or practical needs are not met (such as food security, water provision and sanitation), women (and men) will be unlikely to challenge and engage issues around gender relations as they will be too busy eking out a living. Moser's framework encourages planners to begin thinking beyond this, and to look towards setting up longer-term, sustainable solutions that not only address these immediate needs, but also build towards improving the position of women in society.

3.5   Moser framework tool three: disaggregating control of resources and decision-making within the household

This tool is aimed at unpacking the processes and relationships inherent in the use of resources. It moves beyond traditional transport planning approaches that largely look at travel and transport use

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[42]   TRL (n 38 above).
[43]   March (n 33 above) 66.

patterns alone, towards the unravelling of power relationships that inform who has access to and control over resources and mobility patterns. This tool can also be used to unravel the bargaining processes involved in the allocation of resources, and in so doing inform transport planners of existing systems that may not be visible on an activity or time-use profile.

Looking at control over resources and decision-making powers can help to predict the benefits (or burdens) resulting from transport and mobility initiatives for development, as well as illuminate failures in past initiatives.[44] Some case studies have revealed that transport interventions meant to alleviate women's transport burdens have either entrenched the status quo or worsened the situation by bypassing the crucial question of power over resources. For example, during one project it was assumed that the introduction of carts in a village would reduce the burden of fetching firewood for women, as men would assume responsibility for this task.[45] However, men used the technology to collect firewood for commercial use and quickly exhausted the resources close to homesteads. In the end, women had to travel even further to collect firewood for domestic use. Thus, critical analyses of case studies highlight the need to examine the gendered control over resources and decision-making powers carefully, and to use this knowledge to plan, implement and evaluate transport initiatives.

An example of the type of questions that could be asked around access and control of transport resources is shown in Box 2.

3.6 Moser framework tool four: planning for balancing the triple role

This tool asks users to assess whether a planned initiative will increase a woman's workload in one role to the detriment of another. The argument is that, due to the multiple roles they tend to play, women need to balance competing roles, and that the level of balance between these roles will determine women's involvement in new initiatives.[46]

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[44] M Mashiri & P Mdoda *Developing & testing good practice guidelines for collecting gender-sensitive transport information* (2003).
[45] Mashiri *et al* (n 3 above).
[46] March (n 33 above) 59.

BOX 2 EXAMPLE: ACCESS TO AND USE OF CARS

Data on household car ownership and mode use in eThekwini show interesting differences between male and female-headed households regarding who controls and who benefits from ownership of private vehicles.

The graph below firstly shows car ownership trends on a household level across the four locality types (see Box 1 for an explanation). Female-headed households own fewer cars in all localities except the urban core, where car ownership is higher in households headed by women. As can be expected, *use* of motor vehicles (for all trip purposes) also tends to be lower in female-headed households outside the urban core, but higher inside the urban core locality. Once again, households in the more distant localities within the metro display gender related disparities in vehicle ownership and use that are similar to those that have been demonstrated by many previous researchers in deep rural areas. However, the pattern is reversed within the more central parts of the city, suggesting that traditional patterns of ownership and control over transport assets are changing across the urban landscape.
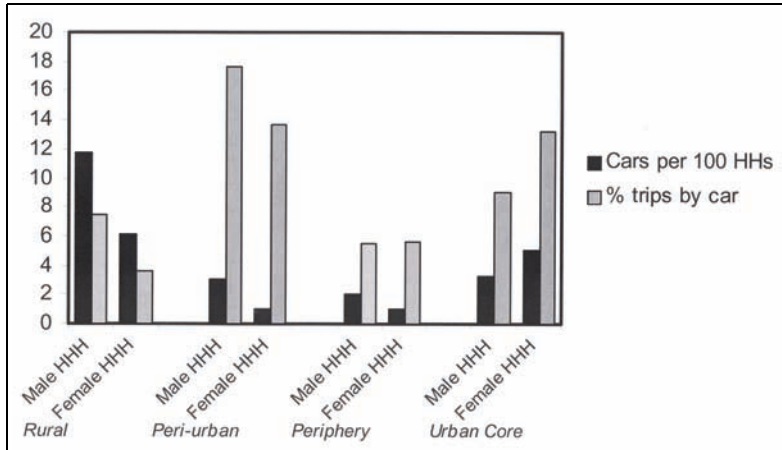
Further probing of patterns of vehicle use *within individual car-owning households* reveals somewhat surprisingly that, once a vehicle is acquired, women and men are about equally likely to use the car to travel to work and school. Additional qualitative inquiry into the processes of (transport) resource allocation between men and women could help explain outcomes such as these, and how they are changing over time. The example also highlights the need to go beyond the household as the unit of analysis, as this often masks underlying intra-household differences among people

A related issue is that of the overburdening of women through added roles and labour, or the shift in the locus of exploitation. For example, in the transport sector, women's employment in road construction and maintenance has been identified as a source of income for poor women, and has thus been encouraged in labour-intensive construction and maintenance projects. However, it is important to bear in mind women's reproductive and community activities as well, and to avoid merely adding to their labour burden. Furthermore, these types of work tend to be short-term, unstable (or unsustainable) and lowly paid. This relates again to strategic gender needs, of which sustainable employment could form an integral part, and in which employment of women should not be restricted to lowly paid work.

Furthermore, the issue of women's triple roles is highly relevant to transport and mobility issues as it relates to time constraints. Rural women in developing countries, for example, often spend a great deal of time collecting fuel wood and water for domestic use. This often constrains their participation in income-generating activities, as well as their participation in development projects and initiatives. Time use assessments and the relationship between time and women's various roles thus need to be considered in transport planning, and are raised in this tool.

The Moser framework also underscores the view that planning for women's triple roles requires inter-sectoral cooperation, since women's triple roles and the interplay between them are seldom taken into consideration when applying a single sector approach.[47] Multi-sectoral and non-transport interventions can also play a role in alleviating transport burdens, such as the provision of potable water close to households to alleviate women's burden of water collection.

In practical terms, application of this tool involves identifying possible transport and non-transport interventions, policies or projects. It then considers the potential of each set of interventions to address the practical and strategic gender needs identified previously, against the present realities of women's (and men's) activities and their access to/control over transport resources. Each of these tasks are probably best executed in a participatory setting that involves affected women and men in the process, thereby promoting understanding of the problems and creating ownership of the solutions.

In the urban context, studies have shown that women's multiple roles impact on their transport patterns and the availability of appropriate transport services. For example, the diversity of travel needs following from women's productive and reproductive work activities

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[47]   March (n 33 above) 59.

BOX 3 EXAMPLE: TRAVEL MODES USED FOR TRIPS TO WORK

Data from eThekwini Metropolitan Area illustrate some of the issues involved in untangling the relationships between activities, travel patterns, and socio-economic variables in the urban context. The graph below shows the use of transport modes for the trip to work, by the gender of the traveller (not the household head), and his/her residential location. Overall, women tend to walk more and use taxis more than men, while men make greater use of cars and traditional public transport (bus and train). However, the mode splits vary significantly across individual localities, and between men and women. It is evident that complex spatial and personal factors affect travel patterns in ways that make generalisations around men's and women's needs tenuous without consideration of other contextual factors.
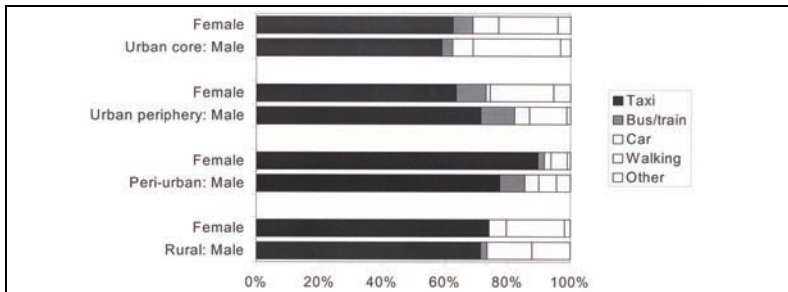
One of the factors that help explain the observed differences is the nature of employment of men and women. Women in the sample are much more likely to work in the informal, unskilled and self-employed sectors than men: overall 80% of female workers fall in this category, compared to only 56% of male workers. This impacts on their work travel — women have more dispersed travel destinations, particularly in the urban core where 70% of women's work trips are to destinations outside the traditional core of the city (the CBD), compared to only 38% of men's trips.

The result is that women's work travel patterns are less well suited to the service offered by traditional forms of public transport, which tend to be radially oriented towards the core employment areas, and run mostly during the peak commute periods. Both the taxi and walking modes provide more suitable travel options, because of their flexibility and better penetration into areas not served by buses and trains. Further probing into the travel costs paid for commute travel reveals that women also tend to pay more for taxi transport to work than men, calculated on a per-kilometer basis. This is particularly so in rural and urban core localities — in the latter case, for instance, female travellers pay on average R1.60 per kilometre, and male taxi users R1.10. This could be partly due to the fact that more women have to change taxis on their way to work, and travel on lower volume routes where charges are likely to be higher to compensate for lower vehicle loads.

It follows that any changes in the taxi industry may have significant impacts on

women's ability to access livelihood opportunities, and government inter-ventions in this area have to be scrutinised for such impacts. The discussion above suggests that beneficial interventions may involve coordinating taxi services to provide more direct routings between a variety of origins and destinations; and providing infrastructure and management that would im-prove the safety and quality of both the walking and waiting components of taxi trips. Investing in better taxi ranks and, as importantly, safer street environments along the route (not just at its ends), are certainly pro-women interventions. Furthermore, any policies that potentially raise the cost of taxi travel – such as the South African government's project to replace and upgrade taxi vehicles is likely to be – could have significant gendered impacts that need to be understood much better by policy makers and implementers.

— including shopping and taking children to various activities — means that traditional public transport, where available, may not suit their travel needs very well. An example of the issues arising, and potential intervention strategies, is given in Box 3.

A weakness of this tool is the lack of identification of instances in which women are excluded from certain roles, such as political and community participation.[48] The application of this tool would thus benefit from bearing these issues in mind.

3.7   Moser framework tool five: distinguishing between different aims in interventions – the WID/GAD policy matrix

This tool offers some broad categories through which users of the framework are encouraged to examine, question and make transparent their approach to development (and in particular to gender-sensitive development). The assumption that planning is a gender-neutral endeavour is challenged here, as it has been by gender analysts over the years. Thus, the ways in which different approaches transform or subordinate women's position are highlighted, and the ways in which these approaches address certain practical and strategic needs are unpacked.[49] The tool is primarily applied for evaluation purposes, but may also be used to determine an approach to a project or initiative during the planning phase.

Moser identified five policy approaches that have dominated development planning over the last few decades:[50]
- **Welfare approach**: Acknowledges women in their reproductive role only, and aims to meet their practical needs in their role as

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48   March (n 33 above) 66.
49   As above, 59.
50   As above, 60.

mothers and as passive recipients. Typical projects include providing food aid.

- **Equity approach**: In line with the WID approach, its purpose is to promote equality for women, for instance by promoting political and economic autonomy for women. It is considered by some to be threatening to men, and is unpopular with most governments.
- **Anti-poverty approach**: The purpose is to move poor women out of poverty by increasing their productivity, for instance through promotion of small-scale, income-generating projects. It thus sees women's poverty as a problem of underdevelopment rather than subordination. It is most popular with NGOs.
- **Efficiency approach**: Its purpose is to ensure that development is more efficient and effective through harnessing women's economic contribution. It seeks to meet women's practical gender needs, recognising all three roles. It has however been criticised for assuming that women's time is elastic, and that women can compensate for reduced state assistance by just extending their working day.
- **Empowerment approach**: The most recent approach, its purpose is to empower women to support their own initiatives, thus fostering self-reliance. Instead of taking a top-down approach to development, this approach advocates that strategic needs be met so that women themselves can make demands with respect to their practical needs.

Identifying the different approaches to development has relevance for planners in the transport and mobility fields, as it can help give an early indication of who are likely to be supporters and opponents to any proposed policies or projects. Furthermore, it is useful in unpacking and critiquing various assumptions and development paradigms. Most transport projects tend to fall within the ambit of the anti-poverty and efficiency approaches; where they aim to address practical gender needs, it is typically in pursuit of a general poverty reduction or development goal. Greater awareness of the welfare, empowerment and equity dimensions of a project may be desirable in itself.

3.8   Moser framework tool six: involving women and gender aware organisations and planners in planning

The importance of the involvement of women in planning has increasingly gained acknowledgement in the development arena, to the point that, in many projects and organisations, failure to do so is regarded severely. Moser argues that this involvement, as well as that of gender aware planners and organisations, is critical for the identification and incorporation of women's practical and strategic needs into planning processes, not only with respect to analysis, but

also with respect to decision-making around the prioritisation and defining of planning goals.[51]

This point has not yet been taken up sufficiently within the ambit of most transport policies and interventions. The discussion so far has intermittently suggested ways in which women's participation in gender-sensitive transport planning can be sought. The sixth Moser tool gives the analyst or planner a final check on whether the extent of involvement, and the way in which it is executed, are adequate.

4. Conclusions

The chapter attempts to promote greater gender sensitivity in policies and projects that impact on the mobility and access of men and women, be they transport or non-transport interventions. Specific frameworks and tools were explored for use by planners and engineers to conceptualise, analyse and incorporate gender issues in their development work. The focus was specifically shifted from rural towards more urban contexts, recognising the need for improved gender analysis in urban transport planning. In the South African context, as elsewhere in developing countries, women bear much of the burden of transport, and are particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment and various forms of assault, particularly in the case of poor women. These issues need to be addressed rigorously if women's empowerment is to occur and if women are to participate meaningfully in development processes that benefit households, communities and nations.

The Moser framework is considered appealing in this regard as it incorporates a language recognisable to planners — a point for which it has, on the one hand, been criticised as it could lead to the depoliticisation of its empowerment agenda,[52] but on the other hand, it can make it more accessible to planners for whom gender analysis discourses are alienating.

Furthermore, the Moser framework raises the importance of gender equitable empowerment in development initiatives, while maintaining the importance of looking at efficiency. The framework thus raises both aspects, and can be used to address both, or one, depending on the planner's interpretation.[53] In other words, this framework does not compel its user to adopt a radical or transformative gender mainstreaming approach, but allows on the other hand for empowerment issues to be developed and

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[51]   March (n 33 above) 60-61.
[52]   As above, 64.
[53]   As above, 26.

strengthened within the existing framework by parties with the political will to do so.

A useful extension to the Moser framework is to focus on *both* men and women in their gendered context. Men, too, are gendered beings, invested with gendered roles, beliefs, identities and powers. It is thus important to consider these in gender analyses, in order to understand women's position within gendered *systems* better.[54] Furthermore, looking at men's strategic gender interests and gendered identities can highlight their strong vested interests in processes of change, and in so doing enhance our understanding of their resistance to women's empowerment and the ways in which better to work with men towards transformation. This has relevance both 'on the ground' in working on development projects, and at an institutional level.

Furthermore, the Moser framework could benefit from increased attention to variables intersecting gender and mobility outcomes. The examples shown for Durban households highlighted, for instance, how both spatial (such as residential location) and non-spatial variables (such as employment type) can help create different transport options and mobility patterns for men and women. The differences between subgroups of women, and subgroups of men, need to be considered, and a homogeneous perspective of the genders avoided, for a fuller picture to emerge.

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[54]   March (n 33 above) 66.

Seven / Domestic violence in south africa: a restorative justice response

Jean D Triegaardt
Mike Batley

1. Introduction

In a society which historically has experienced deep-seated conditions of inequality, violence towards women forms an integral aspect of the inequality and power differentials. Domestic violence is considered to be 'imbalanced power that is maintained by a pattern of coercive tactics of control carried out by actual or threatened physical, sexual, psychological, economic or verbal abuse, which places an individual with whom there is a past or present intimate relationship, in fear'.[1] The phenomenon of domestic violence is a reflection of the deep-seated structural problems of poverty and inequality, and unemployment. Empirical evidence suggests that domestic violence is higly gendered because it is characterised by an overwhelming predominance of female 'victims' and male offenders.[2] Providing statistics on the extent of domestic violence is difficult because domestic affairs have been viewed as a private domain within a patriarchal context, and thus cases of domestic violence are often unreported. Police statistics reflect only reported crimes. Nevertheless, domestic violence is on the increase in South Africa.[3]

In spite of efforts to intervene in these domestic violence situations, there have not been satisfactory resolutions for the victim, and perhaps so too, for the offender.[4] The South African criminal justice system is premised on a philosophy of retribution in an adversarial context. The primary objective of retribution is to deter the offender from future crimes and citizens from committing crimes, and thus in taking this stance, an adversarial role is adopted with the intention of controlling the populace. The needs of victims become peripheral under such a system. In response to escalating crime, and the inability of a punitive justice system to deal effectively with the rehabilitation

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[1] GP De Vasto 'Victims of domestic violence' in JM Sgarzi & J McDevitt (eds) *Victimology. A study of crime victims and their roles* (2003) 117 123.
[2] J Goodey *Victims and victimology. Research, policy and practice* (2005) 84.
[3] T Angless & T Shefer 'Survivors of woman abuse: A support group experience' (1995) 31 *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk* 305.
[4] Angless & Shefer (n 3 above) 305.

of criminals, restorative justice has been mooted as an approach to deal with the effects and underlying causes of crime. This chapter reflects on restorative justice with reference to research undertaken concerning a small group of victims of domestic violence who have participated in a restorative justice programme.

2. Restorative jutice

According to Batley, 'restorative justice argues that acknowledging the needs and harms suffered by victims and creating the opportunity for offenders to demonstrate an effort to make right in a comprehensive way is what will bring a real sense of justice, vindication and lasting solutions for all concerned'.[5] Restorative justice may be defined as a process to involve, to the extent possible, those who have a stake in a specific offence to collectively identify and address harms and obligations in order to heal and put things as right as possible.[6] Restorative justice interventions involve identifying the needs, responsibilities and obligations with the victim and offender, together with other stakeholders such as the community,[7] the family and the state. The Victim Offender Conferencing (VOC) model has been proposed as an alternative to ordinary criminal trials and sanctions in the hope of creating an environment which humanises the criminal justice system. Typical outcomes of a VOC would include an apology, restitution and diversion. Central to the VOC model is that the victim is guided through a face-to-face process with the offender who has hurt her or him.

The White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) provides a framework for principles, guidelines and recommendations for developmental welfare programmes for offenders, victims of crimes and their families. In addition, the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) (1996) is a comprehensive policy framework for crime prevention and control. The White Paper for Social Welfare and the NCPS both embrace the restorative justice paradigm.[8]

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[5]   M Batley 'Restorative justice' in L Davis & R Snyman *Victimology in South Africa* (2005) 117 129.

[6]   H Zehr 'Listening to victims: Implications for restorative justice practice in the US and abroad' unpublished seminar paper, University of Minnesota, 2002.

[7]   The term 'community' as it is used in restorative justice literature refers to those who have been affected by a crime incident. See P McCold & B Wachtel 'Community is not a place: A new look at community justice initiatives' unpublished paper presented at the International conference on justice without violence: Views from peacemaking, criminology and restorative justice, Albany, 5-7 June, 1997.

[8]   See eg the *White paper for social welfare* (1997) 85

3.   The South African context

South Africa's transition from apartheid to a democratic state has resulted concomitantly in a shift to advancing human rights, as well as women's and children's rights.[9] Thus, commitments have been made in ratifying international agreements with regard to the protection of the rights of women in South Africa.[10] In addition to the international instruments, the South African Constitution provides the fundamental basis for the protection of victims from all forms of violence in section 12(1)(c).[11]

It is estimated that one in three women in South Africa are abused in their relationships.[12] Cabinet initiated a process aimed at the development of the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) as a way to respond to the high levels of crime.[13] This process was approved in May 1996. The development of a programme addressing the needs of victims was identified as one of the priorities.

In order to counteract the prevalence of domestic violence, the South African government introduced legislation to protect victims. The Domestic Violence Act[14] was introduced with the purpose of providing protection for women (victims) from domestic violence by creating the conditions for law enforcement authorities to protect women as far as possible. The act gives the complainant the opportunity to apply to court for a protection order against any behaviour which may cause harm to her safety, health or well-being. In spite of the legislative protection afforded by the act, domestic violence is on the increase. Professionals who are involved in counselling of victims and the offenders have expressed concern that the implementation of the act has not been effective as yet.

Restorative justice, diversion programmes, prevention and early intervention programmes are some of the programmes which are identified as guidelines for strategy.[15] Restorative justice creates the

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[9]   See, in general, K Klare 'Legal culture and transformative constitutionalism' (1998) 14 *South African Journal on Human Rights* 146.

[10]   South Africa has, for example, ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (1979).

[11]   Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996.

[12]   Angless & Shefer (n 3 above) 305.

[13]   Department of Social Development *Fact sheet: Victim empowerment programme* (2003) 1.

[14]   Act 116 of 1998.

[15]   *White paper for social welfare* (1997) 85.

opportunities for healing, repentance, restitution, taking responsibility for perpetrating crime and acknowledging the needs of victims.[16] The forum of Victim Offender Conferencing allows for the participation of victims in a process to address their needs, healing, and restoration of dignity and self-respect, which does not occur in the normal course of events in the justice process. The voices of victims have not always been heard or acknowledged in the criminal justice process. Often the courts have focused on the offenders and what form of punishment the perpetrator has to be subjected to. The sentence is predominantly in the retributive mode without acknowledging the rights and needs of the victim.

Restorative justice conferencing, in various forms, has been studied empirically over twenty-five years in a number of countries and with a wide range of populations.[17] Very few studies have been undertaken in South Africa to date because restorative justice programmes are still in their infancy and are poorly resourced. As a concept it has been foreign to the entire criminal justice system, as well as to the broader South African public. The concern of the research undertaken for the purposes of this chapter was to evaluate how participants in a particular South African restorative justice programme, who have undergone the process of victim offender conferencing, have experienced the process; whether it has been effective or ineffective; and whether it has any future use in the criminal justice system.

4.   The research project

4.1   The context – the Restorative Justice Centre

The Restorative Justice Centre, a non-governmental organisation (NGO) in Sunnyside, Pretoria, has been involved in VOC since the beginning of 2001. Most VOC referrals have been made to the Restorative Justice Centre (RJC) by prosecutors in the Justice system who seek an alternative resolution to trials for the domestic violence situation. There are three scenarios for possible referral to the RJC:

(a) Pre-trial stage: No trial and conviction have occurred and the prosecutor refers the parties involved in the domestic violence situation to RJC as an alternative to a trial or the parties refer themselves. Most of the RJC referrals come from the prosecutors.

(b) Pre-sentence: This action is prior to sentencing in a domestic violence case. The court seeks to integrate the sentence with the

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[16]   JD Triegaardt & D Setlatjile 'Research and practice within communities: Volunteers' contribution to restorative justice' unpublished paper presented at the Annual Joint University Committee (JUC) social work educators' conference, Gaberone, 2001, 3.

[17]   MS Umbreit *et al The impact of restorative justice conferencing: A review of 63 empirical studies in 5 countries* (2002) 18.

outcome of the VOC process. Very few cases involving domestic violence have been referred at this level, although a number of other cases have been, including one of murder.

(c) Post-sentence: A VOC can be held after the imposition of sentence but this will have no impact on the sentence in a domestic violence case. There have been no domestic violence referrals in this scenario.

Although the programme does not target victims of domestic violence specifically, the number of referrals in which domestic violence is an element has been high (between 70% and 80%) almost since the inception of the programme. Anecdotal evidence suggests similar experience in other programmes in South Africa. This would include cases where a process in terms of the Domestic Violence Act[18] is pending, or cases where a charge of assault or aggravated assault has been laid in which the context was that of domestic violence.

4.2 Purpose and approach

The purpose of this study was, within the context of the Restorative Justice Centre, to explore the domain of victim offender conferencing to determine how victims of domestic violence had experienced this process, how the process had unfolded, what victims' reactions to the viability of VOC and the agreements are, and what the potential is for its applicability in the future. Thus, this was an exploratory study because not much was known about domestic violence victims' reactions to the process of VOC.[19]

The research approach was qualitative in nature. This involves the richness and diversity of life. Fouche and Delport[20] note that the qualitative research paradigm refers to research that elicits participants' accounts of meaning, experience or perceptions. In this study, the researchers explored the respondents' experiences of VOC from the perspective of victims of domestic violence and what it meant for them as victims, both now and in the future. Thus, the respondents' experiences relate to the qualitative approach.

4.3 Research design and methodology

The qualitative research strategy which was employed was the use of case studies. Given the sensitive nature of the topic and that the issue was the experiences of victims of domestic violence in the arena of

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18 n 14 above.
19 According to Grinnell, an exploratory study explores a research question about which little is known; RM Grinnell *Social work research and evaluation* (1993) 136.
20 C Fouche & CSL Delport 'Introduction to the research process' in AS de Vos *et al Research at grass roots. For the social sciences and human service professions* (2002) 77 79.

VOC, and how they have experienced this forum, their reaction to it, and their ideas of its future potential, the most appropriate strategy was case studies.

Qualitative methodology is dialectical and interpretative.[21] Therefore, the research methodology which should be utilised must capture the respondents' descriptions and reflections of their experiences, and the meaning which the respondents have attached to this experience of VOC as a phenomenon. The research methodology which was employed was semi-structured interviews with ten respondents who are victims of domestic violence, and have undergone the process of VOC with the Restorative Justice Centre in Pretoria. An interview schedule was utilised as the method of data collection and themes and categories were identified. These interviews were tape-recorded with the permission of the respondents through informed consent. Non-probability sampling was utilised because of the sensitive nature of procuring respondents who were victims of domestic violence and who have been through the VOC process. The sensitivity of this type of data gathering for domestic violence victims is acknowledged and this course of research action was prudently explored, and with the express wishes of the respondents. Data was analysed by extracting themes and sub-themes. A pilot test was conducted with the interview schedule. However, these pilot interviews do not form part of the final sample of ten respondents.

In this research project, the population is victims of domestic violence who have undergone the process of VOC during 2002 and 2003 under the auspices of the Restorative Justice Centre (RJC), Pretoria. At present, only 12 domestic violence victims have undergone the VOC process with the RJC — so they comprise the population. Non-probability sampling was utilised, and because the subject matter of domestic violence is sensitive, availability sampling was specifically employed in order to obtain respondents. Non-probability sampling is defined as sampling where 'the probability of including each element of the population in a sample is unknown, ie, it is not possible to determine the likelihood of the inclusion of all representative elements of the population into the sample'.[22]

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[21]   EM Schurink 'Deciding to use a qualitative research approach' in de Vos (ed) (n 20 above) 239 242.

[22]   C Bless & C Higson-Smith *Fundamentals of social research methods. An African perspective* (1995) 88.

4.4 The Victim Offender Conferencing process at the Restorative Justice Centre

A central tenet for victim offender conferencing is to create the space for the victim to be able to voice concerns and issues within a secure context. The goal of these meetings is to provide a safe place for genuine dialogue between the involved parties that can address emotional and informational needs, as well as the development of a plan for the offender 'to make things right' as much as possible.[23] Victims and offenders subject themselves to the process in terms of a written agreement. The written agreement is intended to provide reassurance to the victims about the expectations with regard to the offender. The Restorative Justice Centre must also for each VOC process submit a report to the prosecutor who referred the case – again this is intended to make sure that the process is taken seriously.

The facilitator's role (that is, that of the social worker) in the process involves seeing the partners individually, then jointly as a couple; and even together with family and significant others. The latter may involve a priest, best friend, neighbour or a police officer. The 'community's' role is to create the conditions most favourable to the restoration of both offender and victim.[24] It aids the healing process by providing support and accountability to both parties. In some cases the involvement of the community may help to break the conspiracy of silence surrounding the problem. There are writers who are circumspect about the utility of using mediation where violent abuse has occurred.[25] The general thrust of these concerns is that given the complex dynamics that sustain an abusive relationship, a VOC may be totally insufficient to effect change. Worse than this, it may draw others into these dynamics, setting the stage for perpetuating the abusive dynamics. In contrast, the involvement of family can set the tone and expectations for all parties concerned. A further advantage is that some of the secrecy which is associated with domestic violence is removed because the family is involved in the process of dealing with the problem.[26]

4.5 Experiences of victims in the VOC process

Selective information as it pertains to the purpose of this research will be shared from the respondents. There are mixed responses from the

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23 WR Nugent *et al* 'Participation in victim-offender mediation and re-offense: Successful replications?' (1999) *Journal of Research on Social Work Practice* 1.

24 J Consedine *Restorative justice. Healing the effects of crime* (1999) 184.

25 Saskatoon community mediation services *Report on the consultation on restorative justice and violence against women, Saskatoon* (2001).

26 A Dissel & K Ngubeni 'Giving women their voice: domestic violence and restorative justice in South Africa' unpublished paper presented at the XIth International Symposium on Victimology, Stellenbosch, 13-18 July 2003, 7.

victims of domestic violence as to the utility of VOC. These responses relate to both the content and the structure of the arrangements for the mediation process between the partners involved in domestic violence.

4.5.1 Personal biographical details

The women ranged from mid-20s to early 50s. Their occupations ranged from professionals, semi-skilled employment in a super-market, to working in the home. In terms of economic income, most of the women were financially dependent on their partners. One woman was divorced, and the remaining women were with their partners.

4.5.2 Referral to Restorative Justice Centre (RJC)

The prosecutor referred all the women to the RJC. This is an important component of the VOC process, and in keeping with the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act. Many magistrates, prosecutors and police have undergone training in raising their consciousness about the rights of victims, and that mediation is an option with domestic violence cases. Many of the magistrates believe that mediation should be used only for 'first time offenders'.[27]

4.5.3 Victims' responses

Most of the women (victims) found that the VOC was helpful in that some resolution was brought to bear on the domestic problem. The fact that the prosecutor had to receive a report from the Restorative Justice Centre (RJC) as to the progress of the mediation gave an indication of the gravity of the situation. This in itself merited a deterrent to the fighting and was a motivation to follow through with the agreements. However, not all the participants adhere to the written agreements. Many of the respondents suggested that they are being beaten again.

The mediation process raised questions concerning each individual's roles and responsibilities; why the fighting occurs; how to counteract the fighting; what the respective individuals do not like; and what the plans are for the future. One of the respondents indicated that her partner started to focus on his shortcomings, and began to get focus. He started to change, and ceased to pick fights with her.

One respondent suggested that 'his family needed to understand what the problem is exactly'. She felt that he needed someone different to

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[27]   Dissel & Ngubeni (n 26 above) 3.

talk to, and that hearing from his family was an important component of the resolution to this problem. She indicated that his family was completely supportive of her, and that they did not want them to break up. The involvement of families in the process is potentially important also for the victims. A feature of domestic violence is that women are isolated from their families and friends. One victim, who is a policewoman, and who has an income, asked rather poignantly: 'Where do I go to?' if she should leave her spouse who was beating her regularly. Women are often ashamed or embarrassed about the violence in their homes, and then become isolated from potential support systems. The mediation process could empower the victims because they are supported by family and the community.

One of the sub-themes which emerged is the question of the women being financially dependent on the partner. Thus, magistrates and prosecutors are supportive of mediation as an alternative process because of the consequences of imposing such measures as imprisoning the spouse. Women and their children are dependent on the partner's income. Any loss of income because of imprisonment will culminate in hardship for the family.

The VOC process certainly provides the participants with the opportunity for self-reflection. All the respondents referred to this aspect. To illustrate this point, one respondent stated: 'It helped me to look at myself. I do not deserve to be treated like this. I believe that a human being can change, and can be given a second chance, if they want to change themselves'. Nevertheless, many of the women lack self-esteem. This phenomenon is a common feature of being abused.[28] Respondents who are assertive about their rights do not get abused. Patriarchy still features in many aspects of South African communities, particularly in rural communities. Women in rural areas are generally more vulnerable to sexual victimisation and also less likely to seek assistance. The author notes that under-reporting is based on the fact that victims are reluctant to come forward because:
• they are more likely to know their attackers; and
• they fear that they will be blamed or not believed by the police.[29]

One of the respondent's partners who came from a rural community in Kwazulu-Natal referred to this issue of unequal power relations. He said that it was the norm in that rural community to beat your wife if she argued, or did not listen to you.

Two of the respondents were very unhappy with the process of VOC. One respondent's experience is that the VOC process was not helpful because she felt that the social workers should have paid a home visit,

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[28] Angless & Shefer (n 3 above) 308.
[29] D Singh 'Women and men as vulnerable victims' in L Davis & R Snyman (eds) (2005) *Victimology in South Africa* 189 190.

after the two individual sessions at RJC. She suggested that 'if they had visited them regularly, they would have seen things are not right'. They had not signed any written agreements, and the case kept on being postponed. Finally, the case was withdrawn. She claims that she is being beaten again — as recently as a week ago: 'I am so confused. Don't know what to do. I have no place to go'. However, she was open to returning to the RJC for mediation. Another respondent maintained that the social worker was taking sides. She did state, though, that mediation brought some understanding of herself as a person. This respondent is thinking about a divorce because she claims that her husband does not financially support her; he has not bought her a house which he promised to do; and he does not come home at times during the week, and even during week-ends. He clearly does not think that he is accountable to her, and the written agreement is not being taken seriously.

4.5.4   Recommendations from the respondents to improve service delivery

One of the respondents suggested that a male counsellor should have assisted with the VOC process because she believes that her fiancé would pay attention to a male. She thinks that he is not taking the counselling seriously because on both occasions, at the RJC for the VOC process and at FAMSA for counselling, they had women social workers. After three sessions at FAMSA, they ceased to attend. Another suggestion from a respondent concerning the VOC process was that she thought that the social worker lacked objectivity. She said that the social worker took sides with each individual. This issue is complex because the social worker may have viewed her role as being supportive to each individual while still retaining her impartiality.

5.   Conclusion

The major test of the efficacy of mediation is to determine the extent to which there has been real behavioural change in the offender, and to what extent this has impacted on the relationship.[30] The VOC process provided temporary relief, the individuals perceived the value of the process, but sustainability became an issue because of a lack of follow-up. Most of the respondents continue to be battered. The individuals who were no longer being battered indicated that the VOC process had been helpful in interrupting the cycle of violence. The written agreements set the agenda for breaking the cycle of violence. Follow-up of all these cases should be mandatory. It seems

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[30]   Dissel & Ngubeni (n 23 above) 8.

that the potential process of community members holding the abuser accountable does not necessarily materialise.

Life skills should be taught to young men and women so that they may have self-introspection, become more aware of their own behaviour, and its impact on other people. At this juncture, hopefully they learn to be assertive rather than aggressive. It is important to continue with the training of magistrates, prosecutors and other criminal justice personnel regarding VOC, so that they may provide the necessary context for appropriate referrals to the RJC. Many women are unaware of their rights with regard to the Domestic Violence Act, and thus it behooves the government to communicate these rights to all women through the media, and to non-governmental organisations through other forms of intervention.

Eight / tini's testimony: the significance of a meticulously recorded case of sexual abuse on a transvaal mission station, 1888 – 1893[1]

Lize Kriel

In December 1891 the Director of the Berlin Mission Society (BMS) received an alarming report from the Superintendent of the Northern Transvaal Synod, Oswald Krause. He informed the Director in Germany that the whole Soutpansberg, the northern-most District of the Boer Republic, was resounding 'from Pietersburg to the Blue Mountains' with a nasty tale of gossip.[2]

Pietersburg (present-day Polokwane) had been formally proclaimed as a town less than a decade before. It was growing fast as the communications and business hub of the Soutpansberg since promises of great mineral wealth in the district had made land speculation a lucrative endeavour. Furthermore, in an effort to give greater credence to their claim to supremacy over the populous and still largely independently-acting African communities in the region, the Pretoria government had embarked upon a so-called 'occupation system' in 1886. Land was allocated free of charge to white occupants on condition that they should actively cultivate the farms and

maintain a physical presence on the land. The frontier was closing, but was still far from closed.[3]

Blauberg was the BMS's mission station — one of eleven in the district — at the foot of the mountains occupied as stronghold by the formidable Kgalusi Mmaleboho, leader of the Bahananwa, a northern-Sotho-speaking community. Despite Blauberg's apparent remoteness from the main centres of town life, as well as the more congested (and contested) areas where significant numbers of new white 'occupanten' (occupants) were encroaching on African land, the profile of the Berlin Missionary fraternity in the Transvaal was simply too high for rumours of immoral behaviour to be concealed in the secluded landscape. The Boer community may have been dispersed in small numbers over a vast area, but horses and wagons traversed the roads between homesteads, distributing news along the same routes as goods. Moreover, when people met, they talked and eventually the stories also reached the missionaries' ears. Prudent gossipers informed them of the growing belief among the 'white people' that the missionaries were deliberately trying to cover up what had happened at Blauberg: that missionary Christian Stech, who had suspiciously departed for Natal (final destination Germany) with his wife and children a few weeks previously, had impregnated a young girl who had served as child carer in the Stech household.[4]

The Berlin missionaries were meticulous record keepers. Quarterly checks on each missionary's diary, first by his superintendent in the region and then by the missionary directors in Berlin, was a means of ensuring painstaking record-keeping of the society's daily activities and progress in the conversion of 'heathens'. From these reports extracts were selected for publication in the *Berliner Missionsberichte* in order to keep donors informed of the worthiness of the cause they were investing in. This scrutiny which the missionaries were subjected to, was also exerted as a mechanism of control over their daily activities.[5] What happened on the station during the day, had to be accounted for on paper at night. Obviously the system could not control everything.

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[3]   For a richer contextualisation of life on the frontier and especially around Blauberg during the 1890s, see JWN Tempelhoff 'Die okkupasiestelsel in die distrik Soutpansberg' (1998) 60 *Argiefjaarboek vir Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*; L Kriel (2002) ''n Vergelyking tussen Colin Rae en Christoph Sonntag se weergawes van die Boer-Hananwa-oorlog van 1894' unpublished D Phil thesis, University of Pretoria, 37-75 & 76-102.

[4]   EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 5: A Herbst, Makabeng – O Krause, Superintendent*, 10 *Dezember* 1891.

[5]   Kriel (n 3 above) 116; DW van der Merwe 'Die geskiedenis van die Berlynse Sendinggenootskap in Transvaal 1860-1900' (1984) 46 *Argiefjaarboek vir Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis* 18-20. My sincere appreciation to Andrea Schultze for greatly contributing to my understanding of this system during our conversations in Berlin in 2001 and 2002.

Stech had been a missionary in South Africa for almost twenty years. Over the years, several accounts from his diaries had been published in the *Missionsberichte*.[6] An extramarital relation with a servant girl of ambiguous racial lineage was, however, not the type of activity he would have informed his superiors of. Neither could it be expected that the obligation of diary keeping would have barred men from participating in activities they would prefer not to report on. This tradition of thorough reporting did, nevertheless, compel Stech's colleagues to scrupulously collect and pass on information about the incident to Director HT Wangemann in Berlin. In their attempts to explain the situation in the Soutpansberg to Wangemann as clearly as possible from their particular vantage points, the 'stakeholders' in this tragic sequence of events also reveal a lot about the inner workings of Soutpansberg society at the time; the interaction between German missionaries,[7] African converts and 'non-converts', Boer farmers and townspeople as well as Transvaal traders, artisans and businessmen who originated from various parts of Europe. Missionary activities created a converging space for people from all walks of life. From their writings we can deduce much about the confluence of, often conflicting, constructions of race, class and gender at the time. This paper only begins to explore the possible rich harvest a close reading of the missionaries' correspondence may yield.[8]

The most matter-of-fact account of the unhappy events in Soutpansberg between 1888 and 1891 is provided by Superintendent Krause, who compiled and presented all the evidence to Director Wangemann. The girl who was accusing Stech of having impregnated her was one of three children, the youngest daughter of a certain Fisher/Fischer (an Englishman, or probably of other European descent). His wife, Christine, was an inhabitant of Carl Beuster's mission station, Modimolle, in Waterberg. She was an 'honourable' and 'very pale' coloured woman. The significance of these markers of character and complexion Krause deems necessary in his description,

6   See, for example, *Berliner Missionsberichte* (1880) 208, 357-371.
7   For a thorough investigation into the family history of the Berlin Society's missionaries in South Africa, see, L Zöllner & JA Heese *Die Berlynse sendelinge in Suid-Afrika en hulle nageslag/The Berlin missionaries in South Africa and their descendents* (1984).
8   In this pursuit I find Laurel Graham's 'feminist intertextual deconstruction' a very useful approach. It entails 'looking for contradictions within or between texts that illustrate the pervasive effects of patriarchy and capitalism'. As Graham explains: 'Dominant texts need to be deconstructed in order to make sense of the specific ways texts teach their audiences to structure personal systems of meaning. Through deconstruction, readers can find in each text the information to construct oppositional readings.' See L Graham 'A year in the life of Dr Lillian Moller Gilbreth: Four representations of the struggle of a woman scientist' unpublished paper presented at the Gregory Stone Symposium, St. Petersburg Beach, Florida, January 1990 3-4 quoted in S Reinharz *Feminist methods in social research* (1992) 148-149.

will soon become more apparent. Christine died and was buried on Modimolle. Her husband and their children moved to Spelonken, but when he could not 'keep himself free from drink', the missionaries took charge of the children. The eldest daughter, Anni, stayed with Missionary Erdmann Schwellnuss and his family in Vendaland and then disappeared — apparently she eloped with an Englishman to 'Bokolanga'. The son, Jan, eventually came to settle in Houtbos, in the employment of a certain Mr Rudolf Richter. The Beusters assumed the role of godparents over Christine (Tini), the youngest daughter, born in 1873. In 1887 she was handed over to the Stech household, apparently in a mutual agreement between missionaries Beuster and Stech. Krause made it clear that he was not aware of the actual reasons for the transfer. According to Krause's knowledge, Tini was part of the Stech household until 1890 or 1891, whereafter she went to her brother Jan in Houtbos. At the time the story of her 'relationship' with Stech became known, she was in the service of a Mr Dewitz in Pietersburg.[9] Having provided this background, Krause moved on to cite the reports he had received from three of the missionaries in his synod.

The first one to break the news was missionary FCG (Carl) Knothe from the station Mphome in Houtbos(berg). During December 1891 he reported to Krause that Dewitz (at the time the employer of Tini in Pietersburg) had told Mrs Richter (at the time the employer of Tini's brother Jan in Houtbos) who then informed another Berlin Missionary in the area, Fritz Reuter, who then obviously concurred with Knothe, that the affair of Mr Stech with Tini was the talk of the town in Pietersburg. Knothe then recalled that he had seen a highly pregnant Tini at Blauberg back in 1889, but upon enquiring from Stech, the latter denied the condition of the girl, then seventeen years old. Apparently Stech had told Beuster, the godfather of the girl, that the father was an Austrian man, a certain Fournalla, who had (conveniently) died in the mean time. According to Stech, Tini and Fournalla had a relationship while Tini was visiting Houtbos with the Stech family in 1888.[10]

Krause then received a letter from Missionary Herbst of Makgabeng, Blauberg's neighbouring station. On his way back home to Makgabeng, Herbst outspanned in the vicinity of the farmstead of a certain farmer Van Wyk.[11] The farm was later identified by Tini Fisher herself as Palmietfontein.[12] It is significant that Herbst found it necessary to explain to Krause why he was invited into the Van Wyks' house and

9   EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 6-7: O Krause – BMG und Direktor HT Wangemann*, 30 *Dezember* 1891.
10 As above.
11 EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 5: A Herbst – O Krause, Superintendent*, 10 *Dezember* 1891.
12 EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 56-58: Beilage A*, 27 *Juli* 1892.

how they ended up having a rather intimate conversation. The farmer's child was ill and the missionary — all of them had rudimentary medical training — attended to him/her. The Mission Society's legal position in the Transvaal necessitated loyalty to the Transvaal state and maintaining cordial relations with the Boers.[13] Through the years this cordiality would grow into friendships between an increasing number of German missionary and Boer families.[14] However, by the early 1890s it would not be sound diplomacy for a missionary to be too solicitous with the Boers, while relations were tense between them and the African communities the missionaries were attempting to serve and to convert — a mistake Stech had made and paid for dearly.[15] In the language used by the missionaries who were more shrewd than Stech, one detects distancing from and suspicion towards the Boers. Missionaries like Herbst and Krause 'othered' the Dutch/Afrikaans-speaking whites. Herbst called them 'the Boer people' and Krause identified the missionaries with the African communities among whom they lived by referring to the Boers as 'the whites' — while, ironically, the German missionaries were, with very few exceptions, very white themselves.[16]

To get back to the information the Van Wyks communicated to Herbst: they told him that Stech had brought Tini to them before he departed from the Transvaal.[17] When they asked Tini with whom she had had a child, she answered: 'From Mr Stech, and now Mrs Stech had sent me away, because he wants to use me again'.[18] The contrasting roles permitted for Mrs Emilie Stech and Tini in the male-dominated

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[13]   Van der Merwe (n 5 above) 1-20.
[14]   GJ Jooste (1996) 'Ras, volk en politiek in die Berlynse Sendinggenootskap' unpublished DD thesis, University of Pretoria, 77-82.
[15]   L Kriel 'Sonntag's Mmaleboho, missionary diary as secular source in the reconstruction of Bagananwa History 1892-1895' (1997) 36 *South African Historical Journal*; National archives of South Africa, Transvaal archives depot, Pretoria (hereafter NASA TAB): SS. 4140, R. 17552/90 89-92, SR. 152 91: C Stech – BJ Vorster, 1 Februarie 1891.
[16]   See A Kirkaldy (2002) 'Capturing the soul. Encounters between German missionaries and Tshivenda-speakers in the late nineteenth century' unpublished D Phil thesis, University of Cape Town, 200-223 (to be published by Protea Book House) for an account of the missionary career of Klaas Koen, a black South African (at the time categorised by the Germans as a 'Hottentot and an African') trained by the BMS in Germany.
[17]   At this time it was not clear when Tini had stayed with the Van Wyks, but it was apparently in the summer of 1891, shortly before the Stechs departed from the Transvaal. See EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 56-58: Beilage A, 27 Juli 1892 & 62-63: C Stech, Berlin, 23 September 1892.
[18]   EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 5: A Herbst – O Krause, Superintendent*, 10 *Dezember* 1891. Translation LK '*Tinni soll auf die Frage der Bauersleute von wem sie ihr Kind hätte geantwortet haben: von Herrn Stech, und jetzt hat Frau Stech mich fortgeschickt, weil er mich wieder gebrauchen wollte.*'

missionary narrative, will receive more attention shortly. Suffice it here to say that the source of the lively gossip among the Boers ('obviously all the farmers in the vicinity of the Van Wyks, including Commissioner Barend Vorster, will know about the affair'[19]) — the reason why the mission society deemed a thorough inquest necessary — was Tini's own testimony.

From her godfather Beuster's report to Krause and Wangemann, this becomes even more apparent: when Beuster finally, on 28 January 1892, got to interview Tini in the house of Mr Dewitz, whom he identified as a German businessman (also the owner of the steam mill)[20] in Pietersburg, she made it clear to him that she had repeatedly identified Stech as the father of her still-born child, delivered a month prematurely in 1889, while Stech was away from Blauberg at the Northern Transvaal Synod held at Medingen that year. Through a 'stream of tears' Tini told her godfather that she had not shied away from telling Mrs Stech herself that the still-born child was her husband's offspring. There is an adamant anger inherent in the way all Tini's replies are quoted by Beuster: that she had told it to Mrs Stech *to her face*.[21] Also, when Beuster enquired why he had heard from Stech that the late Fournalla, or a certain Snell, from Houtbos was the father, Tini replied: 'I never said that, Mr Stech had told me to say so, when anyone should ask me, but I refused and told him that I wouldn't do it, I do not even know the man I am supposed to accuse'.[22]

From the detail in Tini's conversation with her godfather, and the revulsion exclaimed by all Stech's former colleagues upon hearing the full story, it becomes apparent that, even given the paternalist and male-dominated character of Victorian society, Tini's encounter with Stech cannot be considered as a relationship, or an affair, but rather as gross sexual abuse. She was completely within Stech's power while residing at Blauberg; he manipulated her ignorance (for which he was probably only partially to blame) and her environment. When he started fondling her, he referred to the sexual game as 'playing'. Beuster emphasised the fact that Tini was still a child (only sixteen years old) at the time. When Stech started coming to her room to 'play' at night, Stech set Tini's mind at rest that there would be no

[19] EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 5: A Herbst – O Krause, Superintendent, 10 Dezember 1891. Free Translation LK.

[20] EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 61, Beilage C, s a.*

[21] EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 11: O Krause - HT Wangemann, 4 Februar* 1892: 'dass sie dies auch seiner Frau, Schw. Stech, auf Befragen ins Gesicht gesagt hat.'

[22] EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 12-15: C Beuster – HT Wangemann, 18 Feburar* 1892. Free Translation LK. '*Das habe ich nie gethan, Herr Stech hat mirs eingeprägt, dass ich so sagen sollte, wenn ich gefragt würde, aber ich habe abgelehnt und ihm gesagt, dass ich es nie thun würde; ich kenne den Mann nicht einmal, den ich beschuldigen soll.*'

consequences. Of course the consequences became all too obvious and Tini turned to the Hananwa girls serving in the household with her, for confirmation. Stech tried to reverse the inevitable (and thereby acknowledging the growing reality) by tying Tini up with a horse girdle. After eight months, 'completely alone' one night, she gave birth to a still-born baby ('the child did not cry'). Early in the morning she wrapped the body in a cloth, went and threw it in the waterhole and returned to her room before dawn. Apparently Mrs Stech only realised the nature of Tini's 'illness' upon discovering the blood on her bedroom floor in the morning. Tini stayed in bed for eight days. While Mrs Stech responded to her awkwardly belated discovery of the pregnancy by refusing to allow Tini back into the house (only until one of the Stech children fell ill), missionary Stech barred Tini from church for approximately four to six weeks. Beuster wanted to know from his godchild why she did not leave the Stech household, upon which she replied that Stech had repeatedly told her that the Beusters no longer wanted to have anything to do with her. Beuster responded that Stech must have known all too well that their house had always stood open for Tini to return to.[23] Of course Stech must have realised that Tini's story could best be kept secret if he held her hostage on his own mission station.

The story could not have passed unseen by the small group of African converts, the *Majakane*, on Blauberg mission station. More than ninety years later, their descendents still recalled the incident and pointed out the waterhole where the dead child was found.[24] As already mentioned, if Tini's testimony is to be trusted, she had to ask the Hananwa servant girls to confirm to her that pregnancy was the consequence of 'playing'. The incalculable damage this must have done the missionary cause among the Hananwa, can be understood when taking into consideration how strict the Lutheran missionaries were in controlling the sexual behaviour of their catechists. Extramarital affairs, polygamy and the practice of paying brideswealth were among the prime 'heathen' customs the missionaries were anxious to eradicate. Stech made a grave mistake when he instructed the senior Christian on the station, Petrus 'Tsita'

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[23] EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 12-15: C Beuster – HT Wangemann, 18 Februar 1892 & 68-72: An den emeritierten Missionaer Herrn Stech in Ferchland, Berlin, 18 November 1892.

[24] In an interview with Annekie Joubert in September 1994, an elderly Hananwa man (approximately ninety years old) who had grown up on the mission station, reminisced that Christoph Sonntag's predecessor at Blauberg (i e Stech) was a 'bad missionary' (A Joubert, video recording of interview, Blauberg September 1994). During this same visit, Joubert was also taken to the waterhole. The fact that this information was volunteered during interviews in which the actual focus was on Stech's successor, Christoph Sonntag, and his role in the Boer-Hananwa War of 1894, gives an indication of the strong impression Tini's pregnancy must have left on the black Christian community (personal information: A Joubert, Berlin, 3 November 2003).

Manana, to tell all who enquired that a man from Houtbos was the father of Tini's child. Petrus made a point of telling the other white missionaries that Stech had been trying to tell him what to say.[25]

In his report, Beuster strongly emphasised the fact that Tini was his 'white goddaughter' and that her still-born baby was a white boy.[26] This very conscious effort to claim Tini as 'one of us', who deserved to have been treated as 'one of us', of course alludes to the fear that assumptions may have been made otherwise. Krause had mentioned Tini's 'bastard' mother, but already he had attempted to 'whiten' her by pointing to her very light complexion. What did Krause and Beuster fear? Would the 'whites' of Soutpansberg, the Boer community who were already suspecting the missionaries of covering up misconduct in their own ranks, frown more deeply upon an act of sexual indulgence across the colour line?

Perhaps their claiming of a 'white' identity for Tini alludes to even more. The very fact that Stech, in his self-defence, tried his utmost to categorise Tini as a 'coloured', attests to that. Stech's 'bastard girl' Tini was a very unlikely victim of sexual abuse: she 'behaved badly' in the four years she enjoyed the hospitality of the Stech family. In fact, the very reason why Beuster asked Stech to accommodate her in the seclusion of Blauberg, was because she had become such an embarrassment to the Beusters at Modimolle. All three the Fisher children were a problem, Stech explained: Tini's older sister had also got herself pregnant. It is as if Stech wants to say: what are you expecting of this type — the type who went out dancing with several men until late at night while visiting Houtbos with the Stechs;[27] the type who would not recognise the father of her child because she had had intercourse with the stranger in the dark.[28] Apparently Stech was tapping into the worst stereotypes of 'coloured' girls at the time; a 'coloured' girl was more likely to have made herself guilty of sexual misbehaviour, of moral looseness. An overview of the reports of criminal and civil cases heard in the Pietersburg court during the course of 1891 gives an indication of the way 'coloured girls' featured in the eyes of the white bureaucracy at the time. Of the women whose court appearances were recorded that

[25]   EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 68-72: An den emeritierten Missionaer Herrn Stech in Ferchland, Berlin, 18 November 1892; 59-60: Anlage B, Blauberg,* 10 Juni 1892.

[26]   EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 12-15: C Beuster – HT Wangemann, 18 February 1892.

[27]   EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 45-53: C Stech – BMG,* 2 *Juni* 1892 ' ... ich entsann mich noch wie einige junge Bengel, unter denen der eigene Bruder des jungen Mädchens – sich mit ihr zu schaffen machten & besonders in sie drangen, spät abends noch mit ihnen zu Tanze zu gehen, denn es war da im 'Hautboschdorp' eine Tanzerei an jenem Abend.'

[28]   EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 23-24: C Stech – Berliner Missionsgesellschaft,* 15 *Februar* 1892. ' ...[sie] erklärte ... nach sehr langen Insiedrängen, dass es ein Mann aus dem Holzbusch sei, denn sie in der Dunkelheit nicht gekannt hätte.'

year, almost all were 'coloureds', (except for one white lady landowner who had paid a labourer too little) accusing one another of complicity in all sorts of quarrels; one woman was accused of adultery by an alleged spouse.[29] The intimate lives of white women did not reach the courts; in white male eyes, raunchy behaviour was apparently more convincing among 'coloured' women.[30]

The fact that Beuster protested (perhaps a little) too much in favour of Tini's whiteness, proves that race was fluid and contestable in late nineteenth century Transvaal. However, it also alludes to a possibility that the gossiping from Boer farm to Boer farm and into the heart of Pietersburg may have presented Tini as 'coloured', 'bastard', or 'oorlams',[31] rather than white. Tini was indeed living on the margins of several cultures. Which one would be apportioned to her, which one would she appropriate? Would it be the same under all circumstances? When Superintendent Krause conducted Tini's final 'hearing' in Pietersburg on 27 July 1892, he explained that although Tini was conversant in Dutch, German, as well as 'Sesutho' (sePedi), he asked her to speak in Dutch, which he later calls the 'oorlamse' language, since he believed that this was the language in which she could express herself the most convincingly.[32] The way in which Stech treated Tini (according to her own testimony) as an indentured servant rather than as the precious godchild of a friend, provides an indication of how the majority of Boer observers must have perceived her position. 'Non-white' orphaned girls indentured as domestic servants until at least the age of twenty one, were not an uncommon sight in Boer households at the time. Taking into consideration that Stech, after twenty years in the 'wilderness' as he himself had called it, had warmed significantly to Boer ways and had even made a good friend in the local Boer Commissioner, Vorster, it is not unlikely that he had claimed ownership over Tini and her services in the way Boer

[29] NASA TAB: ZZG 65: *Landdros, Notule van siviele en kriminele sake*, 1891.
[30] The convergence of race and class in this stereotyping would, of course, make interesting further investigation.
[31] A person, or child of a person, of colour who had adapted to the ways of the Boers through long years in their employment. These people had lost contact with their communities of origin, including their language and customs. They copied the dress code and the language of the white people they worked for, predominantly Dutch/Afrikaans-speaking farmers/ 'Boers'.
[32] EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 56-58: Beilage A*, 27 *Juli* 1892.

farmers would only have done with black or coloured 'inboekelinge', or 'oorlams'.[33] This is perhaps also the appropriate place to remark that Vorster seems to be the official to have seen to it that the gossiping about Stech remained just that, and that the Boer authorities did not launch any official inquest.

Apparently it had not even occurred to Tini Fisher to turn to Boer officials for assistance. Given the way the average coloured girl was perceived in court, this was probably unthinkable. Stech had anyway departed from the Transvaal. Yet, the good name of the Berlin Missionaries in the Transvaal could still be challenged. In the words of Ben Okri, '[t]he people without knowing it will always be on your side':[34] Tini asserted herself by speaking out; by refusing to be Stech's accomplice in lying about who the father of her child was. She thereby rejected the subordinate racial identity he conferred upon her; she appropriated 'whiteness' and therewith a voice in which to insist upon the recognition of her truth – a truth which she repeated under so many different circumstances to so many witnesses that it eventually had Stech condemned by the Berlin Mission Society to dismissal 'without pension'.[35]

The power Tini managed to exert and the processes she set in motion by simply refusing to shut up, were quite remarkable for the time. In the case against Reinhold Wessmann in Vendaland a little more than a decade later, the Venda women who had accused the missionary of sexual harassment in a joint letter to the Superintendent, were at first muffled by the overbearing commission of enquiry which put them on trial in an effort to prove the innocence of the missionary.[36] Apparently, because at least some of the missionaries deemed Tini a member of their group, they considered it as less of a betrayal to condemn Stech – although it remains remarkable that Stech managed

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[33] In one of his later explanations, Stech even mentioned the shortage of servants in the remote Blue Mountains as one of the reasons why he and his wife did not send Tini away after the birth of her child. The shortage of suitable domestic servants was one of the major reasons why the 'inboekeling' system, according to which an orphan could be compelled to provide service until at least the age of 21, was so deeply entrenched in Boer practices. Another factor strengthening the argument that Stech may have perceived Tini as an *oorlamse inboekeling*, rather than a godchild, was his conviction that he had to find an alternative household for her to serve in, before he could release her from his own service. See EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 56-58: Beilage A*, 27 *Juli* 1892. For a more in-depth discussion of racial categorisation in the Transvaal in the last half of the nineteenth century, see P Delius & S Trapido 'Inboekselings and oorlams: the creation and transformation of a servile class' in B Bozzoli (ed) *History Workshop 2, Town and countryside in the Transvaal. Capitalist penetration and popular response* (1983) 53- 88 and J Boeyens '"Black ivory": the indenture system and slavery in Zoutpansberg, 1848-1869' in EA Eldredge & F Morton (eds) *Slavery in South Africa. Captive labour on the Dutch frontier* (1994) 187.
[34] B Okri *Dangerous love* (1996) 310.
[35] EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 56-61: Beilagen A, B & C, Juni* – August 1892; *BMW 1/4302: BMS – Stech*, 13 *Mai* 1893.
[36] Kirkaldy (n 16 above) 191-200.

to keep up the façade for at least two years and that it took his mystery disappearance as well as a whole district gossiping, for the missionaries to start making enquiries within their own ranks. Beuster's apparent approval of Tini's condemnation and his tardiness to make contact with her while still under the impression that Stech's story of her immorality was true, are also quite unsettling. It is also significant to contrast the concepts used at the time with the ones that would probably have featured strongly in a case of this nature in our own time. References made about Tini range from her having had a child with Stech, to Stech using Tini, to seduction, to intercourse and to adultery,[37] but not to misuse, abuse, or rape. The only persons using the word 'abortion', were Stech himself and his wife.[38] No one dared speculating about infanticide in writing. However, a feeling of shame, of an injustice having been committed, of Stech no longer worthy of their company, did indeed prevail amongst all the missionaries who commented on the incident.[39]

The one person who was not given an opportunity to speak for herself or to be released of her burden until very late in the inquest, was Mrs Emilie Stech. The contrasting portrayals of Mrs Stech in her husband's and Tini's respective accounts of the unhappy events during their last years at Blauberg, are remarkable. According to Beuster, Tini was entrusted to the Stechs in order for her to assist the wife of the missionary.[40] This is one of the few points on which Tini and Mr Stech concur. It is curious that Stech remarked on the deterioration of his wife's strength and health, particularly over the three years preceding their departure from the Transvaal — the time during which he had intercourse with Tini.[41] It is not clear what ailments Mrs Stech suffered from. Malaria cannot be excluded, but any of the myriad nervous conditions ascribed to being female or being white in Africa during the late nineteenth century (or coming to terms with her husband's adulterous behaviour) should be considered.[42]

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[37]   EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 5: A Herbst – O Krause, Superintendent*, 10 *Dezember* 1891; 11: O Krause – HT Wangemann, 4 *Februar* 1892; 56-58: Beilage A, 27 *Juli* 1892; EA BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4302: BMS – Stech*, 13 *Mai* 1893.

[38]   EA, BMG *Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 23-24: C. Stech – HT Wangemann*, 15 *Februar* 1892: '*Ein Bastardmädchen die an die 4 Jahre in unserem Hause war, und sich schlecht betragen, ist bei uns entbunden von einem zu früh geborenen – ob man Abortus oder Frühgeburt nennen soll, ist wohl gleich – Kinde.*' [... an early born child – whether one should call it abortion of premature birth, is all the same ...]. Also see EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 64-66: Emilie Stech, Berlin, 25 Oktober 1892.

[39]   EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 6-7: O Krause – HT Wangemann, 30 *Dezember* 1892.

[40]   EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 12-15, C Beuster – HT Wangemann, 18 *Februar* 1892.

[41]   EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 3: C Stech – HT Wangemann, *s a*, ca September – *Dezember* 1891.

[42]   This aspect requires further investigation. See J Oppenheim *Shattered nerves. Doctors, patients and depression in Victorian England* (1991).

The 'Mrs Stech' in Tini's testimony is represented as not commenting on her pregnancy, taking quite a while to register that Tini's 'illness' was the result of her miscarriage and as being in a state of shock, but not disbelief, upon learning that her husband was the impregnator.[43] According to Stech, his wife was suspicious throughout the pregnancy, but was fooled because Tini's body was clumsily shaped anyway and she stealthily faked her menstrual cycles (which Mrs Stech checked repeatedly), by applying animal blood[44] (to bed linen and under-wear?). Stech portrayed his wife as far more in control, as a lot more pre-emptive, than Tini did. Yet it was also Stech who emphasised his wife's weakness whenever he needed to convince the missionary Director that he ought to be granted a vacation in a friendlier climate.[45]

Ironically, it was as a result of Stech's wife's insistence that Tini left their house. This gave the younger woman an opportunity to speak freely and to be redeemed, while the sickly, probably depressed, older woman remained in her husband's shadow and was sacrificed as her husband's excuse that enabled him to justify his fleeing from the scene of his crime. Yet it was not as if Tini spared any sympathy for Mrs Stech; it is as if there was a bit of *Schadenfreude* in her remark that she was sent away by Mrs Stech because the missionary wanted to 'use her again' — thus implying that he preferred the younger girl to his wife. However, it should be kept in mind that these were the words reported by the Van Wyks and not by Tini herself. It is not the kind of remark she was likely to repeat in the presence of her godfather, but it was precisely the stuff out of which white gossip could be yarned: the sexual attraction to the 'darker' races by an apparently prudish missionary.

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[43]   EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 12-15: C Beuster – HT Wangemann, 18 Februar 1892.

[44]   EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 45-53: C Stech – BMG, 2 Juni 1892.

[45]   On their way to the coast, Stech obtained the following medical certificate stating his wife's condition: EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4302:
L.S.
De ondergetekende med. Dr. en als sodanig pratiserende te New Castle (Natal Z. Afrika) Da de echtgenote van den Wel Ewd. Heer Christian Stech een geruime tyd in geneeskundige behandeling gehad te hebbe, delkeaard by deze dat eene Europeische reis en geruime tyd verblyf aldaar, haar wenschlyk ja gebiedend noodzaakelyk is tot herstel haren gezondheid en herstel der verlorenen krachten.

<div align="right">

Zendelingstatie
Konigsberg
(Natal)
28 Januarie 1892
Dr. C.K. Aueling

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Given the shocking state of her domestic circumstances, it comes as no surprise that Mrs Stech needed to recover some strength. The irony is that Stech used her condition as an opportunity to abandon the Transvaal and create some distance between himself and his accusers.

Alan Kirkaldy, in his assessment of Reinhold Wessmann, wrote extensively on this aspect and his conclusion is illuminating for the Christian Stech case as well. The following is a quote from his thesis, together with the source references:[46]

> The fear of contagion by Wessmann and the extreme measures taken to prevent this strongly suggest that his fall was viewed as being more than a lapse into sin.[47] While the mission did not directly state this, it is clear that they saw him as *Tropenkollered*, as suffering from tropical madness or having 'gone native'. Drawing on the descriptions of Marlow's journey up the river towards the horror in portrayal of the figure of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, Harries has argued that, for the Swiss Missionary and ethnographer Henri-Alexandre Junod, and for middle- and upper-class Europeans in the nineteenth century, 'Africa was a place of rediscovery, a place where 'our own ancient history surges up before our eyes''.[48] This imagined encounter between Europeans and their origins, or genesis, in Edenic Africa has also been commented on by Brantlinger and White.[49] However, Brantlinger has traced, and White has commented on, the Victorian creation and development of an opposing myth of Africa, that of the 'dark continent'.[50] In this world-view, which became the dominant one as imperialism and the colonisation of Africa gained momentum, 'going native' was the 'ultimate atrocity' that the traveller, settler or missionary could commit. It represented the betrayal of the ideals of civilisation that he was supposedly bringing from Europe and the triumph of the darkness of Africa over the light of Europe.

One should keep in mind that Mrs Stech had a lot to lose should her husband be found guilty by the Directorate of the Mission Society. She and her children had probably already been ostracised by former friends and colleagues in South Africa and no matter how much money Stech may have put away through his alleged illicit trading[51] during all the years at Blauberg, at the age of 45 and with six children, Mrs Stech would have felt much safer knowing that a Mission Society

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46   Kirkaldy (n 16 above) 199. Brantlinger (n 49 above) 193 (quotation), 194 & 196 and White (n 49 above) 24. In comparative perspective, Street has noted that: 'The Englishman who 'went native' in Kipling's tales always pays the penalty' (Street (n 47 above) 34). For a discussion of perceptions of the roots of the *Bounty* mutineer Peter Heywood's 'deviance' as lying in his having 'gone native' in Tahiti, see G Denning *Mr Bligh's bad language: passion, power and theatre on the Bounty* (1994) 257-262.

47   For missionary fears of contagion by the 'darkness' of Africa in other parts of the continent, see BV Street *The savage in literature: representations of 'primitive' society in English fiction 1858 - 1920* (1975) 24.

48   P Harries 'Through the eyes of the beholder: HA Junod and the notion of primitive' (1993) 19 *Social Dynamics* 3. For the image of travelling up the river as going back to the earliest beginnings of the world, see J Conrad *Heart of darkness* (1995) 59.

49   P Brantlinger 'Victorians and Africans: The genealogy of the myth of the dark continent' (1985) 12 *Critical Inquiry* 170 and A White *Joseph Conrad and the adventure tradition: constructing and deconstructing the imperial subject* (1993) 23.

50   Brantlinger (n 49 above) 166-203 and White (n 49 above) 29.

51   EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 24b-d. Stech was promised compensation from gold speculators if he could assist them in securing a concession from Mmalebôhô.

pension would be providing for her old age. On 25 October she testified, upon invitation, to the representatives of the Mission Society in Berlin. What follows is a discussion of that testimony.[52]

Emilie Stech attested overwhelmingly to the innocence of her husband. In many respects, her testimony of Tini's residence in their household resembled that of her husband; but in several respects the way she represented the events filled some gaps in the account of her husband, Tini and apparently also the Beusters. Her references to Tini's immoral behaviour, laziness, unreliability and cheekiness; her claim that she repeatedly complained about this to Mrs Beuster and that Mrs Beuster replied that they were all too familiar with these manners, do raise the question whether Tini, an adolescent with a stormy childhood, may perhaps not have been a little more challenging to her guardians than her own testimony unveils. While Mrs Stech probably mentions these characteristics to imply the likelihood of such a girl getting herself into trouble, she may unintentionally also be explaining why her husband felt so attracted to Tini. Anyway, not even a girl with the nastiest personality and lowliest morals ought to have ended up in the impossible position Tini found herself in with the missionary's child growing inside her. Ironically, such wilfulness, as described by Mrs Stech, adds some credibility to Tini's gutsy refusal to be silenced after having been mistreated, not allowing her spirit to be broken – telling Mrs Stech 'to her face' that her husband was the father of her child.

From Mrs Stech's testimony, Tini's crafty concealment of her pregnancy to the missionary's wife is more reliable than from her husband's. Mrs Stech had indeed checked Tini's washing for menstrual blood; and after the birth of the baby, she confronted Tini with her betrayal, upon which Tini, according to Mrs Stech, even indicated the kind of animal blood she used. If it was indeed the case that Tini was trying her utmost to conceal her pregnancy, (one reminds oneself of the stealthy way in which she, also according to her own testimony, had tried to dispose of the body during the night), the question of attempted abortion surfaces again. In her own testimony Tini was very vague about when during her pregnancy she had informed Stech that she was pregnant and when, and how frequently, Stech had tied her up with the horse girdle. Without having been prompted, Mrs Stech now revealed in her testimony that she had found the girdle in Tini's room after the birth of the baby. When confronting Tini, the girl admitted that she was wearing it to conceal her condition from Mrs Stech. Depending on how ignorant Tini really was, one can contemplate the likelihood that she was hoping to induce a miscarriage. If missionary Stech had indeed provided (and applied)

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[52]   EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 64-66: Emilie Stech, Berlin, 25 *Oktober* 1892.

the girdle, he must definitely have tried to induce an abortion. The remarkable aspect is that the Mission Directorate chose not to pursue this line of reasoning. The fate of the unborn child was not their concern; whether a missionary had been adulterous or not, was the matter under investigation. Mrs Stech's testimony fitted into the argument of their case because, regardless of the lengths she was going into to describe the treacherous character of Tini Fisher, she did confirm that Tini had told her that her husband was the father of the child. Conjoined with his evasiveness and all the inconsistencies in his own testimonies, this sealed Stech's fate.

In 1893 Christian Stech's name still appears in a German newspaper under an announcement of a religious revival meeting. To the alarm and disapproval of the Society, Stech was still introduced as an experienced missionary who would talk about his adventures in 'wild and dangerous Africa'. While reminiscing about South Africa, did he think about the lie he told his children when they had discovered the corpse of his stillborn baby in the waterhole at Blauberg, that an 'evil witchdoctor' had placed the corpse there to scare them?[53] Regrettably, the last years of Stech's service at Blauberg cast a shadow of stereotypical and prejudicial attitudes over the preceding period of his seemingly fruitful service among the Hananwa and other marginalised communities.

And what about Tini Fisher?

The mission society, fearing for their reputation, were not eager to make Stech's misconduct more public than it already was, especially not in Germany, where the scandal could still be contained in a file of paperwork in the mission's headquarters. The Disciplinary Procedure and all the accompanying documents were sealed and thus concealed from historians' eyes for almost a century. Ironically, with the sealing of the Stech-Fisher case, Tini's ordeal was forgotten with Stech's misbehaviour; just as Tini's insistence on the recognition of her story was forgotten with the circumstances of Stech's humiliating dismissal.

By the time the Director of the BMS had informed Stech of his dismissal, the missionaries in South Africa had lost contact with Tini Fischer. On 1 August 1892, three days after she had given her final, condemning evidence against her seducer in the house of Mr Dewitz, with Superintendent Krause writing it down at a table provided by Mrs Dewitz, she married a German by the name of Zangel,[54] thereby strongly asserting a position for herself in the white community. The Mission Society's inquest was not concerned with Tini; their aim was to reprimand Stech. When Tini had served this purpose, she

53   EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225 45-53: C Stech – BMG, 2 *Juni* 1892.
54   EA BMG Gegen Stech: BMW 1/4225, 56-58: Beilage A, 27 *Juli* 1892.

disappears from their records. Apparently she did not even receive a note from the Society informing her of the outcome. Perhaps she did not care. Perhaps she just moved on. Marriage to a man of German descent was a very powerful move further away form the servile identity of being 'oorlams'.

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