

**THE IMPACT OF #METOO IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FILM AND
TELEVISION INDUSTRY, WITHIN A HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK**

NTSIKA MAJIBA

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Supervisor: Dr Sipokazi Madida

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “The impact of #MeToo in the South African film and television industry, within a historical framework” is my own work, and that all sources quoted have been acknowledged by means of complete referencing, and have undergone all the necessary plagiarism checks.

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DEDICATION

Firstly, I dedicate this work to every aching heart of a woman, tear stains on a pillow and bruises incurred, both physical and emotional that has been suffered by a woman caused by a man. To every woman who has suffered any form abuse, this work is for you. You have been the motivation behind me adding your voice(s) to history. Thank you for being brave, continue being so. You are victors, not victims. True survivors. And to those women who unfortunately died at the hands of a man, this work is dedicated to you. May your souls continue to rest in eternal peace.

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ABSTRACT

The study is a history project and is concerned with tracking the impact of #MeToo in the South African Film and Television industry in South Africa. Its main premise were the findings made public by a South African organization, Sisters Working in Film and Television (SWIFT) in 2017, that found that sexual harassment in the television and film industry was not just a norm but a crisis. The core focus of the study was on the development and impact of the #MeToo movement, which entailed investigating the manner in which women reacted to the hashtag (#MeToo), the reaction of their male counterparts, as well as the reaction and actions taken by the various bodies, institutions and organisations in the Film and Television industry, which included; broadcasters and production houses alike. This study begins by giving a concise background of the movement by firstly, historicising various female-led movements and comparing and contrasting them with the rise of digital movements or digital activism. The historicisation involves a brief comparison of past and present women-led activism, as well as a brief review of other hashtags like #AmINext and #Enough, on which #MeToo has had an influence. It goes on to investigate the development of #MeToo movement and to discuss the responses of the industry and individuals to the movement.

The study embarked on a data collection quest by interviewing eleven female television and film practitioners in South Africa. Their ages ranged from 20 to 55. The findings of the research revealed that female practitioners were still being harassed post #MeToo, although subtly. The lack of unity amongst women in the sector was cited as one of the reasons behind the ongoing harassment. Gender parity and equity was also still lacking in the South African television and film industry. This study emerged in the midst of activism and scholarship seeking to unravel the norms of South African sexual harassment and rape culture against women. Thus, the study focused on the changes and transformations brought about by the hashtag within the industry. With South Africa's historical background and the current circumstances around Gender Based Violence (GBV), this study was concerned with tracking whether or not digital activism had in some way been able to aid change and transformation. In particular, this study looked at the impact of the MeToo phenomenon on the women in the industry, the extent to which it empowered them, what they began to say and how they began to act. The study also explored

South Africa's 'rape culture' as South Africa has been proclaimed the 'worlds rape capital'. It reflected on the colonial rule as the perpetuation of patriarchy and male entitlement over female bodies. Patriarchy in the industry was also confirmed by the findings and through data analysis, as one of the key factors in the emergence of #MeToo in South Africa, and in the utilisation of the hashtag by women in the sector to speak up against sexual harassment.

“I love history so much, because history does not lie”-

Judge Bernard Ngoepe

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACRONYM	FULL DESCRIPTION
ANC	African National Congress
ANCWL	African National Congress Woman's League
AD	Assistant Director
AFEMS	African Feminisms
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CCMA	The Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration
CCV	Contemporary Community Values
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CODESRIA	The Council for the Development for Social Science Research in Africa
COO	Chief Operations Officer
COPE	Congress Of the People
COVID-19	Coronavirus
DA	Democratic Alliance
DIFF	Durban International Film Festival
DJ	Disc Jockey
DM	Direct Messages
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FEDSAW	Federation of South African Women
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GBVAW	Gender Based Violence Against Women

GID	Government Information Department
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HOD	Head Of Department
HR	Human Resources
IBFC	Independent Black Filmmakers Collective
IC	Intimacy Coordinators
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa
IPO	Independent Producers Organization of South Africa
IPSA	Intimacy Practitioners of South Africa
IUD	Intrauterine Device
LGBTQIA+	Lesbian, Gay , Bisexual ,Transgender, Intersex, Queer and/or Questioning, and Asexual and/or Ally
LGBTQI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, and Queer community
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MK	UMkhonto WeSizwe
MMA	Media Monitoring Africa
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NFVF	National Film and Video Foundation
NPA	National Prosecution Authority
NP	National Party
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PHD	Pull Her Down Syndrome
PMA	South African Personal Managers Associations of Agents
POWA	People Opposing Women Abuse
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SAGA	South African Guild of Actors
SAFTAS	South African Film and Television Awards
SAFT	South African Film and Television industry
SANDF	South African National Defence Force

SASFED	the South African Screen Federation
SAPS	South African Police Services
SCO	Safety Contact Officer
SRC	Student Representative Council
SWIFT	Sisters Working in Film and Television
TRC	Truth Reconciliation Commission
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UN	United Nations
UP	United Party
WAR	Women Against Repression
WNC	Women's coalition of South Africa

LIST OF TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
Actor	A performer in a television, theatre or film production, usually a male but often interchangeable in the study, in such a case it is stated.
Actress	A female performer in a television, theatre or film production
Broadcaster	An organization /media entity that transmits a radio, film or television programme
Call sheet	A hard or soft copy document which details production matters for each shoot day
Crew	A member or collective group of individuals responsible for the technical aspects of theatre, television and production
Colourism	The discrimination or prejudice against dark skinned individuals/women
Commissioning Editor	A broadcast representative responsible for a broadcaster buying a production and monitors various aspects of production until its closure
Director	An individual responsible with giving acting/dialogue and crew instruction on a theatre production, television or film set
Editor	An individual responsible for cutting, merging and perfecting sound and picture for broadcast of a production
Fiasco	Complete chaos or failure
Extra(s)	Background artist in a television or film production
Mic(ed)	The action of having a microphone being placed or pinned on an artist
Guided	Protected or accountable to a higher body responsible for a particular field or role
Makeup	The term in this study is used for personnel responsible for the application of various facial powders and creams to enhance picture during the filming of a television or film production
Post Production	All the elements required after the filming of a television and film production

Producer	An individual responsible for producing a final product of production, and is also responsible for the day to day running of production on set from the pre to post production
Production	A generic term used for a television or film project
Production Coordinator	An individual responsible for the coordination of production
Production Manager	An individual responsible for managing the production
Quid Pro Co	A favour in return for something. In this research it is sexual favours for permanent employment
Set	The place in which a production is filmed
Takes	The number of shots per scene
Talent	A generic term used for artists
Wardrobe	A department/ personnel responsible for dressing artists in a production
Wrap/Wrapped	The production term that refers to an artist/ crew having completed their work for the day, or the entire shooting schedule being completed
Wrap Party	A celebration that occurs when the production has finalized its work

INTRODUCTION

The #MeToo movement, which began in the United States of America in 2006, emerged in South Africa towards the end of 2017, and gained traction at the beginning of 2018. It was a protest movement that began on social media, whereby prominent actresses began to speak up about their sexual harassment ordeals. This allowed and encouraged other women in other sectors such as the corporate sector, the academia and general civil society to speak up against sexual harassment. As the movement grew, women in the film and television industry got empowered and felt a sense of comfort in knowing that they were not alone, which resulted in them speaking up. A number of accusations and counter accusations surfaced. An organization called Sisters Working in Film (SWIFT mission), which was established in 2016 embarked on an inquest in the form of questionnaires and surveys. The findings compiled into a comprehensive report and published in 2017 were astonishing. They revealed that sexual harassment and patriarchy were a crisis and a norm in the South African film and television industry.¹

In the midst of various sectors coming forward to denounce sexual harassment, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) commissioned an inquiry into sexual harassment and violations within the broadcaster. Its findings and recommendations can be summarised as; “there is a need for the overarching training of all staff on gender equality and human rights with a particular focus on gender equality”². The report made a call to action, that a sexual harassment policy be formulated.

This study aimed to historicise the #MeToo movement in the South African film and television industry by tracing its emergence, development and impact. The focus of this study was twofold: first, to construct the history of this movement, and secondly, to investigate its impact, including what it did for the industry and the extent to which actresses and female practitioners in the industry were empowered and impacted by it. This study was conducted within the context of various hashtag movements in South Africa and globally, as well as current and historic women-

¹ L Ntoele and M Atouguia, *A SWIFT Mission: Tackling the Gender Disparities in South Africa's film and television industry*, http://www.swiftsa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/SWIFT_ReportBook_007FIN_singlepage.pdf, accessed: 30/07/2020

² *SABC Sexual Harassment Report*, Issue 1, 2018, <http://www.sabc.co.za/sabc/wp-content/plugins/download-attachments/includes/download.php?id=3178>, accessed: 22/08/2019

led and feminist movements in South Africa. As such, the emergence, development and impact of the #MeToo movement was examined, analysed and evaluated against other women-led movements, and against the norms and shapes that movements in general take.

The central argument of this study is that the 21st century and the emergence of digital activism/feminism discourse is beginning to challenge common hegemonic and patriarchal historical representations, which often present women as lacking initiative and as playing supportive rather than dominant roles in human rights struggles. At the same time, this study reveals further complexities in the anti-hegemony and anti-patriarchy stance and impact of this movement. Through data analysis, this thesis exposes the complex power dynamics in the film and TV industry, which seem to be shifting in favour of women while they at the same time remain resistant to change. While the study focused on underscoring the significant gains of digital activism in challenging patriarchy, and the hegemonic social construct of women, the persistent toxic masculinity in the industry could not be ignored.

Thus, the overall contribution of this study to historical knowledge relates to the study and analyses of episodes in the far and recent pasts, whereby hegemony seemed unsettled and discomforted, even as signs of its resistance persisted. This thesis contributes to the broader analyses of power dynamics within social, economic and political systems and within groups and individuals each with its own supposed autonomy. The research findings presented in this thesis reveal interesting shifts in the established gender and power divide between males and females as well as the significant gains of digital movements, including the empowerment of women through #MeToo.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The MeToo movement originates from a sexual harassment survivor and activist, Tarana Burke, who created #MeToo in her MySpace account in 2006. MySpace was by then a popular American social networking platform on which subscribers could express themselves in a variety of ways. Burke originally created MeToo to provide support and solidarity to survivors who were people of colour and transgender women. It was her way of showing empathy to those who like her were survivors of sexual abuse. “Initially the movement was created for women of colour who became victims of sexual assault (referred to as survivors), to protect their integrity

[...] Burke created this movement so they knew they were not alone”³. Burke being a survivor herself, felt the need to address issues of sexual misconduct as a platform of solidarity. “Burke herself explains, the inspiration of her initiative was her experience as a survivor and as a counsellor at a youth camp where she worked in the late 1990s while she was living in Selma, Alabama, soon after graduating from Alabama state university”⁴.

The movement remained in motion but kept “[...] a rather discrete profile until the actress Alyssa Milano posted a tweet, prompted by allegations of Harvey Weinstein’s sexual misconduct. Her tweet invited women who too were sexually violated to respond with ‘Me too’”⁵. Widespread media coverage began discussions over sexual harassment that led to many producers being fired in Hollywood. Burke’s initial post on ‘MySpace’ did not possess a hashtag, it merely comprised of the phrase ‘MeToo’. Hashtags were only introduced after 2006.

In fact, Holsterman et al reveal that “the hashtag was first brought to Twitter on August 23, 2007 by Chris Messina”⁶. It was only through Alyssa Milano that the phrase possessed a Hashtag. “The hashtag MeToo became immediately viral, triggering a worldwide mobilization on social media and the public sphere”⁷.

It was only in 2017 a decade later did the phrase ‘MeToo’ possess a hashtag, which Burke has welcomed. In 2017, following actress Allyssa Milano’s widely received tweet, many Hollywood actresses came forward to speak up about their experiences. Many of these actresses were white women. This received wide criticism as it was said that it deviated from the original founders’ mandate. “The debate especially focused on the glamor-filled, white-washing campaign against sexual harassment Hollywood stars and high profiled people within the US”⁸. Burkes who had been silent and left out since the digital re-emergence of her movement, finally spoke up in a magazine interview saying; “#MeToo was founded for black and brown women and girls.

³ S.E Garcia, ‘The women who created hashtags long before there were hashtags’, *The New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/20/us-metoo-movement-tarana-burke.html>

⁴ T Burke, <https://metoomvt.org/about/#history>, accessed: 24/05/2020

⁵ T Burke, <https://metoomvt.org/about/#history>, accessed: 24/05/2020

⁶ C Messina, <https://buffer.com/resources/a-concise-history-of-twitter-hashtags>, accessed: 03/06/2020

⁷ A Hosterman, R Johnson, R Stoufer, S Herring, ‘Twitter Social Support Messages and #MeToo’ *The Journal of Social Media in Society* (Fall), vol 2, pp69-91, accessed: 24/05/2020

⁸ R Maule, ‘Not Just a Movement for Famous White People’, March 2020. *Gender and Women Studies*, pp1-2

They're still being ignored"⁹. After having founded a movement for over a decade and had been left out in its revolution, Burkes continued to say "#MeToo are those of colour, queer people, disabled people, poor people"¹⁰. This began a huge debate within US media as many critics rebuked those who left Burkes out of a movement she founded and stirred the direction away from its original mandate. Burkes continued to speak out in public and in interviews and remained resolute that "#MeToo is not just a movement for famous white cisgender women; "What we are is a global community of survivors committed to healing as individuals and as a community"¹¹.

This in its very nature became an almost approval from Burkes to allow any colour, race and ethnicity to own the hashtag, but this had to be endorsed by her, the founder and nobody else. Burkes finally regained her position, a position she was almost robbed of.

"While careful to keep the intersectional mandate at the centre of the movement, Burke has also welcomed the public visibility and the new visibility and the new potential of social media and digital platforms to assure it"¹². The legacy of hashtags has also birthed 'Hashtag feminism' and 'digital activism' which by far has been the route in which #MeToo has taken and has been its success in birthing the global phenomenon it has become; "the vast and rapid escalation of the movement to a global phenomenon with high media exposure and brought disparate contexts"¹³.

South Africa was not left out of the revolution of #MeToo, and the movement found a perfect context in the country. Sexual abuse against women is very prominent in the South African film industry and has become so normalized that women within the industry do not feel the need to speak up about it. This is according to findings of SWIFT (Sisters Working in Film and Television).

By the end of 2017 to early 2018 #MeToo had become a widespread phenomenon that had escaped the confinements of Hollywood, and reached the shores of South Africa, 'Goliwood'.

⁹ T Burkes, 'The Washington Post', November 2017, [https://www.thewashingtonpost.com/news/Tarana Burke](https://www.thewashingtonpost.com/news/Tarana%20Burke), Accessed: 25/05/2020

¹⁰ T Burkes, 'The Washington Post', November 2017

¹¹ B. Cook, 'The Founder discusses intersectionality and activism', *The Ithacan*, 6 February, <https://www.ithacan.org/news/me-too/founder-discusses-intersectionality-and-activism>, accessed: 23/05/2020

¹² R Maule, 'Not Just a Movement for Famous White People', March 2020, *Gender and Women Studies*, p2

¹³ R Maule, 'Not Just a Movement for Famous White People', March 2020, *Gender and Women Studies*, p2

Since then, high profile and budding actresses have since spoken up about their own sexual violations, exposing their abusers, many of whom were high profile South African film and TV directors/producers. The traction that the hashtag received in South Africa in particular, led to a vocal group of South African women mobilised under the banner of SWIFT to establish their own hashtag and campaign called ‘That’s not okay’.¹⁴ SWIFT commissioned a study into gender disparity in the workplace in South Africa, which culminated in a report published in 2018.¹⁵ The findings of the report were grim and were according to Zoe Chirisini, SWIFT commission spokesperson, worse than Hollywood. In Chirisini’s words, gender disparity in South Africa is “worse because sexual harassment and gender-based violence is the norm in South African society. For women in the industry it is a crisis”¹⁶.

Amidst the speaking out of militant female entertainment industry practitioners about sexual misconduct and violations within the TV/Film industry, the SABC announced the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry into Sexual Harassment (the Commission) to investigate instances of sexual harassment at the Corporation. The Commission, which was independent from the SABC and headed by an independent commissioner completed its work on 31 October 2018 and presented its final report to the SABC board, which the board accepted it in its entirety. The report found that,

(a) there is need for the overarching training of all staff on gender equality and human rights with a particular focus on gender equality, violence against women taking into consideration the current trends and context. The skills of officials who serve on the sexual harassment panels must be enhanced, (b) SABC does not take sexual harassment seriously and the culture of sweeping things like sexual harassment under the carpet prevalent. SABC needs to develop a culture that embraces the enhancement of human rights and gender rights; (c) The SABC’s sexual harassment policy needs to be reviewed to be in line with international law, SABC policies and domestic laws. To supplement the policy, a standard operating procedure or policy guidelines must be put in place to give teeth to the sexual harassment policy¹⁷.

¹⁴ C Blignaut, ‘Sexual Abuse rife in SA film and TV industry’, <https://m.channel24.co.za/TV/News/Sexual-abuse-rife-in-sa-film-and-tv-industry-20171028>, accessed: 10/04/2020

¹⁵ L Ntoele and M Atouguia, *A SWIFT Mission: Tackling the Gender Disparities in South Africa’s film and television industry*, available at: http://www.swiftsa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/SWIFT_ReportBook_007FIN_singlepage.pdf, accessed: 30/07/2020

¹⁶ C Blignaut, ‘Sexual Abuse rife in SA film and TV industry’, <https://m.channel24.co.za/TV/News/Sexual-abuse-rife-in-sa-film-and-tv-industry-20171028>, accessed: 10/04/2020

¹⁷ *SABC Sexual Harassment Report*, Issue 1, 2018, <http://www.sabc.co.za/sabc/wp-content/plugins/download-attachments/includes/download.php?id=3178>, accessed: 22/08/2019

Furthermore, the commission found that, “there is strong fear of loss of jobs in telling truth to power, lack of trust and loss of confidence in HR, the SABC’s ability to address gender-based violence as well as related discrimination in the workplace”¹⁸. Of all the cases the Commission came across, no alleged perpetrator was ever suspended or found guilty of sexual harassment even though this was the main complaint. Those charged (often supervisors of complainants) were allowed to work, victimization was not monitored. They were then found guilty of unprofessional behaviour (not sexual harassment), where cases went that far.

Although the study was not focusing solely on the SABC, it was necessary to observe and note that the SABC commission was established in response to sexual harassment, abuse and patriarchy that existed in the entire South African media sector. In the many years of its existence, the corporation had never had a sexual harassment policy that was in line with the Bill of Rights and gender rights. This was highlighted in the SWIFT mission report. The report challenged broadcasters alike to begin drafting codes of conduct, policies and ethics codes that will address sexual harassment, sexual abuse and patriarchy in the television and film industry. Through the widespread naming and shaming attributed to #MeToo, employees of broadcasters began to share their sexual harassment incidents. This triggered the national broadcaster, in particular, to begin an inquest on the allegations, which then resulted in the SABC drafting a sexual harassment report.

It is critical to emphasize that #MeToo was not a trend solely for the entertainment industry, it merely garnered traction and fame through the influence of high profile actresses, and through the familiar names that were implicated in the tweets. In South Africa in particular, women who tweeted on #MeToo were not only those in the television and film industry, but also those who worked in academia, government, private sector and those who were activists of social injustices. One of the first recognizable names in the South African entertainment industry that tweeted on #MeToo was musician and song writer, Lungi Naidoo. On October 16, 2017 at 14:46 PM, a day after the hashtag received traction from the US, she tweeted; “#MeToo Stand Up Against Sexual Harassment and Assault!”¹⁹. Lungi Naidoo(@LungiNaidoo) has a following of over 50 000 on

¹⁸ *SABC Sexual Harassment Report*, Issue 1, 2018, <http://www.sabc.co.za/sabc/wp-content/plugins/download-attachments/includes/download.php?id=3178>, accessed: 22/08/2019

¹⁹ L Naidoo, Twitter post, October 2017,2:46pm.,<http://twitter.com/lunginaidoo>

Twitter, her tweet received an underwhelming 13 likes and 4 retweets, which is far below her Twitter following. South African author of award winning/best seller of books and comics such as *Zoo City*, Lauren Beukes tweeted on October, 16, 2017 at 13:55 PM “#MeToo. Everyday catcalls and street harassment. The boss propositioned me. The friend who assaulted me”²⁰.

Lauren Beukes (@Lauren Beukes) has a following of over 28 000 on Twitter, she received only 7 retweets , 19 likes and 2 comments from her followers, one of a heart emoticon and the other from a male follower with a message of support; ‘I believe you’. A South African Twitter user not linked in the media/entertainment fraternity @Feiawesomeol tweeted on October 16, 2017 at 06:34AM, “The complicity of so many to keep sexual assault, abuse and harassment buried needs to end. You’re not saving face. Just stop. #MeToo”²¹. Her tweet received 2 likes and 1 retweet from her 53 followers. Over a week later, a Twitter user with the handle, @Iamzathemum tweeted on October, 25, at 19:39PM; “#KhaloTherapist I was working part time in a hotel in Cape Town during the world cup, Khalo Matabane raped me, I said no, #MeToo”²². She continued tweeting on the same day; “This is how you killed the little teenager in me #Khalomatabanetherapist #MeToo he raped me, with a pillow over my face. #wrecked”²³.

The tweets received 37 retweets and 4 likes respectively. The tweets received much attention on social media because of the name associated with the tweet, director and film producer, Khalo Matabane, and saw actress and activist Rosie Motene share her experience in an official statement shared on her social media and newspapers before her trending radio interview with journalist and anchor, Bongani Bingwa on radio 702 in April 2018. SWIFT (Sisters Working in Film and Television) began a hashtag upon realizing the dent sexual predatory in the television and film industry had caused and formed a hashtag #ThatsNotOk in which South African women in the film and television sector, as well as those who sympathized with rape and violated survivors, could use when shedding awareness on social media. This saw producer and film maker, Palesa Letlaka pen an open letter to Matabane, shared via her social media, through South African actresses’ social media pages and South African media platforms such as *News24*. Blogger, Phil Mphela shared the open letter on Twitter at 15:45 on April, 29, 2018 and the Tweet

²⁰ L Beukes, Twitter post, 16 October 2017, 1:55pm.,<http://twitter.com/laurenbeukes>

²¹ Twitter post, 16 October 2017, 6:34am, <http://twitter.com/feiawesomeol>

²² Twitter Post, 25 October 2017, 7:39pm, <http://twitter.com/iamzathemum>

²³ Twitter Post, 25 October 2017, 7:39pm, <http://twitter.com/iamzathemum>

received 128 retweets, 108 likes and 3 comments. A male commented, “some guy at work is giving your wife a hug and picking her up while groping her butt. It’s not only in the entertainment industry, it’s not only men with senior positions at work. Men are TRASH”, another commented, “*Makaboshwe!*” (He must be arrested!) And another male commented; “Many men behave like this. We have to look at ourselves and be honest so we can change our behaviour”.

Ingeborg Lichtenberg, a South African director and documentary maker joined the women who too alleged that film director, Khalo Matabane had violated her sexually. Her confession came in April 2018 when many of the violated South African film and television practitioners came forward. Lichtenberg has detailed the traumatic experience in a *Weekend Argus* publication of December 2020; “I got to meet him for business in Cape Town. We greeted and gave each other friendly hugs. He tried to kiss me and tried to stick his tongue in my mouth. I pulled away, later he kept repeating that he wanted to have sex with me and invited me to his hotel room”²⁴.

Lichtenberg has spoken about the backlash she received since her allegations; “Some dismissed my traumatic experience, saying I was over 40 years old and must be used to it, and questioned why I was upset”²⁵.

Furthermore, she has expressed her disappointment in the South African film industry and its nonchalance to fighting sexual violations within the industry. She claims responses she received from colleagues in the film industry were disappointing, especially the blind eye in fighting discrimination in the fight against violence and discrimination against women; “There was no support for victims coming from the organization, Sisters Working In Film and Television (SWIFT). In Hollywood, Harvey Weinstein was dismissed and expelled from professional associations shortly after he was accused of rape”²⁶. Lichtenberg further describes how she

²⁴ I Lichtenberg, ‘Film industry’s GBV shaming: Top SA director continues to work as victims struggle to pick up pieces’, <http://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/film-industry-gbv-shaming-top-sa-director-continues-to-work-as-victims-struggle-to-pick-up-pieces>, accessed:03/03/2021

²⁵ I Lichtenberg, ‘Film industry’s GBV shaming: Top SA director continues to work as victims struggle to pick up pieces’, <http://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/film-industry-gbv-shaming-top-sa-director-continues-to-work-as-victims-struggle-to-pick-up-pieces>, accessed:03/03/2021

²⁶ I Lichtenberg, ‘Film industry’s GBV shaming: Top SA director continues to work as victims struggle to pick up pieces’, www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/film-industry-gbv-shaming-top-sa-director-continues-to-work-as-victims-struggle-to-pick-up-pieces, accessed:03/03/2021

received backlash from women in particular; “Some women in the industry gave me a dressing down, I did not receive any support from them”²⁷.

SWIFT released a statement shortly after the women came forward regarding the accused director and pledged solidarity in saying “SWIFT stands with all women, in film and TV who came forward”²⁸. The Independent Film-makers Collective (IBFC) also issued a statement denouncing the “absence of male film makers, actors, producers, industry leaders and government officials, three weeks after the reports”²⁹. The IBFC and SWIFT issued separate statements of support to women who came forward about their violations, IBFC lambasted male film makers and male practitioners in the film and television industry for being silent, nonchalant and passive during the time in which women were coming forward with violations.

Furthermore, the organization pledged to undertake educational campaigns and to support female practitioners in the industry. Founder of IBFC and director of the acclaimed film on the life of Solomon Mahlangu, *Kalushi*, Mandla Dube said, “I felt complicit in abuse for not speaking out and condemning reported incidents”³⁰. Dube further explained that “I am too guilty of abuse for not taking a stand when it was someone I know or worked with. I too am at fault for not reaching out to my sisters and colleagues to check if they are getting help. I should have acted sooner”³¹.

Dube lays bare in his statement that he too suffered abuse as a child, hence his reasons to speak up about the violations in the television and film industry; “Having suffered abuse myself at a

²⁷ I Lichtenberg, ‘Film industry’s GBV shaming: Top SA director continues to work as victims struggle to pick up pieces’, www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/film-industry-gbv-shaming-top-sa-director-continues-to-work-as-victims-struggle-to-pick-up-pieces, accessed:03/03/2021

²⁸ [Http:// www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/film-industry-gbv-shaming-top-sa-director-continues-to-work-as-victims-struggle-to-pick-up-pieces](http://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/film-industry-gbv-shaming-top-sa-director-continues-to-work-as-victims-struggle-to-pick-up-pieces), accessed:03/03/2021

²⁹ M Dube, ‘Black Film Makers stand by Matabane’s sexual assault accusers’, <http://www.enca.com/life/entertainment/black-filmmakers-stand-by-matabanes-sexual-assault-accuser>, accessed:10/03/201

³⁰ M Dube, ‘Black Film Makers stand by Matabane’s sexual assault accusers’, <http://www.enca.com/life/entertainment/black-filmmakers-stand-by-matabanes-sexual-assault-accuser>, accessed:10/03/2021

³¹ M Dube, ‘Black Film Makers stand by Matabane’s sexual assault accusers’, <http://www.enca.com/life/entertainment/black-filmmakers-stand-by-matabanes-sexual-assault-accuser>, accessed:10/03/201

young age, I can no longer (just) empathise with the women, and children that are continually victimised. When sex is not consensual it is rape, we cannot call it by any other name”³².

Over a year later, amidst the murder of University of Cape Town (UCT) Uyinene Mrwetyana, who was lured to her death by a post office official. After she went to the post office to collect her parcel. Upon her arrival, the official told her to return later, a plan that the official apparently crafted in order to rape and murder her. South African feminists, activists and women from all walks of life joined in the formation of the hashtag #AmINext, which saw women come forward on Twitter to name and shame their alleged rapists and violators. The revolution was of a similar nature to #MeToo as many women were empowered to speak up and address the issue of gender-based violence and sexual violations against women. However not everyone was pleased with the naming and shaming made possible by #MeToo and #AmINext. One of these was William Bird, Director of Media Monitoring Africa (MMA), who said “your rights and legal obligations don’t change just because you go onto a social media page [...] These kinds of responses aren’t going to deal with the problem, especially in terms of prosecuting alleged rapists”³³. Bird further claimed that he did not see a violator change due to being named on social media as the violator is already a violent person.

While strides were made by organizations such as SWIFT (Sisters Working in Film and Television) in addressing the violations against women, female practitioners who were violated such as Ingeborg Litchenberg felt let down by the organization as not doing anything for the violated female practitioners in the television and film industry. Rosie Motene shared that the violated females have had each other as a place of healing, “victims had provided each other for healing, crying and unravelling when things get too much”³⁴. Motene continued to say she too received negative backlash from the industry when she spoke up about Matabane, “some people tried to dilute our pain by referring to some of the survivors as unstable, and therefore I should

³²M Dube, ‘Black Film Makers stand by Matabane’s sexual assault accusers’, <http://www.enca.com/life/entertainment/black-filmmakers-stand-by-matabanes-sexual-assault-accuser>, accessed: 10/03/2021

³³ W Bird, ‘Twitter users name and shame alleged rapists, but experts issue stern warning’, <http://www.news24.com/news24/southafrican/news/twitter-users-name-and-shame-alleged-rapists-but-experts-issue-a-stern-warning>, accessed: 15/03/2021

³⁴ R Motene, ‘Film industry’s GBV shaming: Top SA director continues to work as victims struggle to pick up pieces’, <http://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/film-industry-gbv-shaming-top-sa-director-continues-to-work-as-victims-struggle-to-pick-up-pieces>, accessed: 03/03/2021

not listen to them”³⁵. She further explained that she expected and anticipated that speaking up about big name(s) comes with different levels of intimidation, gas lighting and attempts at silencing or undermining³⁶.

Motene, like Lichtenberg suffered rejection and backlash from the film and television industry, “After I received a public notification telling people to stay away from me, I suffered financial loss”³⁷. Motene laid a complaint with the Commission for Gender Equality, but the matter was closed and she was made to sign a confidentiality agreement with the commission that barred her from speaking up against her allegation against Matabane, the police then withdrew the case stating reasons of ‘not enough evidence’, although they had not spoken to him (Matabane) and heard his side of the events”³⁸. In February 2020, Harvey Weinstein, a major television and film director in the United States was given a 23-year prison sentence for rape and sexual assault. Actresses Rami Chuene and veteran actress, Florence Masebe expressed on Twitter that they hoped the day would come where the Harvey Weinsteins of South Africa would be arrested.

Rosie Motene expressed on her Facebook page, on the 26th of February 2020; “But where were they when we spoke out?”³⁹. Rami Chuene and Florence Masebe took to social media to express their dissatisfaction of Motene’s utterances. Masebe commented on Rosie’s Facebook post with; “Really Rosie? I was there. Speaking out long before 2018. Writing articles on #ThatsNotOk in my Sunday Independent column while you were having a fallout with SWIFT”⁴⁰.

Masebe further expressed her disappointment at Motene and accused her of fighting women who speak up, rather than the sexual predators. A Facebook user came to Motene’s defence, “I for one did not see overwhelming support from the industry in 2018. There were a few women

³⁵ R Motene, ‘Film industry’s GBV shaming: Top SA director continues to work as victims struggle to pick up pieces’, <http://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/film-industry-gbv-shaming-top-sa-director-continues-to-work-as-victims-struggle-to-pick-up-pieces>, accessed: 03/03/2021

³⁶ R Motene, ‘Film industry’s GBV shaming: Top SA director continues to work as victims struggle to pick up pieces’, <http://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/film-industry-gbv-shaming-top-sa-director-continues-to-work-as-victims-struggle-to-pick-up-pieces>, accessed:03/03/2021

³⁷ R Motene, ‘Film industry’s GBV shaming: Top SA director continues to work as victims struggle to pick up pieces’, <http://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/film-industry-gbv-shaming-top-sa-director-continues-to-work-as-victims-struggle-to-pick-up-pieces>, accessed: 03/03/2021

³⁸ B Payi, ‘Film industry’s GBV shaming: Top SA director continues to work as victims struggle to pick up pieces’, <http://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/film-industry-gbv-shaming-top-sa-director-continues-to-work-as-victims-struggle-to-pick-up-pieces>, accessed: 03/03/2021

³⁹ R Motene, Facebook post, 26 February 2020, <http://www.facebook.com/rosiemotene>

⁴⁰ F Masebe, Facebook post, 26 February 2020, <http://www.facebook.com/rosiemotene>

fighting against the Chief predator (Matabane) and his enabler, Carolyn Carew and others. Rosie took her fight to the battle field”⁴¹. Chuene expressed her disgruntlement in a thread of Twitter tweets; “What Rosie is asking is; where were we when the others were where they were. If only Rosie knew that this was not a competition on who got abused, and how”⁴². Chuene continued to lambast Motene by stating, “There are no ribbons for speaking out. In fact, you support in any way you can. Roise is not a #metoo poster child and we are responding to what is topical”⁴³.

Chuene further accused Motene for being self-seeking and egoistical. “Now that Rosie got her medal for first prize, can she kindly sit down. No one has time for conceited, self-serving, egoistical hogwash hidden behind activism”⁴⁴. Motene responded to Masebe and Chuene through a Twitter tweet: “You can hurl insults and carry on, I will not reply. We will continue the fight. It’s never been a competition as we have all suffered as survivors [...] if only you knew what we went through, since coming out”⁴⁵. The conversations, debates and reactions seemed to come mostly from women in the industry, the male voice was interestingly very silent. The same women who were affected by #MeToo, were the same who were fighting, debating and reacting amongst each other, while their male colleagues took a stance of silence.

The South African government and the Department of Arts and Culture had remained silent too during the #MeToo protest, even when former ANC Member of Parliament and musician, Jennifer Ferguson accused SAFA (South Africa Football Association) executive, Danny Jordaan of raping her in 1993 in a hotel room in Port Elizabeth (now Gqeberha). Ferguson spent years in the ANC caucus as member of parliament and was a comrade in the ruling party. When the noise around #MeToo emerged in October 2017, Ferguson took advantage of the opportunity to seek healing and justice for the alleged rape ordeal she suffered in the hands of Jordaan and wrote a Facebook post in which she first did not name him. “When I named Danny Jordaan, it was from a place beyond choice. It was, of course the #MeToo window; it shocked me. I initially didn’t name him, but I gave the details of somebody in a high position”⁴⁶.

⁴¹ R Motene Facebook post comment, 26 February 2020, <http://www.facebook.com/rosiemotene>

⁴² R Chuene, Twitter post, 26 February 2020, <http://www.twitter.com/ramichuene>

⁴³ R Chuene, Twitter post, 26 February 2020, <http://www.twitter.com/ramichuene>

⁴⁴ R Chuene, Twitter post, 26 February 2020, <http://www.twitter.com/ramichuene>

⁴⁵ R Chuene, Twitter post, 26 February 2020, <http://www.twitter.com/ramichuene>

⁴⁶ J Ferguson, ‘Rape case opened against Danny Jordaan’,

<http://www.google.co.za/amp/s/www.news24.com/amp/news24/southafrica/news/rape-case-opened-against-danny-jordaan-20180325-2>, accessed: 23/03/2021

Ferguson reiterates that she merely wanted a restorative justice, in which a mediated conversation of truth and reconciliation could be established, but her efforts led to a defensive legal battle ensuing from Jordaan. “To this end, I offered Mr Jordaan the opportunity to engage with me in a meditative process outside formal legal action [...] he would not come to the table and ‘contemptuously dismissed mediation with a ‘wall’ of lawyers”⁴⁷. Jordaan denied allegations of rape against Ferguson and received support from SAFA. SAFA’s first female elected Vice President, Ria Ledwaba, publicly slammed Jordaan’s allegations and pledged support and defence for her comrade, “you cannot forget that the man has done so much for football. We have enjoyed so much of his work in football and it cannot be deleted because there is an allegation. We will continue to be there behind him, to support him all the way. We want the standard of football to be of a high level”⁴⁸. It was a very defining moment for Ledwaba as SAFA’s first female elected vice president, and the moment was missed to stand with women. It was disappointing to witness. After Ferguson’s public #MeToo declaration, more women had come forward against Jordaan, like she said there would be⁴⁹.

In July and August 2018, over a year since Ferguson’s testimony, women of all ages and races took part in a #TotalShutDown protest. The hashtag was accompanied by a co-hashtag #Enough, against the high levels of femicide and gender-based violence in South Africa. In 2017, 51,895 women laid complaints of sexual offences, according to the South African Police Services (SAPS) 2017 report⁵⁰. The march called on all women and gender non-conformists to rally behind the movement in attempts to get government to intervene on the high levels of gender-based violence in South Africa. With the silent and almost nonchalant stance that government had taken with #MeToo, and the growing femicide or gender-based violence, feminists felt the need to mobilize themselves and hold the South African government accountable. The total shut down excluded men from the march demonstrations but encouraged men to stay at home and not

⁴⁷ J Ferguson, ‘Rape case opened against Danny Jordaan’, <http://www.google.co.za/amp/s/www.news24.com/amp/news24/southafrica/news/rape-case-opened-against-danny-jordaan-20180325-2>, accessed: 23/03/2021

⁴⁸ R Ledwaba, ‘New Safa VP: We are fully behind Danny Jordaan’, <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2018-06-04-new-safa-vp-we-are-fully-behind-danny-jordaan-2018-03-25-2>, accessed: 23/03/2021

⁴⁹ J Ferguson, ‘More women have come forward about Jordaan-Jennifer Ferguson’, <http://www.news24.com/southafrica/news/more-women-have-come-forward-about-Jordaan-Jennifer-Ferguson>, accessed: 24/03/2021

⁵⁰ *The South African Police Report*, 2017/18, https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201810/saps-annual-report.pdf, accessed: 23/03/2021

go to work on 1 August 2018. It was also encouraged that men should not consume goods, as the idea was to disrupt the economy so the government could act on their demands. ANC women's league pledged their support with the shutdown. However, they abstained from attending and released a statement pledging their support and committing to comply with the organizer's request. Part of the statement read, "As per the wishes of the organisers of #TotalShutDown, the young women's desk will be marching separately due to disallowance of our participation paraphernalia"⁵¹.

Furthermore, Lucy Nomhle Bowles, the march organizer reiterated, "The wearing of regalia or a uniform is a trigger; the men who abuse, who use their power on women are in these organizations. We have seen the former president of South Africa acquitted of rape, there is also Mduzuzi Manana- they were part of the ANC. We saw a woman kicked by a man wearing an ANC T-shirt. We cannot be stumbling blocks for other women at the march"⁵². The march achieved and attained huge success, with hundreds of women taking to the streets in all nine South African provinces. A memorandum of demands was submitted at the Union buildings in Pretoria by women partaking in the march. The first demand on the memorandum was that the president of the Republic of South Africa publicly declare his unacceptance to Gender Based Violence, not to deploy or appoint any member who abuses women and children and to give a plan of action by 30 August 2018 on steps that will be taken in forming a gender-based violence summit. Another demand was, "a commitment to establish and drive a multi-stakeholder and comprehensive process to address and reduce Gender Based Violence Against Women (GBVAW) and a commitment to announce the dates of a national gender summit before 30 August 2018"⁵³. It was on that basis that government launched a Gender Based Violence (GBV summit) on the 1st and 2nd of November 2018 in Pretoria. The event was attended by President Cyril Ramaphosa, former speaker of parliament Baleka Mbete, former speaker of the NCOP (National Council of Provinces), Minister Naledi Pandor, Minister of Justice- Ronald Lamola,

⁵¹ ANC Women's league, '#TotalShutDown: Nationwide action against gender-based violence recalls 1956 Women's March', <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-07-31-nationwide-action-against-gender-based-violence-recalls-1956-womens-march/>, accessed: 24/03/2021

⁵²LN Bowles, '#TotalShutDown: Nationwide action against gender-based violence recalls 1956 Women's March', <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-07-31-nationwide-action-against-gender-based-violence-recalls-1956-womens-march/>, accessed: 24/03/2021

⁵³ '#TotalShutDown: Nationwide action against gender-based violence recalls 1956 Women's March', <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-07-31-nationwide-action-against-gender-based-violence-recalls-1956-womens-march/>, accessed: 24/03/2021

Minister of Women, Youth and People with Disabilities- Maite Nkoana-Mashabane and many other organs of state, including representatives of the judiciary, media, stakeholders and civil society. Justice Mandisa Maya who represented the judiciary in her final remarks, alluded to the problems of GBV, citing the closure of the sexual offences court as being one of the factors. “The Sexual Offences Courts, introduced to support the expeditious adjudication of cases involving crimes and transgressions of a sexual nature – with these courts no longer in operation due to resource constraints, despite the value that they provided”⁵⁴.

Furthermore, Justice Maya pointed out that there was a lack of training of officials who should be dealing with GBV cases. “The reality that the criminal justice system and those who operate within it are often inadequately equipped to deal with GBVF”⁵⁵. Police officers and at times health workers have handled issues of gender-based violence and sexual offences carelessly, creating a deeper wound to victims. Justice Maya reminded the delegation at the summit that former Justice Minister, Masutha had taken a directive from a ruling in the constitutional court to review the Criminal Procedure Act, “which ruled that the Criminal Procedure Act should be amended to abolish the prescription period of 20 years for sexual offences and other forms of GBVF – i.e. enabling the State to deliver on its international obligations to prohibit all gender-based discrimination, and to provide survivors of all forms of sexual assault (including forms other than rape or compelled rape) with the right to pursue a charge, regardless of when the offence was committed”⁵⁶.

The commission had six commissions under one commission; laws and policies, prevention, response, care and support, accountability and resourcing, coordination and communication. The summit detailed that which was working to uphold the constitutional rights of victims, but also what was not working; domestic violence act, protection orders, sexual harassment and victimization of womxn (a term used usually an intersectional feminist context, as a means to avoid sexism and to be inclusive of transgender and non-binary women), in the workplace- lack of trauma support, lack of comprehensive rape frameworks, closure and lack thereof of sexual offences court(s).

⁵⁴ M Maya, ‘The Report of the Presidential Summit against Gender-based Violence and Femicide’, 2018, p36

⁵⁵ M Maya, ‘The Report of the Presidential Summit against Gender-based Violence and Femicide’, 2018, p36

⁵⁶ M Maya, ‘The Report of the Presidential Summit against Gender-based Violence and Femicide’, 2018, p36

The former Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, and former Speaker of Parliament stated in her reply speech that, the issue was not funding, the issue is the employment of skilled individuals to deal with issues of abuse; “We didn’t immediately have a Women’s Ministry. We created a gender machinery, including Gender Focal Points in each department. The question is: when deploying people to Gender Focal Points in each department, are we looking carefully at the skills? Are we sure those focal points are empowered, capacitated by having the right personnel – men or women – with the right skills? Or do we not care? We just put a little desk in the corner there? If we do that, we are setting ourselves up for a situation of a gender focal point to plan for events. What needs to happen is we need to have the people with the right skills”⁵⁷.

Just three months after the government held a GBV summit, in February 2019, the ANC was once again faced with additional rape and sexual harassment allegations against its senior officials, Pule Mabe, the current spokesperson of the party and Zizi Kodwa, former spokesperson of the ANC and the current deputy minister of state security in the Republic of South Africa. The two officials were said to be told to step aside as an investigation would be launched into the allegations, it was later understood that although the party had requested that the two officials step aside, they were not formally suspended, “Both Kodwa and Mabe would remain active at Luthuli House and have not been formally suspended, *News24* understands”⁵⁸. It was during this period that it was also discovered that the ANC and many other political parties, including EFF, UDM and COPE which all have seats in the South African parliament, had no sexual harassment policies.

Amidst the internal inquest on Kodwa and Mabe’s sexual harassment and rape allegations, which Mabe was later cleared by the party, the hearing revealed the lack of an ANC sexual harassment policy, and the party was given 90 days to devise one. Journalist, Rebecca Davis of the daily *Maverick* revealed that “only it appears, the DA and the Good party currently have any form of

⁵⁷ B Mbete, ‘The Report of the Presidential Summit against Gender-based Violence and Femicide’, 2018, p104

⁵⁸ ‘ANC tells Zizi Kodwa and Pule Mabe to step aside amid sex allegations’, <http://www.news24.com/amp/news24/southafrica/news/anc-tells-zizi-kodwa-and-pule-mabe-to-step-aside-amid-sex-allegations-20190226>, accessed: 26/03/2021

sexual harassment policy in place. The others which were Cope, the IFP, UDM and the EFF have no signs of having sexual harassment policies drawn up”⁵⁹.

The ANC, the ruling party in South African government had ample missed opportunities to address the issues of rape, sexual misconduct and GBV. Redi Tlhabi details in the book she wrote titled, ‘*Khwezi: The Remarkable Story of Fezekile Ntsukela Khuzwayo*’ (the alleged rape victim by former president Jacob Zuma), that rape had been occurring in ANC camps in exile, even before the liberation of South Africa. Women in the ANC were aware of it and kept quiet, as the norm was to always protect and shield a cadre. The book made some shocking findings that Fezeka Khuzwayo had been raped in the previous years by an older ANC cadre, and that this happened in exile, in the camps of the resistance movement. History seemed to have repeated itself when former president Jacob Zuma was accused of raping her. That sexual harassment and rape occurred in the ANC circles then. The party appeared to have a role in perpetuating the cycle when former Member of Parliament’s Jennifer Ferguson’s made her accusations and when this too was only addressed after Kodwa and Mabe’s allegations. It is disappointing that even after a highly lauded GBV summit, the ANC did not instantly draft a policy within themselves as a political party, and that it had to take feminists to shake the government up to host a summit in the first place.

The ANC’s sheer nonchalance and ignorance of rape, sexual harassment and GBV was also highlighted through the opening remarks of the Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshega, at a school visit in Gauteng in February 2021, where she publicly declared that an educated man would never rape. This sent shockwaves amongst learners, educators present, the media and social media alike at the sheer ignorance exposed by such statement. Her “carelessness” in speech could easily be interpreted as the stance of the ANC with regards to rape and sexual violence. This was especially shocking as she was the ANC Women’s league’s President in 2008. One would assume that a woman who held such an office would understand the basics of gender-based violence and the nuances of rape culture.

⁵⁹ R Davis, ‘In search of policies on sexual harassment? Don’t ask most SA political parties’, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-02-19-in-search-of-policies-on-sexual-harassment-dont-ask-most-sa-political-parties/amp/>, accessed: 26/03/2021

As I conclude this section, I wish to close with a brief summary of how South African women adapted this hashtag of USA origin in South Africa. South African women were soon aware of the vastly different experiences they face in South Africa by changing the hashtag to #MeTooSouthAfrica or #MeTooSA. Sandra Maria Van Opstal, Co-Founder and Executive Director of *Chasing Justice* was part of the handful of women who tweeted under the hashtag #MeTooSouthAfrica, a year after the widespread hashtag on October 12, 2018 at 14:30 PM: “As I took time to heal from rape. I was told by a member, ‘All of us are being raped always but you do not see us giving up on responsibility.’ I was in close proximity to privilege. Do we see that even getting help is a privilege?”⁶⁰ To which her tweet received 1 like and no retweets from her over 8000 followers.

The #MeTooSouthAfrica received far less attention and tweets than that of the original Twitter emergence in October 2017. Under the same hashtag, #MeTooSouthAfrica, a documentary was released in which South African radio and musical personality, Helen Desbois details the sexual harassment she suffered at the hands of an unnamed famous theatre magician as a teenager. The documentary by Victorias Pictures details how #MeToo was not only a Hollywood narrative, but also a sheer reality in the South African film and television industry.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study was launched from a premise that the South African television and film industry’s status quo is patriarchal and “male gazed”, as posed by Laura Mulvey. Male gaze occurs when the audience is put into perspective of a heterosexual man.⁶¹ It extends even beyond the screen, such that women within the industry are constantly under the male gaze of men within the industry and are subject to being prey to men. Women are often not seen as equals within the industry but rather objects to appease a male’s sexual desire. In Mulvey’s essay ‘Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema’ she makes statements such as, ‘to-be-looked-at-ness’, while the camera positioning and the male viewer constitute the “bearer of the look’ and ‘voyeuristic’⁶². Mulvey

⁶⁰ SM Van Opstal, Twitter post, 12 October 2018, 2:30PM., <http://www.twitter/sandravanopstal>, accessed: 26/02/2021

⁶¹ L Mulvey, ‘Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema’, in Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (eds), *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, New York: Oxford UP, 1999, p 833-844

⁶² L Mulvey, ‘Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema’, 1999, p 833-844

suggests that women are images to be looked at and ‘fetish’⁶³, which further suggests that women are substitutes for psychoanalytic fear of castration. I suggest that Mulvey’s view is not only applicable within the screen parameters but the day to day running of a Film/TV production, women have been and continue to be seen as viewing pleasure. Beyond that, patriarchy exists within the South African Film/TV industry and the fact that men have decided that it is acceptable for them to ‘catcall’, whistle or make remarks on a woman is in itself is patriarchy. Mulvey’s theory on the male gaze suggests that the only way to annihilate patriarchal systems within film is to radically challenge and re-shape the filmic strategies, with alternative feminist methods. This study argues that the #MeToo movement targeted this male gaze and sought to unravel and expose sexual violation and abuse against women in the television industry. This explains why the #MeToo movement and its revelation of these norms was resisted and challenged by those who were exposed and those who no longer benefited from abusing and violating women.

This study also approaches #MeToo as a form of protest. Every movement begins as a form of protest. “Protest is a form of social activism and the similarity between activism and protest lies in the fact that both activist and protestor believe in a change for the improvement of the present condition”⁶⁴. There are various forms of protests aimed at bringing about social change, “[...] protest take various forms like boycotts, sit-ins, demonstrations marches, acts of symbolic agitations in exposing wrong”⁶⁵. Nikolai Brandes and Bettina Engels state in their study that “scholars from different theoretical perspectives agree that social movements and protests basically come from social, political and economic grievances”⁶⁶. Their work mainly focuses on social protests and resistance in Africa. Furthermore, they argue that Western norms influence the African norms and the formations that protests tend to take in Africa. In their view, “without

⁶³ L Mulvey, ‘Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema’, p1999, p 833-844

⁶⁴ ST Barge, ‘Protests in the select Novels of Zakes Mda’, PhD Thesis, Shivaji University, 2014, <https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream>, Chapter 2, accessed: 20/05/2020

⁶⁵ ST Barge, ‘Protests in the select Novels of Zakes Mda’.

⁶⁶ N Brandes and B Engels, ‘Social Movements in Africa’, *Vienna Journal of African Studies*, No. 20, Vol. 11, 2011, p 3
https://stichproben.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user/upload/p_stichproben/Artikel/Nummer20/20_Einleitung.pdf, accessed: 25/05/2020

doubt, international and in particular ‘Western’ actors, ideas and norms do influence African social movements and struggles”⁶⁷.

‘Theorizing protest and resistance’ addresses the fact that protests are meant to address a social evil and is an objection of it thereof. The argument in the chapter is that protests are there to hold truth to power and to hold authorities accountable. “Protest movements are directed to dismantle the authority of power in order to achieve an improved, better place for human existence”⁶⁸. This has been proven to be a mere myth in South Africa, this study exposes the lack of law enforcement or its passiveness thereof to reports of sexual crimes. Brandes and Engels focus on protest being an agent in holding law and power enforcements to account for injustices, in South Africa women in general have lost faith in law enforcement and often perpetrators of abuse walk away scotch free, even when there has been adequate evidence of abuse. Furthermore, this study exposes structural power dynamics within television and film, and how those in positions of authority, executive producers, show runners and producers have often taken passive measures and steps in addressing violations within film and television set, even when aggrieved actresses have brought it to their attention.

Shauna Mottiar and Patrick Bond of the Centre for Civil Society at the University of KwaZulu-Natal argue that dissatisfaction with service delivery are reasons behind high levels of protests in South Africa. In their view, “the high levels of popular demonstrations in South African communities – often termed ‘service delivery protests’ suggest a significant amount of social discontent”⁶⁹. Furthermore, they argue that additional protest action entailed communities taking the law into their own hands as a response to the social evils committed against them, including rape. “Protest related to community justice often involved citizens seeking out alleged thieves, rapists, muti-killers and perpetrators within their communities and taking it upon themselves to hand out punishment”⁷⁰. Mottiar and Bond make mention of reasons why South Africans take the law into their own hands, merely headlining reasons but offer no critical analysis on why this

⁶⁷ N Brandes and B Engels, ‘Social Movements in Africa’, ‘Social Movements in Africa’, Vienna Journal of African Studies, No. 20, Vol. 11, 2011, p3

⁶⁸ N Brandes and B Engels, ‘Social Movements in Africa’, ‘Social Movements in Africa’, Vienna Journal of African Studies, No. 20, Vol. 11, 2011, p5

⁶⁹ S Mottiar and P Bond, ‘Social Protest in South Africa’, Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal, p12

⁷⁰ S Mottiar and P Bond, ‘Social Protest in South Africa’, p12

is the case, this study shines the spotlight on law enforcement agencies taking a passive approach in reported crimes, particularly those of sexual violation and harassment.

Lizette Lancaster, in her article ‘Unpacking Discontent’, argues that South Africans find violent protests to be more impactful than peaceful protests; “South Africans believe these forms of protest yield more successful results than peaceful protest action”⁷¹. Her study points out the 2016-17 SAPS report, detailing a continuous increase in violent gatherings. In her view, “the 2016/17 annual report noted that the SAPS monitored 14 693 crowd-related incidents’ (including sports, recreational, religious and cultural events) between April 2016 and March 2017. Three quarters of these events were described as ‘peaceful-related’ incidents with the remaining 3 715 events (25%) termed as ‘unrest-related’ incidents. This represents 10% increase in the percentage of ‘unrest related’ incidents since 2013/14”⁷².

Lancaster depicts substantial findings on the nature of protests, with municipal service delivery as the most dominant type of social protests in South Africa. Although she mentions a decrease in protest action at the time of publishing her journal, student unrest and dissatisfaction, and the #FeesMustFall in particular, had increased protest action figures in South Africa. As she reported, “substantial decreases in protest action were recorded in 2015 and 2016, despite the rise of education-related protest, most notably through the #FeesMustFall movement in 2016 and the local government elections”⁷³. As previously mentioned, hashtag feminism and activism was one route which #MeToo took in South Africa, which in its very nature ascribes to a protest, as it was an act of “symbolic agitation” in exposing sexual abuse norms. There is a wide range of feminist writings and scholarship on gender issues that this work utilises in its discussion of patriarchy, male entitlement over female bodies, the silencing of women and sexual/rape culture in South Africa.

⁷¹ L Lancaster, ‘Unpacking discontent- Where and why protest happens in South Africa’, August 2018, p 30, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2018/v0n64a3031>

⁷² L Lancaster, ‘Unpacking discontent- Where and why protest happens in South Africa’ August 2018, p 30, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2018/v0n64a3031>

⁷³ L Lancaster, ‘Unpacking discontent- Where and why protest happens in South Africa’, August 2018, p30, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2018/v0n64a3031>, p34

Ronit Frenkel's work details the role of apartheid and colonialism in shaping social norms in relation to patriarchy and male entitlement to female bodies. She cites the case of Saartjie Baartman as an example. The 'male gaze' in which Mulvey speaks of comes into play in relation to the perverse views of men with regards to how Saartjie Baartman is viewed, and women bodies in general. Her study ponders on the issue of culture in South Africa, and addresses the issue of 'Zuluness' as opposed to 'consent' by citing the Jacob Zuma trial in 2006.

Frenkel argues that the views expressed during the trial were a representation of culture in South Africa, the audacity of male entitlement over female bodies and the patriarchal dominance African men display towards sex. She refers to the work of Mmatshilo Motsei, who claims that Zuma's approach during the court trial "was a reminder of the ways in which the white man's misinterpretation of African custom was assisted by and contributed to Black men's manipulation of tradition to perpetuate male domination"⁷⁴. Frenkel concludes her article by quoting Shelly-Jean Bradfield and Chris Thurman who wrote an analysis journal on the multi award winning SABC 1 drama 'Home Affairs' which told the story of various women from all walks of life, and their challenges of being a woman in South Africa. The drama featured seasoned actresses such as Ntathi Moshesh, Brenda Ngxoli and Vatiswa Ndara.

Bradfield is critical of this drama and sees the programme as "articulating a broader range of performances of masculinities that are available in a transformed society where gender relations reflect the alteration in social norms post-apartheid"⁷⁵. Amanda Gouws, in her article 'Feminism in South Africa today: Have we lost the praxis?' cites Lewis and Van Zyl in defining how feminism is viewed in South Africa. She states that, "in South Africa feminist scholarship has engaged the shift to African feminisms with a greater focus on motherhood, the body and sexuality with the aim of understanding the control of women's sexuality through custom and culture. It also aims to understand women's own experience of sexual pleasure, showing that culture and subjectivity are socially and discursively constructed"⁷⁶. Both the work of Frenkel and Motsei assist this study in tracing the root cause of sexual violations that has become a

⁷⁴ M Motsei, *The Kanga and the Kangaroo Court. Reflections of the Rape Trial of Jacob Zuma*, Jacana Media, First Edition, 2008

⁷⁵ R Frenkel, 'Feminism and Contemporary Culture in South Africa', *Journal of African Studies*, Vol 67, February 2008, p8

⁷⁶ D Lewis and M Van Zyl, 'Escaping Heteronormative Bondage: Sexuality in Citizenship' in Gouws, A (ed.), (*Un) Thinking Citizenship: Feminist Debates in Contemporary South Africa*, Cape Town: Juta and Company, 2005

scourge in South Africa. The work is the base of the arguments the study raises in which it cites colonialism and colonial rule as one of the primary bases of the crisis South Africa faces today of sexual harassment and sexual violations. However, both Frenkel and Motsei focus on colonialism and patriarchy as their core themes in their work, this study has extended the themes further by contextualizing it within a historical framework under #MeToo, which is lacking in historic studies at the present moment.

Gouws asserts that feminism in South Africa is often tainted and results in it being demolished when it is associated with politics. She makes an example of the National women's movement, and argues that once feminists entered parliament, the women's movement disappeared. In her view, "when feminist leaders went into Parliament, the women's movement became demobilised and fragmented. This is not unique to South Africa, but a common post-transitional problem in democratising societies"⁷⁷. She further defines feminism praxis as a way a feminist chooses to live and argues robustly on the decay of it thereof in South Africa. Furthermore, she introduces theories such as the PHD (Pull Her Down) syndrome, which she argues is a mixture of silencing, backstabbing and sabotage that can be considered feminist injustices, such as the blatant abuse of power by male politicians"⁷⁸.

This is often the case in the South African Television and film industry. Gouws also argues that the issues of gender are not taken seriously in South Africa, gender ethics, transformations and policies are mere 'tool kits' and 'checklists'. She notes that "for the most part, gender mainstreaming in South Africa has become "tool kits" and "checklists" to make sure that gender is taken into consideration inside institutions"⁷⁹. Her argument is that if women are not in power, feminism in South Africa will decay and gender issues will lose substance. When making an argument on power relations, she invokes an argument by Mbembe, that "grotesque and the obscene are two essential characteristics that identify post-colonial regimes of domination, because the obscene is the terrain of the ordinary people"⁸⁰. With the grotesque, Gouws argues that it came into play when then DA leader, Helen Zille appointed 10 males to her cabinet, and

⁷⁷ A Gouws, 'Feminism in South Africa today: Have we lost the praxis?', *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, Vol 24, Issue 83, 2010, p14

⁷⁸ A Gouws, 'Feminism in South Africa today: Have we lost the praxis?', p15

⁷⁹ A Gouws, 'Feminism in South Africa today: Have we lost the praxis?', p17

⁸⁰ J A Mbembe, 'Provisional Notes on the Post-Colony', *Journal of the International African Institute*, 62, Vol 1, cited in Amanda Gouws, 'Feminism in South Africa today: Have we lost the praxis', p22

no females. The leader of the then ANC Youth League, Julius Malema made remarks such as, “she appointed all these men as her concubines to satisfy her whore libido”⁸¹. Furthermore, Malema made the following remarks to Jacob Zuma’s alleged rape victim: “she must have enjoyed it otherwise she would have asked for taxi money and gone home”⁸². Gouws, in her argument, is quick to assert that it was a non-profit gender justice group, Sonke Gender Justice that took Malema to court on such statements. Just like Frenkel, Gouws asserts that culture in South Africa has been made an excuse to condone patriarchy and allow it space to continue to dominate. She argues that “a cultural discourse becomes normalised to perpetuate patriarchal practices and women's subordination, and delegitimisation of the universality of human rights embodied in the South African Constitution”⁸³.

Both the works of Frenkel and Gouws paint a picture of South Africa’s feminism mechanism and sheds light on seeds of patriarchy, male domination and entitlement over female bodies. This proves to be accurate when applying it to the norms Chrisili speaks of in the South African television and film industry that has seen men in power enforce patriarchal norms, male domination and entitlement over female bodies. This study incorporates arguments and points made by Gouws in agreement with her views that also respond to findings of the SWIFT report in which this study has based its fundamental basis on. Additionally, in agreement with Gouws the study traces how colonialism birthed patriarchy and how has and is affecting the television and film industry today.

Protests in their very nature tend to bring about resistance from those whom protests target or expose. A number of writers and commentators inside and outside academia have written about protests, and this work also draws from these in its discussion about the trajectory of the #MeToo movement. South African writer and playwright, Zakes Mda, spoke on protest and resistance at the Steve Biko Memorial lecture in 2001, said that “a protest is something like a ‘complaint’ for it makes a statement of ‘disapproval’ and it appeals to the conscience of the oppressor, but the latter addresses the oppressed”⁸⁴. For a protest like #MeToo it needed a following, a collective and a unit of individuals who had to ‘complain’ to make their statement of disapproval. “A

⁸¹ A Gouws, ‘Feminism in South Africa today: Have we lost the praxis?’, 2010, p21

⁸² J Malema in A Gouws, ‘Feminism in South Africa today: Have we lost the praxis?’, 2010, p22

⁸³ A Gouws, ‘Feminism in South Africa today: Have we lost the praxis?’, 2010, p22

⁸⁴ Z Mda, ‘Steve Biko Memorial Lecture’, South Africa, September 2001

protest is an organized event of individual or collective disapproval of a system or an event”⁸⁵. The disapproval usually comes from wrong. “Protests are meant to address social evil”⁸⁶. The evil that occurred to these women drove them as a collective to complain and express their disapproval in a form of a hashtag and by naming and shaming the system and those who operate it. This study is concerned with how actresses were aggrieved about sexual misconducts, what they did and how they went on about the grievances. Mda asserts the stance of protest and the notion of addressing a ‘complaint’ in which female practitioners within the television sector did. Hence, this follows on the protests and complaints mentioned by Mda, as it further explores the impact of the movement, to establish whether its disapproval of the system made a significant mark on the industry. It explores the protest actions and complaints laid by the women.

Within academia protests have been discussed from different perspectives. Sociologist, Andrea Kauffmann argues that “women’s groups are vital actors promoting social change on the local level and beyond”⁸⁷. To support this view Kauffmann presents evidence and examples of women movements in Africa. She particularly makes mention of Liberia, where women’s groups contributed to peace movements that resulted in the end of the civil war. However, such movements are not always applauded. There are debates arising from academics such as Miles Lamar who argues that; “social movements existing in Africa are unavoidably hybrid in nature, utilising and adapting Western ideas, funding, forms of organisations and methods of activism”⁸⁸.

Mlami Tyulu, an emerging scholar who addressed a delegation at the AFEMS conference in 2021, argues that society is full of boxes, and when one does not fit into a particular box, society gives them labels. Tyulu believes this then asserts or contributes towards a violent response from the labelled individual. To a large degree one can understand that colonialism and apartheid produced and instilled violence in black men. This in turn largely exposed black households to violence. Black men were ‘emasculated’ by their white ‘masters’ and in turn black men attempted to prove their masculinity on their families and wives/children, by being dominantly

⁸⁵ S Tanaji Barge, ‘Protests in the select Novels of Zakes Mda’, PhD Thesis, Shivaji University, 2014.

⁸⁶ P Ricks, ‘A theory of resistance’, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, Iowa Research Online, 2017, p5

⁸⁷ A Kauffmann in N Brandes and B Engels, ‘Social Movements in Africa’, No. 20, 2011, p12

⁸⁸ M Lamar, ‘Social Movement Struggles in Africa’, *Review of African Political Economy*, Volume 37:125, 2010, pp 251-262

violent. Though this study in no way suggests this justifies acts of violence, it cannot be ignored that often issues begin or stem from somewhere.

Tyulu argues that the concept of ‘guilt’ is a major component of ‘silencing’. He further suggests when one feels guilty, they’ll say less. In the cases of many women who are violated, they remain silent because they were afraid that perhaps they were overreacting, scared on behalf of the perpetrator or perhaps condemned themselves as having ‘deserved’ the violation.

Victims/survivors often convince themselves if they dressed more ‘appropriately’ or were less forthcoming, they wouldn’t have ‘deserved’ the rape. Society itself asks these questions to victims. Questions such as, “What was s/he doing there in the first place so late? Why did s/he dress like that?” and because of these questions and judgement, victims/survivors feel guilty and this results in their silence. Tyulu believes ‘Ubuntu’ can restore humanity in those who have violated. This research cites Ubuntu as a fundamental component of the hashtag #MeToo. Tyulu ended off his talk by saying, “When we teach boys to suppress their feelings, we are taking away their humanity”⁸⁹.

Indeed, if society continues to teach boys to be nonchalant, less sensitive and to be out of touch with their feelings, society will be filled with men who have no conscience. When a man has no conscience, he will violate, hurt and harm whoever whenever, with no accountability or conscience because he lacks humanity. Humanity that was deprived to him as a small boy due to the lessons of society that he ought to suppress his feelings. Tyulu’s sentiments coincide with this study’s sentiments of silencing that occurs to victims of rape and harassment, as well as the concept of Ubuntu being the sentiments lacking in abusers. This work evaluates the trajectories of the #MeToo movement along these various views. However, it also goes beyond the contrasts that scholars often make and consider nuances in the movement. For example, norms pertaining to sexual abuse and harassment are universal and possess no Western or African perspective. In fact, the African concept of ‘Ubuntu’ comes into an equilibrium with #MeToo’s founding values. Burke argues that “in particular, the statement #Metoo and the central concept in the movement

⁸⁹ M Tyulu, ‘African Feminisms Conference’, Cape Town, November 2021

is empowerment through empathy”⁹⁰. ‘Ubuntu’ is academically defined as “a quality that includes the essential human virtues; compassion and humanity”⁹¹.

Norms are “[...] intrinsically related to attitudes people have and express in their behaviour and discursive practices”⁹². Norms transcend just being an ideal and evolve and become evident in behaviour and resistance. These norms may cause great discomfort and often conflict when challenged. “Resistance then can be characterized as an explicit challenge to a norm implicit or explicit in practice”⁹³. Actresses who dared to challenge these norms were met by what Phillip Ricks categorizes as hostility for having the courage to ‘violate’ their norm. “When norms are assessed and deemed to be worthy of guiding our conduct, we acknowledge those norms by acting on them, encouraging or admonishing others to act on them, discouraging people from violating them, responding with hostility to their violation”⁹⁴. Hostility for those who exposed harassment culture in the television and film sector came with being dismissed and shown the door. This occurred for merely standing up and exposing a norm that had become part of the culture of television and film sets in South Africa.

Journalist Charl Blignaut believes that one of the major reasons women do not come forward in South African television and film is “the deeply patriarchal culture of South Africa and the backlash women face when they speak up”⁹⁵. Furthermore, he argues that when men or those behind the norms revolt back, they make the lives of women who speak up hell. “When patriarchy fights back, they do it in a very vicious way [...] the women that come forward are not here to gain anything, there is nothing to gain, it is hell”⁹⁶. Palesa Letlaka, a prominent and multi-award-winning producer raised the same point in the viral open letter she penned to the accused television and film producer, Khalo Matabane; “It is harder for the women speaking up. It could limit their future work; ruin their careers run by men such as yourself. They have everything to lose”⁹⁷. This confirms Phillip Ricks’ claim that those who revolt against the norms

⁹⁰ T Burke, <https://metoomvt.org/about/#history>, accessed: 24/05/2020

⁹¹ <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/ubuntu>, accessed: 03/06/2020

⁹² P Ricks, ‘A theory of resistance’, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2017, p5

⁹³ P Ricks, ‘A theory of resistance’, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2017, p12

⁹⁴ P Ricks, ‘A theory of resistance’, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2017, p12

⁹⁵ C Blignaut, <https://m.channel24.co.za/TV/News/Sexual-abuse-rife-in-sa-film-and-tv-industry-20171028>, accessed: 10/04/2020

⁹⁶ C Blignaut, <https://m.channel24.co.za/TV/News/Sexual-abuse-rife-in-sa-film-and-tv-industry-20171028>, accessed: 10/04/2020

⁹⁷ P Letlaka, ‘Open letter to Khalo Matabane’, April 2018

are often met with hostility for ‘violating’ the norm, by daring to speak up. The television and film industry in South Africa were and are not exempt from that notion. Those who speak up against a norm that favours the patriarchal man is met with hostility and as Blignaut puts it, they do it in the most vicious way. Although #MeToo in general ascribed to a non-violent protest, it was often met with aggressive and somewhat violent resistance. As Ricks’ claims, “to think of nonviolent resistance as civil disobedience, where the latter is characterized as justified violations of unjust laws, not only limits the scope of activity into social change, but it fails to capture some of the more important aspects of civil disobedience itself”⁹⁸. Resistance can come from both the sexually violated and from the violator (patriarch) and assuming that resistance comes from the sexually violated, Ricks believes that “if civil disobedience is justified violation of unjust laws, the purpose of it is the removal of unjust laws”⁹⁹.

This study relies on theories such as Ricks in its investigation of the protest actions of the #MeToo movement. Ricks explores theories of normativity and makes a distinction between what is a norm and what is a ‘regularism’. In his study ‘A theory of resistance’, he explores how the state reacts to normative and habitual resistance, how civil society and the state often clashes in attempts to find common ground, how the resister and the resisted react in conflict, and what are common outcomes thereof. He explores in-depth what he calls ‘transparency theory’ in which he asserts that, “moral justification requires transparency that is the result of critical reflection”¹⁰⁰.

This is in line with Ricks’s stance on those who violate human rights which in turn cause resistance. Ricks explores violent and non-violent approaches and ponders on ‘delinquents’, and poses a question that seeks to explore whether or not those who stand for justice are indeed delinquents? He urges that, “when it comes to breaking the rules, it is understood as being in force within a moral community, we need to determine whether rule breakers are simply delinquents, or whether they are trying to extend and uphold commonly recognized moral norms (such as protecting human rights in opposition to governmental violations of human rights”¹⁰¹.

⁹⁸ P Ricks, ‘A theory of resistance’, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2017, p154-155

⁹⁹ P Ricks, ‘A theory of resistance’, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2017, p155-156

¹⁰⁰ P Ricks, ‘A theory of resistance’, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2017, p154-155

¹⁰¹ P Ricks, ‘A theory of resistance’, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2017, p154-155

Ricks approach assists in unpacking #MeToo's pattern and is useful in evaluating how those who possess the power of evoking the norms behave when there is protest and resistance.

On protest, the study looked at scholars such as, Nikolai Brandes and Bettina Engels who look at the social movement construct in Africa. Their study looks at western and traditional theories and are concerned with how Africa is perceived by various academics. These academics have cited in their research that, Africa as a continent lacks original identity. Africa is viewed as often relying on western issues to construct their own protest. The research concludes by mentioning the role of women in protests in Africa, and the nature in which they conduct their protests. In South Africa alone, the issue of protests has been studied in various disciplines, such as social science, media, politics, history, geography, and economics¹⁰².

Shauna Mottiar and Patrick Bond write about lack of service delivery being the highest reason behind the protests of South Africans. In their view, the social and economic inequality continues to cause dissatisfaction in communities, resulting in unrest and protest action. 'Unpacking discontent'¹⁰³ by Lizette Lacaster ponders on the same issue, that South Africa's lack of service delivery causes immense social unrest and causes high levels of protest action in South Africa¹⁰⁴. The chapter gives various accounts of statistics in various sectors as causes of social unrest and protest upheavals in South Africa. Sheila Meintjies' study on 'women's struggles in pursuit of equality in South Africa's transition to democracy' ponders on the Malibongwe women's conference as a base and case study. The conference was held in Amsterdam between the 8-19 January 1990, and was organised to unite women for a unitary non-racial democratic South Africa. Its findings gave a framework and dichotomy of women movements in South Africa. Meintjies' work outlines various women movements during and post-apartheid, which gives a guide to this study when comparing the impact of #MeToo in the South African television and film industry.

¹⁰² N Brandes and B Engels, 'Social Movements in Africa', Vienna Journal of African Studies, No. 20, Vol. 11, 2011, p 3

https://stichproben.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user/upload/p_stichproben/Artikel/Nummer20/20_Einleitung.pdf, accessed: 25/05/2020

¹⁰³ S Mottiar and P Bond, 'Social Protest in South Africa', Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal, p12mei

¹⁰⁴ L Lancaster, 'Unpacking discontent- Where and why protest happens in South Africa', August 2018, p 30, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2018/v0n64a3031>

The gender report on women in South Africa will also give this study direction. The report echoes sentiments shared by various feminist who have written on feminism in this study, and speaks on the decay of feminism in South Africa and how #MeToo does not represent all women, as many of the female movements in South Africa have done in the past too. The report's presents a case study of female eva, and findings on how their voices are often left out in the movements of women. The report also shows that #MeToo is for those who are privileged to own a smart phone and have data to hashtag 'MeToo'. The report is useful in examining the identities of protesters as well as the trends the movements followed as it developed.

On feminism, the study was guided by reviewed works of Allysa Evans, who has published work on a critical study of how one of the world's most powerful newspapers, the *New York Times* covered the MeToo movement. In her study she depicts the various voices that centre on 'MeToo'. She gives context of the movement and corrects the often biased coverage that almost robbed Tarana Burke, the MeToo founder from being acknowledged¹⁰⁵.

There is also the work of Daniela Ceron who also performs an academic study on how women of colour were and are depicted in the MeToo movement. The study uses the Harvey Weinstein's case, the famous imprisoned television and film producer who was accused by various women of his predatory and invasion on their bodies. It was not until Kenyan-American actress, Lupita Nyong'o spoke up about her violation by Weinstein did he respond, denying the ordeal and outwardly accusing her of lying. Ceron speaks on the issues of marginalization of black women and how they are represented in this movement, particularly on Twitter. Ceron's main argument is that twitter can be effective for change. Indeed, an evaluation of the value of twitter is necessary in tracing the inception of #MeToo and its effect thereof. Ceron also ponders on the framing agenda theory and gives statistics on #MeToo¹⁰⁶.

Another study this work relied on is Rosanna Maule's study titled, "Not just a movement for famous white cisgendered women:" #Me Too and intersectionality¹⁰⁷. The study sets the record straight on how MeToo was founded, and notes that it did not suddenly emerge in 2017 by famous white actresses, her study gives a concise yet critical analysis of the movement, discusses

¹⁰⁵ A Evans, '#MeToo: A Study on Sexual Assault as Reported in the New York Times', Western Washington University, November 2018

¹⁰⁶ D Ceron, 'How Women of Color Are Discussed in Hashtag Feminist Movements', Elon University, Vol9, 2018.

¹⁰⁷ R Maule, 'Not Just a Movement for Famous White People', March 2020, Gender and Women Studies, p2

MeToo as a theory and discusses the notion of empathy to be the heartbeat of the #MeToo movement. Also, Desiree Lewis's study, 'The politics and ethics of #MeToo in South Africa' is a critical piece which uses a theory that places fault in how media depicts sexual violations and how only those in power are given a voice, an ordinary farm worker would not be given the same and because it happened to someone famous, it must be true. Her study assisted this study in critically analysing the MeToo movement in South Africa, which will give direction in how it will critically analyse its impact on the South African television and film industry.

Amina Brajanac's study addresses intersectionality in the MeToo movement, Brajanac conducts interviews with various women in South Africa, to establish the effectiveness of #MeToo. One of her interviewees responded by saying; "even in the #MeToo movement there was a strong white woman's voice that almost neglected the experiences of black women. Black women don't necessarily have that opportunity, they don't need to go on social media to validate that they are potential victims or survivors of GBV, it is in their reality"¹⁰⁸. Her study focuses on the rejection of #MeToo by South African women and addresses issues of violence against women in South Africa, problems of sexual violence in South Africa, normalized theories of abuse in South Africa. Although critical are the subjects of her research, they acknowledge that #MeToo was more impactful than South Africa's annual 16 days of activism campaign.

The works of Ronit Frenkel and Amanda Gouws who both have produced feministic work on the scope of feminism in South Africa which gives direction in setting the landscape of female oppression and its deep roots that stem as far as colonial times, apartheid and influence the current era. Both studies agree that the colonialism was the cause behind patriarchal norms, even suggesting that the gender-based violence scourge was enforced by white men to black men, and black men then enforced it to their female counterparts.

A large bulk of this study centred on feminism, and #MeToo in particular, and subscribed more to this feminism discourse of the digital spaces. Large parts of the study looked at threads of tweets in South Africa, with the hashtag 'MeToo'. Additionally, it looked at online blogs and news coverage by South African online journalists.

¹⁰⁸ A Brajanac, 'Addressing intersectionality in the #MeToo movement: A case study of women's mobilization under the #MeToo movement in the postcolonial context of South Africa', Masters' Thesis, Goteborgs University, May 2019, p7

Although a vast academic work has touched on #MeToo, no historic publications have been published on the movement specifically. Additionally, the available literature depicts women as co-dependent with their male counterparts. No work has focused on depicting women as independent, holding the fort, on their own, or detached from men in their struggles for gender equity. No study has significantly distanced itself from the ‘damsel in distress’ discourse that many academics tend to depict women as. This study filled the gap in the positive depictions of women and took advantage of this niche by depicting women as capable, competent and powerful individuals who have independently faced their challenges and sought to find solutions for justice.

In Phumla Gqola’s Master’s degree dissertation, she studied how black women are depicted in the stories of Staffrider and asserts that women are often depicted in three forms; “her ability to perform sexually and/or her rape, her physical appearance, and how she deals with a lonely pregnancy. Her character is then condoned or condemned according to the manifestations of her sexuality. She is (de)valued in accordance with the manner in which she chooses to deal with various sexualised experiences”¹⁰⁹. Moreover, she argues that sex is usually a means by which a man asserts his power and authority on a woman, based on the assumption that when he has entered her body, he possesses power over her. Gqola emphasizes that the narrator and the violator in the stories bears responsibility on the victim of her sexual experience and violation. Gqola points out patriarchy as the driving force behind this, as the stories possess a male narrator and male voice. Gqola is extra critical of Matshoba’s narration in writings and critically analyses his assertions made in his writings; “I thought of a friend who used to say "When God makes a woman he's in real earnest" I thought he had been right. Nature knows that without beautiful things to admire life would not be worth living”¹¹⁰. Gqola rebukes Matshoba’s claims at his suggestions that women are objects to merely to be looked at and enjoyed. Gqola also points out in her study on how women have become trophies for men, objects of rewards for men. Gqola’s observations in literature are societal projections documented in forms of narratives, men emulate personal thoughts, urges and fantasies in the way they write and depict women. This

¹⁰⁹ P Gqola, ‘Black woman, you are on your own: Images of black women in Staffrider short stories 1978-1982’, Masters’ Thesis, University of Cape Town, November 1999, p105

¹¹⁰ M Matshoba, ‘Black woman, you are on your own: Images of black women in Staffrider short stories 1978-1982’, Masters’ Thesis, University of Cape Town, November 1999, p132

study heavily benefits in shared sentiments of Gqola's view, particularly on male perception on women and their bodies.

According to Gqola, speaking at the *African Feminisms Conference 2021* (AFEMS), hosted by the University of Cape Town, "Rape is legalized. If not fitting to the legal definitions of rape, the system deems it having not happened"¹¹¹. She cites 'Marital rape' as an example. Having to explain as a spouse that your spouse has raped you is prone to be met with resistance by the legal system that expects practicality and concise definitions of sexual violence. When one is able to prove they were raped or stick to the legal definitions, the justice system will then approve it with statements such as 'now this is a real rape'. Gqola argues if such even exists, a real versus a fake rape? Why must one go to the ends of the earth to prove they were violated? One has to endure a painful experience and then have to garner the strength to prove their pain that may or may not be approved by society and the legal systems.

Gqola argues that statements such as 'impossible to rape' are just some of many drawbacks to the fight against sexual violence. If people still have the audacity to finger point who is eligible or not eligible to rape or be raped, the fight against sexual violence is nowhere near being won. Gqola further explained that rape is not a 'moment'. A moment comes and goes. Rape remains with you for a lifetime. The pain, the memory and trauma remain. Sexual violations are a form of violence. These stances and standpoints suggested by Gqola are in full agreement with the sentiments of this study. The study depicted how a rape/harassment is deemed as not having occurred when a woman is unable to successfully prove to the legal system's requirement that it occurred.

Nonjabulo Kandawire's honours research essay explores how societal structures perpetuate oppression on women and administers this in relation to the #FeesMustFall student protest that erupted in October 2015, how patriarchy and male perception on women came into play; "Another theme that emerged was concerned with the existence of patriarchy in social movements, and in South African society at large. More specifically respondents felt that young black men are in opposition to the idea of black feminism supported by their female

¹¹¹ P Gqola, 'African Feminisms Conference', Cape Town, November 2021

counterparts”¹¹². It is in Kandawire’s observation and research that provide a link in male perception on women, how women are perceived by men and how men perpetuate their patriarchal kaleidoscope on female bodies. Like Gqola’s master’s dissertation, Kandawire ‘s work coincides with this study in addressing male perception on females, furthermore Kandawire’s work assisted this study in navigating male perception on women in led movements in a modern age.

Simamkele Dlakavu’s Master’s research report explores women occupying space and building a movement. She observes how the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which was established to correct the atrocities of Apartheid, grant amnesty and provide remuneration measures and relief for those who were affected by Apartheid, failed to recognize women as equal political counterparts to men; “The failure of the TRC to recognise women beyond their families and to acknowledge their political subjectivity speaks to observations made by Desiree Lewis while exploring the autobiographies of anti-apartheid activist of Ellen Kuzwayo and Mamphela Ramphele”¹¹³. Furthermore, she applies Desiree Lewis’ argument that these autobiographies “reveal how citizenship-as- social standing, and covertly becomes a hierarchical and gendered process. She further claims that; “Therefore, the TRC failing to acknowledge women as equal political subjects speaks to the gendered process of citizenship, and as Zeleza further notes “women’s histories and gender history, are mutually reinforcing”¹¹⁴.

Dlakavu notes the same trend within the establishment of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in which ignores the role of women, but rather highlights the founding fathers of the movement, this she uses Asha Moodley’s observation in making an elaboration; “The writings on the history of the Black Consciousness Movement which will always of course, tell you about Steve Biko, Harry Nengwekhulu, Barney Pityana, etc - in short, the founding ‘fathers’ of the Movement. There is barely any mention of the very many dynamic women who played a

¹¹² N Kandawire, ‘The black female movement, Mbokodo lead movement: A case study’, Honours Research Essay, University of Johannesburg, November 2016, p 22

¹¹³ S Dlakavu, ‘Asijiki: Black Women in the Economic Freedom Fighters, Owing Space, Building a Movement, Masters research report, University of Witwatersrand’, March 2017, p 31

¹¹⁴ D Lewis, ‘Asijiki: Black Women in the Economic Freedom Fighters, Owing Space, Building a Movement, Masters research report, University of Witwatersrand’, March 2017, p 31

prominent role in building up this movement in its early days - women like Debs Matshoba, Nomsisi Kraai, Mamphela Ramphele, Bridgette Mabandla, Vuyi Mashalaba”¹¹⁵.

Thozama April makes the same observation, that women in South Africa have not been theorised as strong and capable intellectuals and political pioneers “[...] women as intellectuals in their own right but tended to view them as objects of liberation history. In doing so, the narrations have not engaged with the ways in which the intellectual project of women altered the discourse of the liberation struggle”¹¹⁶. Dlakavu continues to argue that there are major gender divides among women, particularly black South African women who comprise of 55% of the South African voters’ roll, yet remain the most illiterate, uneducated and unemployed.

Furthermore, Dlakavu points out the media’s selectiveness when reporting on gender marginalisation during the 2016 municipal elections in South Africa; “South African media coverage during the elections was also complicit in the marginalisation of gender issues. Only “0.002% of elections media coverage, down from 1% in both 2011 local government elections was dedicated to women’s challenges and interests”¹¹⁷. Dlakavu points out that gender representation and transformation in South Africa is in motion on paper but remains the case as nothing comes out of it and quotes Shareen Hassim in expanding on the view , “Although women in South Africa are largely represented within government bodies and political parties because of gender quotas, their “increased representation has not facilitated the redistribution of resources and power in ways that change the structural forces on which women’s oppression rests”¹¹⁸. This supports Phumla Gqola’s claims that; “we continue to speak of ‘women’s empowerment’ in ways that are not transformative”¹¹⁹. Dlakavu’s work is instrumental in emphasizing how women have and continue in being ignored as capable and competent figures in revolutionary movements and formations.

¹¹⁵ Asha Moodley, ‘Asijiki: Black Women in the Economic Freedom Fighters, Owning Space, Building a Movement, Masters research report, University of Witwatersrand’, March 2017, p31

¹¹⁶ T April, ‘Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa’, 2012, University of the Western Cape, p83

¹¹⁷ Gender Links, ‘Asijiki: Black Women in the Economic Freedom Fighters, Owning Space, Building a Movement, Masters research report, University of Witwatersrand’, March 2017, p32

¹¹⁸ S Hassim, ‘Asijiki: Black Women in the Economic Freedom Fighters, Owning Space, Building a Movement, Masters research report, University of Witwatersrand’, March 2017, p32

¹¹⁹ P Gqola, ‘Asijiki: Black Women in the Economic Freedom Fighters, Owning Space, Building a Movement, Masters research report, University of Witwatersrand’, March 2017, p33

Hindrances, exclusions, marginalization and obstacles has proven to not be a new thing for South African female activism, women have and continue to be subjected to such even in the rise of #MeToo, women who had stepped forward had been marginalized and deemed to be the ‘rotten apples’. In tracing marginalization, this dissertation uses Thozama April’s work in foregrounding and shaping analysis on how women have in the past, and presently been marginalized. April quotes Cheryl Walker’s ‘Women and Resistance in South Africa’ in which she cites women in the ANC in 1919 as one of the first historic moments that sought to exclude and marginalize women and this became the seed that planed the unfair treatment of women to this day; “; Laid the basis of the ANC’s treatment of women for the next twenty five years as a separate category of members outside the scope of its regular activities”¹²⁰.

Furthermore, April traces underground and exile formations as one of the most pivotal and key eras of South African political formations, yet asserts this was a missed opportunity to define terrains of women outside political movements; “The struggle for liberation was conducted in clandestine underground activities. Driven by the urge to recruit more members into the liberation struggle, the nationalist inclined feminist project was constrained by the primacy it gave to specific organizations. In this way, it failed to account for the ways in which women defined terrains of the struggle outside specific organizations and political norms”¹²¹.

April further states that the legally enforced equality between men and women do not end struggles of women, she quotes Christine Qunta; “The African feminists warned that the attainment of legal equality between men and women did not guarantee equality but would eventually lead to the degradation of women”¹²². April further expands on Qunta’s view by stating that legal equality frameworks ought to transcend, to make sure that women do not suffer degradation; “They need to transcend the legal frames to ensure that women do not suffer degradation in their communities. This intervention related to a trend of feminism which characterized the development of women’s movements in the liberation movements”¹²³.

¹²⁰ C Walker, ‘Women and Resistance in South Africa’, London, Onyx Press, 1982.

¹²¹ T April, ‘Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa’, 2012, University of the Western Cape, p81

¹²² C Qunta, Women in Southern Africa, Johannesburg, Skotaville, 1987, p14

¹²³ T April, ‘Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa’, 2012, University of the Western Cape, p83

April further credits university female movements as being an active mechanism in fighting apartheid, female formation and underground work done by university female formations was able to bring intellectual theorizations and solutions to combat the social evils of racism and its sister, gender discrimination; “groundwork was coupled with intellectual theorizations of the conditions and the experiences of women that played a significant role in highlighting the evils of the racism of the apartheid state and gender discrimination, its sister form of oppression. The activities of these women groups crafted a rights-based discourse in which the demand for the recognition of women’s rights was prominent”¹²⁴.

April argues however that through the role of university female formations and their theorization thereof, women’s history has become segmented in three different trends; “The first reduces women to particular, often mundane, functions in the development and spread of liberation movements and are cramped into the nationalist and feminist narratives, where they are assigned specific “roles” as secretaries, mothers of the revolution and women guerrilla’s. The second acknowledges the role of distinguished women leaders and their role in resistance and liberation movements on the continent. The third deals with the development of women’s movements and the subsequent spread of feminist discourses on the liberation of women in different parts of Africa”¹²⁵. In April’s study, she is critical of the intellectual capacity of women being underwritten, diminished, and ignored. In this, she cites Julia Wells who observes that; “the resurgence of interest in the women’s struggles in South Africa had not been integrated into a unified treatment of black resistance but remained as a genre apart”¹²⁶.

April derives from Wells observation that; “Wells observation encapsulated the ethos of a variant of feminist scholarship that sought to integrate the studies of women’s struggles with the broader histories of resistance”¹²⁷. In this, April observes that Well’s observation reflected the problems inherent in the feminist formulations of women in the context of struggles for social

¹²⁴ T April, ‘Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa’, 2012, University of the Western Cape, p85

¹²⁵ T April, ‘Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa’, 2012, University of the Western Cape, p85

¹²⁶ J Wells, ‘The History of Black Women’s Struggles against the Pass Laws in South Africa 1900-1960’, 1982, Columbia, University of Columbia Press, Published PhD Thesis, p7

¹²⁷ T April, ‘Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa’, 2012, University of the Western Cape, p86

change in South Africa in the first place¹²⁸ and thus views this as a missed opportunity once again to view women as able minded critical thinkers in their own right. Furthermore, April highlights Linzi Manicom's observation that there was little theorizing of gender and feministic perspectives in South African women's history; "For Manicom the debate about the gendered nature of the state, in which she critiques Adam Ashforth's study of the state and the making of a discourse on the Native Question, directs attention to the masculinist bonds of statist and nationalist discourse, which have elided from the realm of investigation as the nationalist frames on which the struggle for liberation are based lacked the tools for explicit theorization of gender"¹²⁹.

April also cites Helen Bradford who asserts that women have always been viewed as sex objects in South African historiography in the early 1990s; "Also outlining the state of women in the historiography of South Africa in the early 1990s, Helen Bradford has argued that "women have long been defined as "sex objects". Bradford's hard-hitting criticism suggests that the portrayal of sexualized bodies of women did not go unchallenged in women's history"¹³⁰. April further explores the interpretation of South African women in protests and female formations and political movements by citing Helen Scanlon's view; "She concludes that traditionally, the history of political movements has been studied in terms of ideology and collective experience, and in this the experiences of men are often seen as normative, despite the gendered histories published to date, there remain considerable gaps in our knowledge of South Africa's past"¹³¹.

April further states that men have and continue to receive glory of being on the frontlines of the liberation of South Africa, while women are assumed to have played supportive role to men and not seen as front liners in their own right, she quotes Jacklyn Cock; "Often men are celebrated while women are supposed to have assumed a supportive role as wives, mothers and secretaries of those movements"¹³². April robustly argues that the representation of women for the longest

¹²⁸ T April, 'Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa', 2012, University of the Western Cape, p86

¹²⁹ T April, 'Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa', 2012, University of the Western Cape, p90

¹³⁰ T April, 'Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa', 2012, University of the Western Cape, p90

¹³¹ H Scanlon, *Representation and Reality: Portraits of Women's lives in the Western Cape, 1948-1976*, (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2007), p1

¹³² J Cock, *Colonels and Cadres War and Gender in South Africa*, (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1991), Susan Geiger, *TANU Women: Gender & Culture in the making of*

time has been under-looking the tension that informs the relationship between nationalism and various forms of feminism and those that attempt to shed light on this relationship fixates itself in representational politics and neglects the historical processes that informed the formation political and activism organizations; “However, the problem of these studies is that they tend to be caught up in representational politics as they seek ‘to represent’ women within the spaces crafted by the nationalist formulations of ‘women’s roles.’ Therefore, it is not surprising that even the most recent scholarship on women and the liberation struggle is still caught up in documenting the representational politics of the liberation movements and continues to engage with women in women’s organizations with little attention to the historical processes that informed the formation of such organization”¹³³.

April asserts that history has underwritten the role of women and neglects the view that women can be seen as pioneers in their own right; “[...] to view women as a support structure and not as theorists and authors of aspects of liberation discourses and politics in their own right”¹³⁴. April argues that there is a feministic dilemma particularly in South African historiography, and quotes Judith Butler’s view; “The dilemma of feminist studies is best expressed in Judith Butler’s critique of feminist politics of representation in which she argued “the politics that represent women as ‘the subject’ of feminism is in itself a discursive formation and an effect of a given version of representational politics”¹³⁵. She further explains Butler’s view, that in this version of feminist politics, ‘the feminist subject turns out to be discursively constituted by the very political system which is supposed to facilitate its emancipation’¹³⁶. Furthermore that, the representational politics of the nationalist movements tend to signpost leading women as embodiments of the first feminist sentiments of liberation movements¹³⁷.

Tanganyikan Nationalism, Portsmouth, N.H. Heinemann, 1997; Josephine. Nhongo Simbanegavi , For Better or Worse: Women and ZANLA in Zimbabwe’s Liberation Struggle, (Harare, Weaver Press, 2000.

¹³³ T April, ‘Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa’, 2012, University of the Western Cape, p97

¹³⁴ T April, ‘Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa’, 2012, University of the Western Cape, p98

¹³⁵ J Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and subversion of identity (London, Routledge, 1990), p2

¹³⁶ J Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and subversion of identity (London, Routledge, 1990), Introduction

¹³⁷ J Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and subversion of identity (London, Routledge, 1990), Introduction

April is concerned with nationalism in her study as she believes women serve the function of political props without political consequence; “Such an undertaking takes a critical look at the operations of nationalism in histories of liberation struggles. When taken as the key organizing concept, nationalism in all its manifestations (whether it is perceived as a movement or a set of movements or an ideology’) is a historical discourse which still requires a great deal of rigorous historical questioning.’ Nationalist history often positions women in historicist ways so that they never affect the story in any significant way”¹³⁸.

Louise Du Toit’s journal on ‘Shifting Meanings of Post conflict Sexual Violence in South Africa’ quotes Wood and Jewkes in the introductory remarks of the journal; “South Africa has the highest levels of rape for any country not at war”¹³⁹. Du Toit points out the astonishing rape statistic figures during the 1990’s, over 65% rape cases were recorded annually, about 40% of those cases were of young girls younger than the age of 18, and 15% of those were of girls younger than the age of 12. Additionally, 84% of child rape cases and 52% of adult rape cases are of perpetrators known to the victim, a study found in the year 2009. Du Toit categorizes rape in four frames and critically analyses each frame for adequacy and interpretation of rape in South Africa. Du Toit lists ‘Past Perpetrator Trauma’ as one of the frames of analysis in relation to rape in South Africa; “This frame represents an important improvement over the commonplace trivialization of rape that preceded it. The original position typically denies that rape takes place on a large scale, denies that many men are involved, denies that it poses a threat to democracy, denies its devastating effects on victims, naturalizes rapist behavior in men, and blames the victims rather than the perpetrators”¹⁴⁰.

Furthermore, Du Toit addresses issues of ‘Intrasexual male competition’ raised by Pinker in which she highlights the eagerness of males to dominate each other over women, to enhance their male ego and sexuality; “It seems that it may be this kind of violence—namely, a display or performance of one’s capacity and willingness to engage in violence, in an attempt to ward off

¹³⁸T April, ‘Theorizing Women: The intellectual contributions of Charlotte Maxeke to the struggle for liberation in South Africa’, 2012, University of the Western Cape, p41

¹³⁹ Wood and Jewkes, ‘Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa’, Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p101

¹⁴⁰ L Du Toit, ‘Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa’, Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p102

the high cost of actually risking one's life in serious combat with another man—that drives the sexual violence that we see"¹⁴¹.

Although Du Toit makes it clear that rape knows no race, class or education, she quotes two studies that show that employed, educated and earning men are more likely to be rape perpetrators in South Africa, than the man who has never worked a day in his life, contrary to statements made by the Minister of basic education, Angie Motshega in 2021. Du Toit points out how these studies revealed how men with an income of at least R500 income were likely to be rapists; "Men who had raped were significantly more likely to have earnings of over R500 per month, although they were not more likely to be in the top income bracket ½employed in the study, over R10 000. Men who raped were more likely to have occasional work and less likely to have never worked at all"¹⁴², thus displaying the unemployed or the school graduate unlikely to be a rapist, according to the 2009 study. Additionally, Du Toit points to a 1999 study conducted; "A 1999 study entailing a survey of over two thousand male Cape Town City Council workers showed that 48 percent of them "had physically abused a domestic partner at least once"¹⁴³.

Du Toit points out that; "It had been expected that this figure would be much lower than the estimated national average because the study population was in permanent and secure employment"¹⁴⁴. Du Toit points out the tensions between South African women and men arise during colonial and precolonial times in the democratic transitions in South Africa and were driven by patriarchal agendas; "understandings of the instrumental role of sexual violence are invariably strengthened by the prevalence of patriarchal sentiments"¹⁴⁵. Furthermore, Du Toit argues that the dismantling of patriarchy and embracing of gender equity makes patriarchy uncomfortable and results in aggression; "Men are understood as experiencing a loss or crisis in masculinity due to the new democratic dispensation that threatens to dismantle patriarchy or

¹⁴¹ L Du Toit, 'Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa', Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p110

¹⁴² R Jewkes, 'Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa', Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p11

¹⁴³ H Moffet, 'Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa', Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p111

¹⁴⁴ L Du Toit, 'Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa', Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p111

¹⁴⁵ L Du Toit, 'Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa', Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p113

unearned male privilege”¹⁴⁶. Du Toit cites Moffet’s research which ponders on sexual violence possessing attributes to that of Apartheid; “In an influential article, Moffett describes the current sexual violence as operating in the service of a kind of political oppression that is in form and intent intimately related to the oppressive system of apartheid”¹⁴⁷. Moffet further explains how the Johannesburg mini skirt incident, which saw men violate a woman on the basis of their dress code and quotes a taxi driver who appeared on a television interview looking for women for a ‘gang bang’ ; “The women they picked out for rape were the ones “who asked for it, the cheeky ones, the ones that walk around like they own the place, and look you in the eye”¹⁴⁸.

Du Toit claims that Moffet links such entitlement of control to oppression; “Moffett sees many similarities between these incidents and informal apartheid strategies of racial oppression and control over a potentially dangerous and disruptive underclass”¹⁴⁹. Furthermore, Moffet argues that; “This is the same script that was used during five decades of apartheid rule to justify everyday white-on-black violence as a socially approved and necessary means of ‘showing the “darkies” their place””¹⁵⁰. Du Toit’s work is instrumental in tracking rape culture in South Africa, its behaviour and mannerisms. Furthermore, it assists this study in navigating rape nuances and its characteristics embedded in patriarchy, which the basis of the study seeks to address.

The ‘fallist’ era is also represented by the work of Zaida Orth. Her argument draws on sentiments expressed by Amanda Gouws who is critical of the male attitude of men in the #FeesMustFall and how male students were negative towards the movement being led by women. Her dissertation contributes largely to understanding the notion of patriarchy and how patriarchy is the benchmark that creates sexual violence towards women. Drawing from her findings, this study applied the analysis of the notion of patriarchy in a focused study of #MeToo, and also broadened the concept to discuss it within a historical perspective and in the

¹⁴⁶ L Du Toit, ‘Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa’, Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p113

¹⁴⁷ H Moffet, ‘Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa’, Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p114

¹⁴⁸ H Moffet, ‘Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa’, Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p114

¹⁴⁹ H Moffet, ‘Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa’, Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p114

¹⁵⁰ H Moffet, ‘Shifting Meanings of Postconflict Sexual Violence in South Africa’, Stellenbosch University, September 2014, p114

context of South Africa and its past and current politics. Besides drawing from literature from the academic and other realms, this study has benefited a lot from self-representations in the form of literature, communication and testimonies by women involved in protest movements. In particular, it considered four women-led movements namely, the Women's March to the union buildings in 1956, #Am I next and #Not in my name. This work also benefited immensely from published communication by the #MeToo activists, including open letters, newspaper publications and social media commentary that paints a picture of the crisis of sexual harassment in the television and film industry in South Africa, and what the history and legacy of #MeToo did in response.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study emerged in the midst of activism and scholarship seeking to unravel the norms of South African sexual harassment and rape culture against women, which Chrisini deems to be a crisis in the South African television and film industry. Its aim was to historicise the #MeToo movement, and to track its impact on the South African film and television industry (hereafter industry), as well as the effects of the commissions of inquiry and reports on sexual harassment and rape culture in South Africa. The main focus of this study was on the changes and transformations brought about by the hashtag within the industry. In particular, this study looked at the impact of the #MeToo phenomenon on the women in the industry, how it empowered them, what they began to say and how they began to act. Additionally, it looked at how men began to act and the measures that the industry began to put in place as it transformed itself. The historicisation also involved a concise comparison of past and present women-led activism, as well as a brief review of other hashtags like #AmINext and #Enough, on which #MeToo has had an influence.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESIS

In light of the phenomenon #MeToo, this study aimed at firstly contextualising the emergence of this movement and highlight that the necessity of this movement in exposing the sexual violations within the TV/Film in South Africa. Secondly, it also aimed at providing a critical historical account of the development of this movement as it addresses the following questions:

- How did the movement develop and emerge in South Africa?
- How impactful was #MeToo in South Africa?
- What were the objectives of #MeToo in the SA film and television industry?
- What have been the changes within the Film/TV industry, post #MeToo?
- What are some additional challenges post #MeToo?

The aim of the study was to track the progress of the movement #MeToo when it comes to equality of women, and to critically analyse the events of sexual harassment, patriarchy and abuse against women that was/is deemed to be a norm in the TV/Film industry of South Africa. It did so by documenting what transpired, why and how. It also proved that the happenings of this widespread movement were historic as the hashtag was instrumental in shedding light on the sexual harassment crisis in the South African TV/Film industry through a hashtag protest.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research design/model of the study was qualitative. The research was conducted in forms of interviews, surveys and questionnaires with pioneers of the South African #MeToo phenomenon as well as female practitioners in the sector who were harassed. In light of ethical considerations, the study allowed the following in interviews, surveys and questionnaires:

- Informed consent
- Voluntary consideration
- Confidentiality where applicable
- Anonymity when requested

Data investigation entailed deriving from the interviews, surveys and questionnaires whether women who practiced in the South African Film/TV industry had experienced sexual violations and patriarchy within the industry; and whether or not they felt free and equal as their male counterparts. Moreover, the investigation assessed whether or not women felt that #MeToo would bring necessary changes within the industry, and if they deemed it historic in shaping better working conditions. Additionally, the study looked at reports of various commissions and inquests brought about by #MeToo, such as the SWIFT mission report and the SABC sexual harassment inquiry and the final report. It looked at various press and media statements that followed #MeToo to track and trace the effectiveness of the movement and its success thereof.

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The hashtag 'Me Too' was the siren South Africa needed to shed light in the already dire situation it was in with regards to sexual violations against women. The current statistics in South Africa reveal that at least 40% of South African women will be raped in their lifetime, one in nine of those cases will be reported, and 14% of those perpetrators will be convicted of rape. Additionally, as of 2021 and 2022, every 26-36 seconds a woman is raped in South Africa. Amidst the emergence of the hashtag, South African feminists were mourning the death of Fezeka Khuzwayo 'Khwezi' behind the hashtag #RememberKhwezi. Khuzwayo was the alleged rape victim of former President Jacob Zuma and had passed away a year before the emergence of #MeToo.

Furthermore, it was at the height of Karabo Mokoena's death, a young female who died at the hands of her lover due to gender-based violence on the 28 April 2017. South Africa was engulfed in flames, women were shutting down streets, marches were organized countrywide where women were saying #Enough. And, when the country was getting re-acquainted with the reality of women abuse, actress and activist Rosie Motene posted #MeToo and was joined by veteran actress Bubu Mazibuko-Masina, who too took to Facebook to detail her ordeal against veteran director and producer, Khalo Matabane. These were followed by international and multi award winning producer, Palesa Letlaka, who too made a public testimony against Matabane. More and more women came forward to speak up against their ordeals, including multi award winning actress, Brenda Ngxoli, who shared how she was fondled by a male actor on a television series set. Upon her reporting the incidents she was deemed a problem on the television set, and consequently was dismissed by the producers of the series.

The industry is difficult as it is to break into, and being a woman makes it so much harder. #MeToo was necessary to occur to break the silence, the fear and stigma saw the birthing of a revolution within the Film/TV industry in South Africa, this ironically occurred within the 25year mark of democracy, a democracy that speaks of equality and fairness for all, but is it really? This proved to be a mere myth when it comes to women in the Film/TV industry, and the happenings of #MeToo were vital to shed light on this and bring about a change. It was as if South Africa was waiting for the hashtag to emerge, because since its emergence on the shores of

South Africa, the norms outlined by Chrisiseli were exposed. As Maule puts it, “technology such as Twitter and Facebook, has changed the ways in which feminists can communicate with one another, social media allows for activism to be organized rapidly and efficiently without feminists being required to occupy the same physical space”¹⁵¹.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is a history project framed around theories of historical knowledge production and the issues related to such. It is guided by the vast literature on South African public history, especially resistance and protests histories. More specifically, the discussions and arguments of this study are framed around feminist theories and gender studies that recognise the role played by women in the struggles to emancipate and free themselves of gender-based domination, harassment and abuse. This literature is specified and explored in more detail in the literature review section. But, to cite a few, some of the literature that this study bases its direction and arguments on is the study by Nikolai Brandes and Bettina Engels on social movements in Africa, which details patterns in which African social movements possess, stances protests in Africa often take, western versus traditional theories, as well as the role women play in social movements in Africa, it uses Andrea Kaufmann’s work of the role women played in the liberation movements in Liberia as an example.

Additionally, this study is framed by works of feminists such as Ronit Frenkel on her journal ‘Feminism and Contemporary Culture in South Africa’ which begins with unpacking the nuances of apartheid and its impact on feminism today. She details how and why feminism has been rejected in South Africa, particularly by African women, she makes robust arguments on women being ‘spoken for’ and ‘spoken of’, as well as the male gaze of European and colonial rule, transcending to the African shores and presents the case of Saartjie Baartman, and how her body has and continues to be sexualised and perversely perceived by men. She concludes her work by making various examples on how colonialism has birthed the seed of patriarchy and male entitlement on female bodies and how culture continues to be the root of patriarchy and male entitlement over female bodies.

¹⁵¹ R Maule, ‘Not Just a Movement for Famous White People’, March 2020 Gender and Women Studies, pp1-2

CHAPTER I

HISTORICIZING SOUTH AFRICAN FEMALE FORMATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

South Africa is a country that has encountered immense struggles, with women being at the heart of leading revolutions to combat these struggles. It has been unfortunate that women continue to be silenced and under-written in some of history's most pivotal and high peaking moments, with the protection of patriarchy being the top agenda as opposed to allowing women to experience the glory of being celebrated for their efforts. The inception of #MeToo in South Africa was in its nature new, unheard of and unique; but it was not the first female mobilization/movement, South African women had adapted a culture of initiating a cause that would unite them, even before hashtags were a way to mobilize. Many influential groups were formed by South African women over the course of the twentieth century. "Some served the interests of specific groups of women, such as the Bantu Women's League which was an anti-apartheid organization"¹⁵². The chapter will focus on historicizing female formations, activism and movements, while simultaneously giving a critical analysis and arguments thereof, raising issues of patriarchy and nonchalance as prevalent reactions to female related matters. The chapter will draw comparisons of female movements during colonial times, during apartheid and post-apartheid. The chapter seeks to give a concise genealogy of women led formations, while making arguments that seek to highlight similarities and characteristics of past formations to that of #MeToo.

Amber Michelle Lenser argues in her research that gender exclusion was often an obstruction for women to lead or even partake in a revolution or movement and quotes Charlotte Maxeke's involvement in fighting against injustices as an example. "Charlotte Maxeke who wanted to be politically active but was excluded from membership in the largest political organization for blacks in the country, the ANC, based on her gender"¹⁵³. Gender lines were first informed by colonialism, which Lenser argues informed patriarchy and thus endorsed the way in which

¹⁵² AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p16

¹⁵³ AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p17

genders were portrayed, “Slavery in the Cape was characterized by a heavily gendered division of labor. Enslaved males primarily worked as agricultural laborers, while women were predominantly domestic workers-roles ascribed to them because of British concepts of gendered capabilities and proper gender roles”¹⁵⁴. It is the same colonialism and slavery that can be attributed to being the cause behind the culture of gender-based violence, abuse against women and rape. As Lenser argues,

“Violence against women was endemic in Cape slavery. Slave women were subjected to violence by their masters, by the women for whom they worked, and by male slaves. Violent acts committed against women by enslaved men has often been viewed as a product of the systematic emasculation of black and coloured men by the system of slavery and white oppression”¹⁵⁵.

The legacy of patriarchy and the belief that women are inferior is also a legacy birthed by colonial rule. “Sexual violence committed by slaveholders and white authority figures was especially rampant as slave women were not legally classified as humans”¹⁵⁶. Pre-colonial rule, many African dynasties viewed women as strong, competent and worthy beings, colonial rule emerged to dismantle that mentality, and made women subordinates and weak and incapable beings of making their own decisions. The enslavement of marriage in African customs like ‘*Ukuthwala*’ emerged where a woman was married against her will became eminent in African customs. Female existence and their bodies have mostly been viewed as commodities with no value in which male counterparts can exercise any form of atrocity without being held accountable; “Enslaved women of color faced not only physical violence, sexual abuse, and trauma over their powerlessness as mothers and wives, but were also labeled as “sexually licentious” and “childlike”, which further reduced the respect they received from whites as well as from their male counterparts”¹⁵⁷. This further informed a culture of seeing women less than even in the African culture settings, men became entitled to female bodies and thus developed territorial behaviors that dictate when and how a woman should behave. This notion left the

¹⁵⁴ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p17

¹⁵⁵ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p18

¹⁵⁶ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p19

¹⁵⁷ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p19-20

cultural settings and transcended in the legal and judicial settings; “[...] marriage was the only legal contract in which women could take part, and many did so to use their husbands as a means to negotiate labor contracts and to bring abusers to court, which they had not been allowed to do prior to emancipation”¹⁵⁸. The notion of women constantly being perceived and received as ‘less than’ has a deep rooted legacy in colonialism too, which further exalts patriarchy; “Also, men were legal authorities and had full control over their wives, further instilling in them a masculinity that had long been restricted, while simultaneously creating a culture of patriarchy and toxic masculinity from which countless women would suffer throughout the post-emancipation period, into the apartheid era, and into the present day”¹⁵⁹.

Women continued to face harsh laws that bound their liberation to a man, and this created a sense of ownership and entitlement on a man to a woman; “Women could technically enter labor contracts following emancipation, but because of their legal status, their contracts were dictated by the male authority figure to whom they belonged. Another “freedom” granted to nonwhite women following emancipation was the freedom to bring men to court on sexual abuse charges”¹⁶⁰, black women who were majorly affected by colonialism and were recipients of its harsh system, were deprived of the right to bring a man who committed rape against them to court, white women however enjoyed the right.

Black women were subjected to immense injustices and unfair systems and according to Lenser, were seen as a threat to racial purity. “While the usage of white women acting as moralistic teachers and in a materialistic fashion was thought to be uplifting to the black and coloured community and was utilized as a civilizing effort, it actually helped perpetuate the oppression of nonwhite women as it reminded society at large of their supposedly-deserved subordinate status and their moral impurity”¹⁶¹.

It is with this historical background that women in South Africa began formations of resistance, mobilizing each other on a cause that had nuances of racial, patriarchal, sexual and systematic

¹⁵⁸ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p20

¹⁵⁹ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p20

¹⁶⁰ ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p21

¹⁶¹ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p21

oppression; “Systemic racial segregation, economic inequality, and legal and cultural patriarchy pushed African women to begin organizing against these various forms of oppression”¹⁶². Within the ambit of resistance against apartheid, the most publicized female notable historical female formation of resistance was the rejection of the implementation of pass laws. “Pass laws refer to operations in South Africa under apartheid, controlling the rights of black people to residence and travel and implemented by means of identity documents compulsorily carried”¹⁶³ that would restrict geographic movement of women with pass laws. “Passes for non-whites had been utilized since the late 18th century to delimit slaves to specific regions of the country and, in particular, to keep them from entering the Cape Colony”¹⁶⁴.

1.1 RESISTENCE AGAINST APARTHEID PASS LAWS

The issue of pass laws was a heavy one on women because of the historical legacy of female bondage in South Africa caused by colonial rule. Women across all racial lines were apprehensive of the state’s control over their movement and this saw a robust resistance among women post-colonialism. “Those of British heritage and the Boers of Dutch heritage—joined together to create the 1910 Act of Union, the government attempted to expand the use of passes to women. During the 1913 Women’s Bloemfontein Anti-Pass Campaign, urban black women in the Waaihoek region rebelled by refusing to carry their passes, burning their passes in the streets, signing petitions to present to government officials, and marching while shouting and violently wielding sticks”¹⁶⁵.

The 20th century was a robust time of mobilization among South Africa women, a sense of disdain and rejection of oppression became the order of the era, women became militant and

¹⁶² AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p22

¹⁶³ <https://languages.oup.com/google-oxford-dictionary-en/>, accessed:24/06/2021

¹⁶⁴ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p22

¹⁶⁵ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p22-23

bold, and dared to challenge the status quo that comprised of patriarchal nuances and injustice. More and more women were detained and were being arrested for their demonstrations.¹⁶⁶

Many revere political martyr Charlotte Maxeke as one of the first female pioneers of female mobilization of resistance protests in South Africa.

“Maxeke helped organize the 1913 Bloemfontein Women’s Anti-Pass campaign in order to protest the restrictive pass laws being imposed on non-white women in the Orange Free State. Maxeke and other leaders in this demonstration managed to get over five thousand signatures on a petition denouncing the pass laws. Following the rejection of this petition, women marched in the streets to protest and burn their passes. This event would mark the beginning of a long history of passionate female activism”¹⁶⁷.

Maxeke is also the pioneer and founder of the ANC women’s league that has been at the forefront of female activism in South Africa. “Five years later, Charlotte started the Bantu Women’s League, which predated the ANC Women’s League and was the first all-women’s organization in the country. Women were not allowed full membership in the ANC, so the Bantu Women’s League offered an outlet for women to address not only the problem of racial inequality in the country, but also their own female-specific issues”¹⁶⁸.

The inception of apartheid came in 1948, when the National Party came into political power in South Africa. This sparked an additional rage among South African women organizations, Pan African Congress (PAC) and the ANC. The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952 that compelled black people over the age of 16 to carry a pass book. Women began to mobilize one another in preparation to form a march to the union buildings, with a memorandum showing disdain against the act. The march demonstrations took place on 9 August 1956, in what is celebrated as ‘National Women’s Day’ in South Africa. Female and political activist, Brigalia Bam who was present at the march demonstrations, formally addressed a number of influential women at the Malibongwe Seminar that was organized by the Nelson Mandela Foundation in 2007. She reflected painfully on the undocumented work of female’s during the struggle, in which she quoted the unsung work of Sophie Mazibuko, a social worker who worked for the

¹⁶⁶ “The 1913 Women’s Anti-Pass Campaign in the Orange Free State.” South African History Online. <https://sahistory.org.za/article/1913-womens-anti-pass-campaign-orange-free-state>. Accessed: 30 November 2018

¹⁶⁷ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p24

¹⁶⁸ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p24

South African Council of Churches (SACC) in the 1970's and 80¹⁶⁹. This was a time of heightened political activity in South Africa. "Some of you will know of this organization as it was very active during the 1970s and 80s, when a number of other organizations were banned. It was through the SACC that families of political prisoners were given support. Sophie knew the families of every detainee"¹⁷⁰.

She shared the importance of documenting and celebrating historic events of women who contributed immensely to the liberation of South Africa. "I say this because I now realize how important it is for us to record the history, memories and the activities of women during the struggle"¹⁷¹. Bam details how Mazibuko was in touch with every political detainee's family and would actively send essentials to families that had members in police custody. Political detainees and imprisoned individuals. "Sophie knew the families of every prisoner that was on Robben Island. She knew where they came from, and kept very accurate files, which had to be hidden in case of police raids. Families of ex-political prisoners were given monthly grants, because they were discriminated against in the labour market"¹⁷².

Furthermore, Bam details how women were unified during the apartheid era, women mobilized one another without emails and social media. Women were each other's keepers and were unified in a common cause, to fight injustices. Women cared deeply for each other and kept connected by being a united front.

"We organized events without emails. We did not even have phones. We kept in touch and communicated on a personal level [...] We were sustained by our common values, which bound us together and gave us the basis for our spirituality, which motivated and inspired us. We also took care of ourselves. Women are always the care-givers, and at times, they neglect themselves. What also kept us together was networking with one another, and the knowledge that in this journey, you can't be alone. The deprivation and the repression brought us closer"¹⁷³.

Bam asserts that Ubuntu was a way of life, it was not just a word but it was actions personified; "Nobody talked about ubuntu as a concept – it was a way of life. And it was Ubuntu that sustained us. We were able to retain the values of caring for others that our parents passed on to

¹⁶⁹ Malibongwe dialogue, May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp7-9

¹⁷⁰ B Bam, 'Malibongwe dialogue', May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp 7-9

¹⁷¹ B Bam, 'Malibongwe dialogue', May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp7-9

¹⁷² B Bam, 'Malibongwe dialogue', May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp7-9

¹⁷³ B Bam, 'Malibongwe dialogue', May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp7-9

us”¹⁷⁴. Activist Sophia Williams-De Bruyn, also took to address the delegation of women present at the Malibongwe event, as a member of the 9 August 1956 march and re-emphasized the importance of Ubuntu personified among women, she also corrects the notion that the ANC women’s league was responsible for organizing the march; “The march was not organized by the ANC Women’s League of that time which is often a wrong notion. The fact is that the ANC Women’s League was affiliated to the Federation of South African Women, like all the other affiliates”¹⁷⁵.

De Bruyn also took the opportunity to correct the misguided reporting of media that claims 20 000 women were present at the 9 August 1956 women’s march; “But we know, Ma Bertha, you I, and Amina, we know that there were more than 20 000, but the documented number was 20 000. The number was lower than it might have been because there were those who were late, and were misdirected, they were turned back, they were slapped, and some of them were locked up on the eve of the day and only released in the evening, just so that they couldn’t be part of that march. So we know that it would have been more than 20 000”¹⁷⁶. De Bruyn further explained that the mobilization of the women present at the march was done by the women themselves, the fundraising and organizing was all done by the women and asserts that this march was a continuation of the march that comprised of 2000 women who marched against pass laws in the Transvaal.

De Bruyn explains that the Transvaal women’s march sparked inspiration to the women who partook in the 9 August 1956 march and believed if the Transvaal women could do it, so could they.

“Transvaal women can do it, why can’t we all be part of the march?, And so they rallied and organized and mobilized themselves in their different provinces. The Eastern Cape women came from Port Elizabeth and hired two coaches which cost them £90 Sterling. Where did that £90 Sterling come from, who was the kind donor? It was nobody else but the women themselves. And how did they raise that £90 Sterling? They went to their branch meetings and over a period of time, they would make tea and they would have baked scones, the humble scone, and would sell them to one another in their meetings”¹⁷⁷.

¹⁷⁴ B Bam, ‘Malibongwe dialogue’, May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp7-9

¹⁷⁵ S Williams-De Bruyn, ‘Malibongwe dialogue’, May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp10-17

¹⁷⁶ S Williams-De Bruyn, ‘Malibongwe dialogue’, May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp10-17

¹⁷⁷ S Williams-De Bruyn, ‘Malibongwe dialogue’, May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp10-17

De Bruyn attests the success of the march to the lack of entitlement on women, they did not expect favours from anyone, they merely initiated on a cause that affected them directly and indirectly; “And they marched up those steps, dignified, gracious and proud. Some had babies on their backs. They had, what we call today, their “scaffins” (lunchboxes), they depended on nobody for anything. They didn’t say, are we going to be provided with lunch? No, they depended on themselves”¹⁷⁸.

Furthermore, De Bruyn explains how patriarchy attempted to silence this march, it was kept a low profile, especially because the ANC did not recognize women; “The ANC leadership of the time had not recognized women. The hierarchy kept a very low profile about this march and didn’t talk much about it”¹⁷⁹. De Bruyn cites an incident where the late ANC stalwart and Robben Island prisoner, Walter Sisulu and political martyr, Albert Luthuli summoned Helen Joseph, who was responsible for mobilizing the white women to the march and Lillian Ngoyi who was responsible for mobilizing black women. Sisulu and Luthuli questioned robustly the motive behind the march as it was beginning to receive a lot of media attention.

“Now you women, do you know what you’re doing?” And they said “Yes, we know what we are doing.” And the men asked, “And you are going ahead with what you know is a very dangerous thing, you know you can be arrested?” And the women said, “Yes, we know we can be arrested.” The men then asked, “What’s going to happen if you’re going to be arrested?” Lillian said, “The women know what to do if we are arrested.” So Walter asked, “Now what is this that you say the women know? What is it that they know they will do?” The women said to him, “When we are arrested there will be other leaders that will take our place.” And they seemed half-heartedly satisfied with the answer. But, Helen said, “We didn’t tell them the truth.” The truth was that we had had strategized, that if the police came to arrest us, all of the women would kneel down and pray¹⁸⁰.

De Bruyn gives a classic example of patriarchy and male dominance perpetuated against women, the male political counterparts used words like ‘you women’ as a demeaning and undermining statement in attempts to dismantle and disrupt the plans of the women. South African women, black in particular, did not only have the challenge of colonialism and apartheid, but also the challenge of patriarchy and male domination, as well as entitlement over female bodies. Women were strategic in nature, cautious and organized in how they mobilized each other, De Bruyn

¹⁷⁸ S Williams-De Bruyn, ‘Malibongwe dialogue’, May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp10-17

¹⁷⁹ S Williams-De Bruyn, ‘Malibongwe dialogue’, May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp 10-17

¹⁸⁰ S Williams-De Bruyn, ‘Malibongwe dialogue’, May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation

alludes to the classic strategy of kneeling down and praying, a strategy that would confuse the apartheid police.

De Bruyn also makes mention of the notion of discipline, which was enshrined on the mobilization of female movements, particularly that of August 9th, 1956’;

“women had respect for their leaders and they had dignity and pride and so they marched as they came, in a disciplined way, they marched back to the bus stops, to the train stations and to the taxis. ‘What did they do instead? where did they channel that anger? Into the song, Wathint’ abafazi, they channeled their anger into that song, ‘Strijdom you have struck a rock, you have touched the women, you will be killed’, They sang and they sang; they didn’t trash anything”¹⁸¹.

De Bruyn believes the women of 1956 could teach women of today on how to be dignified in their cause, and to channel their anger in a way that is not violent and disruptive. Furthermore, De Bruyn states that women were each other’s keeper, even from their return from exile, where their children were estranged to their customs and language(s), women took it upon themselves to educate the exiled children of comrades on their cultures, languages and South African history. Rica Hodgson, a veteran female fighter in the fight against apartheid, who was instrumental with her husband in the liberation in making petrol bombs as a way of defiance to the apartheid government, and many other heroic deeds, cites an example of one of her imprisonments, the wardens would refuse to tell them when they’d be released, so they began a hunger strike and wrote a message for the comrades outside and placed it in Helen Joseph’s hair bun; “We then staged a hunger strike and we sent a message out in Helen Joseph’s bun in her hair to Nelson Mandela in the Treason Trial because she was allowed out every day, she was one of the trialists, to tell them that the women had gone on a hunger strike. So then the men joined in, in their part of Pretoria, wherever they were”¹⁸².

August the 9th, 1956 is just one of many examples of how woman activism in South Africa has existed. It also displays how South African women have been capable and competent to do so, without the assistance of a man. #MeToo was no different, women rallied behind the hashtag, mobilized themselves and committed to their cause, without the assistance of a man.

¹⁸¹ S Williams-De Bruyn, ‘Malibongwe dialogue’, May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp10-17

¹⁸² R Hodgson, ‘Malibongwe dialogue’, May 2007, Nelson Mandela Foundation, pp17-23

Women are capable of being masterminds and strategists in all their ways, particularly in protests and formations, almost nothing was of spontaneity, things were thought through carefully. This is displayed in De Bruyn's recollection of August 9th woman's march. Hodgson details how apartheid made children fatherless and women husbandless, the efforts of women in attempts to combat apartheid was not in vain, women took up arms and began to slowly take up space in attempts to address and confront injustice. Unfortunately, women have been severely underwritten in their historic involvements in movements of change; "in reality countless women across all races and backgrounds fought as gallantly as their male counterparts in the liberation struggle, as well as in the women's rights movement. These women proved themselves invaluable to social and political movements in South Africa throughout the twentieth century and into the present day"¹⁸³.

Women were often left to be the heartbeat of their homes as their husbands and fathers were either arrested, fled the country to take up arms or find employment in the city, particularly those in homelands who were subjected to the segregation act titled 'The Native Resettlement Act of 1954', the historic march of 1956 was just the beginning of one the most militant female era's South Africa would experience. While the Native Resettlement Act was concerned with segregation, marginalization and classification of rank and class, attempting to esteem white supremacy, Ray Alexander, a militant female activist who the state favoured based on race was able to deny the opportunity and take up space in mobilizing women to fight the apartheid system; "A dedicated member of South Africa's Communist Party, she began working as a labor organizer in the 1920s and '30s, specifically with black unions. She helped to politicize many South African women by spreading communist ideology, as well as her thoughts on racial and gender equality"¹⁸⁴.

In 1954, Alexander who later married and became Ray Simons was one of the key founding members of FEDSAW (The Federation of South African Women), the federation/movement was for women, by women and represented all female demographics and backgrounds; "FEDSAW was revolutionary at the time because of its multiculturalism and also its emphasis on female-

¹⁸³ AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p39

¹⁸⁴ AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p39

specific rights”¹⁸⁵. Many female organizations like the ANC women’s league were affiliated and associated with FEDSAW. The historical woman’s march on August 9th 1956 was an initiative by FEDSAW. FEDSAW became a force to be reckoned with, as it slowly became eminent in addressing injustices and spoke up about the unequal society that South Africa had become. FEDSAW comprised of very prominent and influential women in the South African political front, including August 9th woman’s march leader, Helen Joseph and Lillian Ngoyi. Ngoyi’s activism was able to attract African women because she looked like them, experienced what they had experienced, and she had a tremendous way of mobilizing women in unity. Ngoyi was the deputy chairperson of FEDSAW, before becoming the FEDSAW chairperson. She was a member of the ANC, and its defiance campaigns. Ngoyi was respected and revered in feministic South Africa for daring to be a pioneer behind South Africa’s most significant female revolutions.

“Ngoyi led the anti-pass march in 1956, addressing the crowd of 20,000 women. Her anti-apartheid activism extended beyond her work within the country’s borders, and she travelled the world addressing different protests around the globe, including at London’s Trafalgar Square. Her bravery and ambition made her a role model for many women in the struggle, and Winnie Mandela herself said, “My greatest experience was meeting a woman who was my hero at that time, Lillian Ngoyi. We all worshipped her. Her name was a legend in every household, and we all aspired to be a Lillian Ngoyi when we grew up”¹⁸⁶.

Although #MeToo was not a movement that had elected leaders, like FEDSAW, it relied heavily on leadership and strength of other women who were either sympathizers, supporters or women who made confessions militantly and boldly on social platforms and media. On March 21st 1960 in Sharpeville, FEDSAW joined the ANC and PAC (Pan African Congress) in a protest of burning pass books that were referred to as ‘Dompas’, the demonstration was an act of defiance against the apartheid government and as such, police were dispatched to disrupt the demonstrations. Many people were shot and killed, many were wounded, and the historic day is remembered as the Sharpeville Massacre. Many female structures and women alike associated with FEDSAW were in attendance of this historic moment, many women and children were left

¹⁸⁵ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p39

¹⁸⁶ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, pp40-41

wounded, and some died; “Women were active members of this demonstration too, and many were left lying dead on the open square with their babies on their backs”¹⁸⁷.

1.2 SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN AT THE FOREFRONT OF OTHER MOVEMENTS

Yet another example of how South African women were at the forefront of historic moments, and another example of how female mobilization was at the center, in attempts to bring about change. Following such devastation of the Sharpsville Massacre, political organizations such as the ANC and the PAC were banned, detaining numerous influential leaders who were at the forefront of protests of defiance against apartheid and oppression. This was the time women stood together the most, the 1960’s and 70’s were the peak of political activity; “However, as these men were being detained and exiled, following the 1960 State of Emergency, women quickly and courageously replaced them at the forefront of the liberation movement”¹⁸⁸.

Women like Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, the wife of Nelson Mandela, became the epitome and figure of defiance. Madikizela-Mandela was active in mobilizing women in protests, defiance campaigns and organizing ways in which women could safely cross borders to join ANC camps in exile to fight against the apartheid system.

“One of these women was none other than Mandela’s wife, Winnie, a shining example of the type of influential women who kept the movement alive even as the government took considerable action against this form of activism. Winnie was courageous, radical, and quite militant—all factors that made her a force with which to be reckoned. She fought fearlessly against the apartheid government, while also acting as an example of a strong, independent, no-nonsense female leader for the many South African women who looked up to her”¹⁸⁹.

Madikizela-Mandela was actively involved in female formations and movements that became the face of resistance; “Mandela was active in several women’s organizations, including the Federation of South African Women, the ANC Women’s League, and the Black Women’s Federation—a group she helped create in 1975”¹⁹⁰. Madikizela-Mandela was there when students

¹⁸⁷ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p42

¹⁸⁸ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p42

¹⁸⁹ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, pp43-44

¹⁹⁰ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, pp43-44

in Soweto took to the streets to fight against Bantu education, an education system omitted to diminish black children's intellect, and forced Afrikaans as a median of instruction. Students were militant, defiant and resisting of this system and decided to protest in attempts to combat such injustices. Madikizela-Mandela was there assisting wounded children, mobilizing doctors and nurses to assist critical children; "It was the most painful thing to witness-the killing of our children, the flow of blood, the anger of people against the government, and the force that was used by the government on defenseless and unarmed children. I was present when it started. The children were congregated at the school just two blocks away from here. I saw it all. There wasn't a single policeman in sight at that time, but they were called to the scene"¹⁹¹.

Madikizela-Mandela's story contributes to the argument and assertions of this dissertation that women have and continue to be able and capable of forming formations and contributing to activism that challenge the status quo and injustice. Madikizela-Mandela's position as a woman was a representation of many other women who felt the way she did and did what they could with what they had to fight a system of oppression. The women of #MeToo used the means of digital media to challenge the oppression of patriarchy and male domination and entitlement over female bodies. Madikizela-Mandela was another classic example of how patriarchy can be selective in a stance based on gender.

Madikizela-Mandela's entire political and activism career was tarnished by being vilified, rumours sufficed that she was a murderer and a serial killer who thrived in violence, yet her male counterparts, including her husband, Nelson Mandela, was known to have been responsible for bombings and yet he is still revered as one of the greatest human beings to ever walk this earth; "Support of violent tactics and allegations of murder and kidnapping ultimately tarnished Winnie's image, arguably to a further extent than a male activist's reputation would have been tarnished for the same actions. Nelson Mandela, Winnie's husband and a global icon of peace and nonviolence, had a long track record of promoting violent acts, such as the use of car bombs, and the torture of black people who collaborated with the apartheid government"¹⁹².

¹⁹¹ Diana E. H. Russell interview with Winnie Mandela. *Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa*. (New York, Basic Books, 1989). p102

¹⁹² AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p44

Madikizela-Mandela was aware of the patriarchal nuances and tactics at play and even suggested that it was the women who were pro patriarchy; “The overwhelming majority of women accept patriarchy unquestioningly and even protect it, working out the resultant frustrations not against men but against themselves in their competition for men as sons, lovers, husbands. Traditionally, the violated wife bides her time and off-loads her built-in aggression on her daughter-in-law. So, men dominate women through the agency of women themselves”¹⁹³. This proved to be the case when it was other women who frowned on those who came forward on #MeToo, as stated in the introductory chapter, Rami Chuene and Rosie Motene went head-to-head about a matter they both experienced, and refused to unite in their anger to confront the men who violated them, their anger became misguided and misled towards one another, and not the men.

Madikizela-Mandela’s acts of activism and militant fighting inspired many women to stand and take on the baton to fight against apartheid and injustice; “The sight of Winnie Mandela defying apartheid, asserting her presence and legitimacy as a woman and a leader, and exhorting crowds to fight without flinching against white power, was most inspiring and empowering. I never thought a woman could be like that”¹⁹⁴. The reality is, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was a movement on her own, her own revolution personified. This reflected even after her death, slogans of ‘I am Winnie Mandela’ began to suffice on social media, and statements such as, ‘Winnie never died, she multiplied’ as a means to continue her legacy of fighting against injustices and inequality. Her activism transcended through generations, the mention of her name gathered women during apartheid, it did so even in digital activism and had women come together to honor her in solidarity.

1.3 WOMEN-LED MOVEMENTS UNDER BCM

The 1970’s also gave way for young people, a generation of militant youth who saw their father’s being taken by the infamous yellow police van to be imprisoned, some never returned.

¹⁹³ F Daniels, “Winnie Madikizela-Mandela: A Woman Way Ahead of Her Time”, JacarandaFM.com, <https://www.jacarandafm.com/news/opinion/winnie-madikizela-mandela-woman-way-ahead-her-time/>, (Accessed April 11th, 2019).

¹⁹⁴Mathabane in AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p44

Structures and movements such as the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) which saw political martyr, Stephen Bantu Biko as the militant pioneers and face. Many women were founding members of the revolutionary movement and conveniently left out in literature and narratives that tell the genealogy of the movement. “The writings on the history of the Black Consciousness Movement which will always of course, tell you about Steve Biko, Harry Nengwekhulu, Barney Pityana, etc, etc - in short, the founding 'fathers' of the Movement. There is barely any mention of the very many dynamic women who played a prominent role in building up this movement in its early days - women like Debs Matshoba, Nomsisi Kraai, Mamphela Ramphele, Bridgette Mabandla, Vuyi Mashalaba”¹⁹⁵. Yet even though literature and narratives diminish and undermine the women who were founding mothers of the Black Consciousness Movement-women in the movement who were influential had only positive things to say; “For the first time, many black women found new pride in themselves as they were. They were no longer ‘non-whites’, but blacks with an authentic self, appreciated in their own terms...Having been assertive as blacks, women claimed greater psychological space in which to assert themselves in both public and personal relationships”¹⁹⁶.

The 1970s were dedicated to black consciousness, youth and feministic heightened activity in South Africa, this further extended into the 1980’s with South Africa’s first women of color formatted activist group formed by Rozena Maart, WAR; “In 1986, Maart, along with four other educated black women, founded Women Against Repression, or WAR--the first specifically feminist organization led by women of color”¹⁹⁷. The organization became the mouthpiece for female marginalization, rape victims and the queer community, which today can be referred to as the LGBTQI+ community. “If you were lesbian or gay or trying to forge an awareness of sexuality or feminism or gay rights, you were seen as weird. The organization pride itself with

¹⁹⁵ A Moodley, ‘Asijiki: Black Women in the Economic Freedom Fighters, Owning Space, Building a Movement, Masters research report, University of Witwatersrand’, March 2017, p31

¹⁹⁶ M Ramphele, “The Dynamics of Gender within Black Consciousness Organizations: A Personal View” in *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness*. Edited by B. Pityana, M. Ramphele, M. Mpumlwana, and L. Wilson. (Brooklyn, Zed Books, 1991) 217.

¹⁹⁷ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p47

working with victims of rape and sexual violence, and the need for an organization that would focus specifically on women's rights and gender equality"¹⁹⁸.

Female formations such as WAR were responding to the crisis of rape culture in South Africa, in fact, the demonstrations of August the 9th, 1956 empowered women to not only address issues of political oppression, but also social ills and oppression pertaining to sexual abuse and rape; "Many women complained of physical and sexual abuse by the men arresting them. Shared experiences of abuse, mistreatment, and unfair arrest led hundreds of these women to formally organize, demonstrate, and protest-an impressive feat for women that early in the century"¹⁹⁹.

One notable female formation that also fought injustice is an organization called the 'Black Sash', the name given because of the black sash's worn by the women in their demonstrations. The movement was founded shortly after FEDSAW was founded but the movement was exclusively for white women. The black sash was instrumental in the fight against injustices, pass laws and segregation acts, their voice became notably loud around the 1970s, although they were in existence since the late 1950's; "The Sash has tackled many unjust laws in the country, including pass laws, voting laws, employment laws, and the death penalty. Although not a specifically women's rights organization, the Sash focused much activism on the advancement of women's rights such as employment opportunities, access to safe and legal abortion, and protection from rape and domestic violence"²⁰⁰.

The black sash became affiliated to FEDSAW, and during the 1956 women's march formed a bail-out fund that bailed arrested women who demonstrated at the march. 'The sash' as it was affectionately known became exceptionally vocal about female rights, sexual atrocities committed against women. "Pamphlets began circulating regarding domestic violence in the country and the oppressive nature of many cultural practices"²⁰¹. The sash also became vocal about their anti-abortion stance in the 1980's, but their stance slowly transcended to become inclusive on the matter. "It was not until the 1980s that gender issues were properly addressed by

¹⁹⁸ R Maart and CA Douglas, "International Interview: Black Feminist in South Africa". *Off Our Backs* vol.19 no. 9, 198, pp 1-3.

¹⁹⁹ AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p47

²⁰⁰ AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p52

²⁰¹ AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p52

the organization. The Sash had long taken up an anti-abortion stance, but members in the late 1980s began pushing for “a more comprehensive way” of looking at women’s issues.

By 1990, they began working closely with the Abortion Reform movement and started circulating pamphlets and newsletters addressing the epidemic of at-home abortions and the dangers that were symptomatic of the practice”²⁰². While at face value the country was experiencing a revolution from women, who took the stance to join, mobilize and be defiant against injustice; there were women in the side lines and military camps, fighting for the liberation of South Africa. Women left school, their families and places of comfort to join military camps under Umkhonto WeSizwe (MK), the ANC’s military camp, against the apartheid regime and government. However, women were subjected to immense discrimination at times as the ANC held a very patriarchal view, marginalizing women and viewing them less than many times; “Various issues faced by women in the ANC ensured female members were reluctant to fully merge the Women’s League with the broader ANC to form one cohesive coed organization. Women in the ANC often felt their voices were neglected and their experiences negated by many men in the ANC”²⁰³.

Furthermore, women who took up arms and joined the MK were subjected to immense discrimination when falling pregnant, or who were already mothers; “Women were also discriminated against by the Congress based on their status as mothers, especially in the militant wing of the organization, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or, MK. Women who were deployed to various camps were forced to get IUDs so that they could not get pregnant while on duty, and many women were left infertile as a result”²⁰⁴. Yet again women were faced with patriarchy as an obstacle, their male counterparts who were fathers were never subjected to any discrimination or marginalization, yet women were, and as a result, were banned from the military camps if they fell pregnant. They were also disowned as cadres, this practice was not professed on males. “Those women who did get pregnant were banished and were no longer viewed in many of their

²⁰² AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p52

²⁰³ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p55

²⁰⁴ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p55

male counterparts' eyes as militant and useful members of the struggle, but instead were reduced to their position as mothers"²⁰⁵.

Furthermore, women in the military camps were at times subjected to sexual violations, rape and sexual violations, more often than not, their males who committed sexual crimes against women walked away unpunished. "Many women in the League were also subjected to violence and sexual assault by male members of the ANC. and MK. Some women had to sleep with their male superiors in order to get scholarships or promotions within MK. Many times, the men involved in the abuse and mistreatment of their female counterparts in the movement went unpunished"²⁰⁶.

1.4 FEMALE ACTIVISM IN THE ANC

The ANC's nonchalant stance on sexual violence has been evident since the MK era, and the 'protect a cadre' attitude has been adapted at the expense of women who were violated. The patriarchal stance of the ANC had been evident since the inception of the ANC women's league that began as the Bantu Woman's league, as the ANC male leadership refused to recognize women as pivotal key players in the fight against apartheid injustice. Yet all the obstacles of patriarchy did not stop the women of the ANC women's league from mobilizing women and taking the fight forward against apartheid and all forms of oppression, women stood together and were joined by their hunger for change based on their own personal experiences; "The sexist issues in the ANC served as a type of impetus for the women's movement, as women banded together and were encouraged and motivated by their shared oppressions to seek out increased rights and protections as women"²⁰⁷.

Additionally, their fight as a woman's movement transcended the political scene but also became a network in which women assisted each other.

"The Women's League worked tirelessly to secure opportunities for women in the anti-apartheid struggle, as well as to promote and achieve increased women's rights. From 1971, the League had its own magazine-Voices of Women-that

²⁰⁵ AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, pp52-53

²⁰⁶ AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, pp52-53

²⁰⁷ AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, pp52-53

helped promote feminist thought and forged a connection between politically active women in the country and those in exile at a time when contact with exiled persons could lead to intense punishment”²⁰⁸.

The ANC Women did not only create a network for each other on the ground, publicly and in open society, but also in the MK camps; “Some members of the ANCWL trained for combat with male members of the movement, and also served in the MK. Others started and ran childcare facilities and educational centers for the children of exiled mothers. Women in the ANCWL took the small opportunities they were afforded to make a difference and actively pursued them”²⁰⁹.

According to Lenser, the 1980s in South African feminism pondered on the ‘Woman’s question’ which was concerned with how women’s issues and the need for gender equality and liberation of women from their various patriarchal oppressors would be addressed and handled in the broader struggle for national liberation and democracy²¹⁰. This question was a question that was pioneered by women like Charlotte Maxeke, and years later became of national importance to women. This is why the ANC women’s league dedicated the year 1984 to the ‘Year of women in South Africa’ in which; “placed the spotlight on the brave women of the anti-apartheid struggle and began pushing harder for the creation of a cohesive, inclusive national women’s organization, which would ideally utilize the same name and constitution as the earlier Federation of South African Women”²¹¹. Joining organizations like WAR, an additional woman’s activist group was founded in the 1980’s to address the rape crisis in South Africa called ‘Rape Crisis’; “Rape Crisis was started in the late 1970s by white feminist, Anne Mayne, in order to help combat the horrific rape epidemic in South Africa”²¹². It is no surprise that the movements addressing issues that would inconvenience patriarchy and dominance against female bodies would be met immense resistance and great difficulty.

²⁰⁸ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p56

²⁰⁹ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p56

²¹⁰ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p58

²¹¹ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p58

²¹² AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p58

When issues of patriarchy that transcend to acts of rape are raised, a resistance from men is often the reaction. WAR and ‘Rape Crisis’ was not exempt from such resistance, police were often dispatched to halt and prevent any form of their protests, particularly one in 1989 that sought to confront the apartheid government against abuse and rape against women; “The types of formal organizing conducted by WAR included picketing, graffiti, and protest marches. One such march, intended to be carried out by up to 35,000 women protesting against the government in 1989, was prohibited by police forces, as the group had not “applied for permission to congregate.” Yet, white supremacists belonging to the Afrikaner Resistance Movement were permitted to carry through with a rally in support of apartheid on the same day in the same space in Pretoria, however”²¹³.

It is apparent that issues of nonchalance against rape are not new in South Africa, even before the reign of governance of the ANC, the system of power had always been nonchalant and preventers of justice. This too became evident in the response to #MeToo, women who came forward were either ignored or ridiculed, activists and survivors like, Rosie Motene attest to the nonchalance they allegedly experienced. The avid uncaring attitude, and slapdash etiquette displayed by the South African Police Services (SAPS) is not a new attitude, since the era of apartheid, South Africa had always swept rape culture under the carpet.

In 1992 the Woman’s Coalition of South Africa (WNC) was formed, it consisted of numerous women and feministic movements of women of different races, religious beliefs, sexual orientations, and belief systems. The WNC’s main mandate was to instill the notion of ‘sisterhood’ among women and a bench of solidarity in women’s shared experience of patriarchy in South Africa, while it was understanding that the struggles of middle-class white women to that of impoverished black women would be hugely different. The WNC became a unit in which women inclusivity was introduced to South African society in attempts to transform the patriarchal behavior, in which the country had and continues to be governed by; “Women belonging to every race, ethnicity, class, religion, political party, and sexual orientation were

²¹³ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p59

represented by the WNC, which illustrates how inclusivity was not only attainable, but could actually thrive, even in a country that long featured deep, systematic divides between groups”²¹⁴.

According to the Lenser, WNC was able to plant the seed of gender consciousness which is often overlooked in South African historiography; “I believe the WNC to be indicative of the existence of gender consciousness across the masses of South African women, as that has been long overlooked in the historiography”²¹⁵. Additionally, female mobilization and solidarity in homelands and townships is another avid narrative that is underwritten in historiography, while men left to support their families in the city, women in homelands remained and became leaders of their homes, many men would not return home, leaving their women and children stranded, it was for this reason that women mobilized one another and became each other’s solace and refuge.

Women were left to make financial and even medical decisions as they were left isolated and alone. “Many women in the community were left to make medical decisions for the members of their households, as most able-bodied men worked in other parts of the country and were not available to support their wives and children on a regular basis”²¹⁶. Women began community gardens in which they would plant and farm crops, producing fresh vegetable produce for families to have a food source, some would plant crops in their own gardens to assist other families, women used their skills to uplift one another, some sewing uniform, baking bread and assisting one another in times of need. The concept of ‘Ubuntu’ which I argue as the central piece of #MeToo in my introductory remarks is the same concept that made women come together in the homelands. The notion that ‘my child is your child’ was the basis in which women thrived in covering each other.

This saw the emergence of ‘Stokvel’s’ or ‘Imigalelo’ coming into existence, women began monthly saving initiatives in which a rotational method was used to make sure every woman received goods in forms of money or resources at least once a year. Stokvel’s became popular in ways to bring women together and would comprise of either money or stationery and even

²¹⁴ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, pp60-62

²¹⁵ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, pp61-62

²¹⁶ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, pp68-69

detergents for the home. The communal mobilization of women in the homelands was able to produce graduates in families and solid community-based living. The same practice was adopted in the townships, women experienced immense loss during the era of apartheid, seeing their husbands and sons been taken by a police van and often never returning saw women turning to each other for strength and once again, the acts of Ubuntu and kindness came into play and the practice of Stokvel's became the norm which still exist in South Africa today. The legacy of 'Sheila's Day' which was a Thursday off afternoon granted to the domestic workers by their white madams, was also a time women gathered together and prayed. Sheila's Day was a popular norm in the township and garnered the legacy of 'OoMama boManyano' which can be loosely translated to 'Women of unity' or 'OoMama bo mthandazo' which can be translated as 'Women of prayer', this day is still observed as a day of meeting and prayer by many women in the township on Thursdays.

Such days were used as days of solidarity, strength sharing, prayer and mobilization and that was why August the 9th, 1956 march was done on a Thursday, as women, African women in particular would be granted an off day by their madams and thus would be available and able to participate in the march. This is also why the strategy of kneeling down and praying was adapted should police invade the proceedings, as Thursdays were a day of prayer for women in the African communities.

Activism is not a new concept in South African women, the movements such as #MeToo may have taken a rather new approach in terms of mobilization as we will ponder in depth in chapter two, but female formations and activism was not new. Dr. Maki Motapanyane shares the same view as expressed by Lenser in her research.

“She is critical of the historiographical neglect of informal feminism in the country and feminist consciousness amongst the masses, phenomena sidelined in exchange for the heightened focus on formal organization and activism. When exclusive focus is placed on formal resistance and action, much of the population goes unexamined, leaving a large gap in the understanding of gender consciousness and feminist thought amongst the many different groups that constitute South African society. Though primary source evidence is slim, and the literature focusing on informal feminism even more narrow, Motapanyane asserts that feminism did in fact exist among the masses”²¹⁷.

²¹⁷ AM Lenser, 'The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights', August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p84

1.5 THE WORK OF THE WNC POST APARTHEID

It was through the involvement of women, their heroic strides in attempts to combat the stains of colonial rule and apartheid was there somewhat a transformation, through the active work of the NWC, and the drafting of the constitution were there more inclusivity strides in South Africa

“The work of the Women’s National Coalition in the early 1990s and the drafting of the South African Constitution in 1994 paved the way for a far more liberal and progressive society. Groups that had long been marginalized-racial groups, women, and the LGBT+ community in particular-were afforded legal rights that surpassed those of many Western countries”²¹⁸.

Though strides proved to be somewhat successful, all on paper, the actual transformation is in daily life and there is still a great deal of inequality in South Africa, particularly when women are concerned. “Many issues have been addressed and partially resolved, while many apartheid-era problems have persisted into the present. Rights and protections codified in law have in many cases failed to translate into practice or to positively change public perception and stigma”²¹⁹.

Although equity acts have been enforced under labour laws in South Africa, such as affirmative action, women continue to have high levels of unemployment and illiteracy, women at the top are still experiencing patriarchy and sexual inappropriate behavior’s bestowed upon them. “Even after the passing of the South African Domestic Violence Act of 1998. Misogyny and the practice of male domination runs deep in the country, and legislation has proved to be ineffective in making any sort of meaningful change when it comes to violence against women”²²⁰.

Rape culture continues to be prevalent against women and transgender women as was the case during colonial times. “Rape continues to be an issue facing many South African women, a crime which remains an all-too-frequent occurrence in the country. South Africa has at many times been dubbed the “rape capital of the world” and consistently ranks near the top of the list of countries with the highest instances of sexual violence”²²¹. Although the notable strides of

²¹⁸ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p84

²¹⁹ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, pp85-87

²²⁰ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p88

²²¹ AM Lenser, ‘The South African Women's Movement: The Roles of Feminism and Multiracial Cooperation in the Struggle for Women's Rights’, August 2019, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, p88

women formations and movements have held significant space in historiography in South Africa, inequality against women is still evident, women continue to be paid less than men and are expected to perform sexual favours for jobs, which in its own nature is patriarchy.

“Women remain largely unequal in the realm of employment as well. Although the Employment Equity Act is supposed to ensure equality in the workplace for men and women, women continue to face much discrimination. Women are guaranteed equal pay for equal work, yet South African women make on average 27% less than men, and the pay gap is only worsening over time; for example, the gender pay gap doubled between January 2017 and November 2018[....] they are also at far higher risk of sexual abuse from coworkers and employers. Some rural black women who move to the cities to find work engage in ‘transactional sex’ in exchange for employment, putting them at risk for HIV, which remains a huge threat to South African society; the country has the fourth largest HIV rate in the world²²².

Furthermore, ‘corrective rape’ a term used by heterosexual men who assert their power on the LGBTQI+ community (the belief that if the LGBTQI+ community is forcefully sexually coerced, they may be ‘fixed’ and be heterosexual) is still on high alert in South Africa, the killings occurring in the community from men who have raped them remains of high concern. The rape of young virgins from HIV+ positive men who ascribe to the ‘rape myth’ which believes a cure of HIV can be found when sleeping with a virgin is still believed by many in South Africa, adding to the high rape and HIV statistics. This becomes a shear disappointment to the strides and efforts of women during the apartheid era, one would be of the view that in the ‘new’ South Africa, women would be extended a little more grace, and that things would be somewhat different.

1.6 WOMEN LED-MOVEMENTS IN POST-APARTHEID ERA

Women were not deterred even post-apartheid, with the dawn of new possibilities, women were hopeful and resilient. Though the feminism and activism was fairly quiet in the late 90s and early 2000s, this was possibly caused by the enforcement of equity acts and transformation emergence in positions of influence of women, such as the election of the first black and female deputy president in 2005, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (now executive director of UN women) and Baleka Mbete in 2008, even though Mbete’s tenure was short-lived, women were somewhat beguiled by transformation gimmicks on paper and were somewhat led astray in believing

²²² South African Rural Women Risk HIV for Employment”. 2004. Obesity, Fitness & Wellness Week:

transformation was fully embraced in South Africa. Notably though, former President Thabo Mbeki began the revolution of having more females in his 1999 cabinet of ministers by doubling them to that of former president Nelson Mandela; “Mr Mbeki increased the number of women in the cabinet to eight out of 29 ministers but drew heavily on Mr Mandela’s cabinet”²²³.

Mbeki continued the trajectory of female inclusivity in his cabinet in 2004, and after dismissing his second in command and deputy, Jacob Zuma in 2005, he appointed the first female deputy president of South Africa. Jacob Zuma’s political career was filled by numerous court dates and appearances, notably the controversial arms deal case with Schabir Shaik in which the court found him guilty of having a “generally corrupt relationship” according to a ruling made by Judge Hilary Squires²²⁴. This saw former President Mbeki dismiss Zuma from cabinet, this was followed by the infamous rape trial in which Zuma was accused of rape by former comrade, Judson Khuzwayo’s daughter, Fezeka Khuzwayo, affectionately known as ‘Khwezi’. The pseudonym was a means to protect her identity. The widely televised and reported rape case will go down in South African history as one of the most watched court cases and saw militant and bold female feminists, as well as female movements make their way to the Gauteng court every day during the trial; “A group of representatives and volunteers from women’s organizations often gathered along Zuma’s supporters outside the Johannesburg court”²²⁵.

Female organizations and formations showed up in numbers in support of Khuzwayo, streets outside the courts were filled with female organizations and feminists calling for Zuma’s arrest, especially when it was alleged that Khuzwayo was receiving death threats and was taken to hiding for safety. South African feminism was re-birthed, re-imagined and attended to robustly after being silent for a brief moment. Once again, any woman who resists and demonstrates disdain is often met with harassment, which was the case with female movements in support of Khuzwayo. “They had signs about rape and sexual assault in South Africa and many times faced harassment from the much larger crowd of Zuma’s supporters”²²⁶. Female organizations rallied

²²³ C McGreal, ‘Mbeki doubles women in cabinet’, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/1999/jun/18/southafrica.chrismcgreal>, accessed: 12/05/2021

²²⁴ H Squires, ‘Zuma and Shaik trial’, 30 May 2005, Durban, South Africa

²²⁵ <https://www.google.co.za/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2006/may/08/aids.southafrica>, accessed: 12/05/2021

²²⁶ Unknown author, “Jacob Zuma cleared of rape, *The Guardian*, 8 May 2006, <https://www.google.co.za/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2006/may/08/aids.southafrica>, accessed: 12/05/2021

behind Khuzwayo and saw the formation of an NGO that was particularly founded to coordinate the protests and efforts of varying women's groups; "One in nine was founded on February the 13th, 2006 ostensibly in response to the Zuma trial. It represented a consortium of 9 NGOs whose work concerned gender-based violence"²²⁷.

Surprisingly the female voice was divided during the rape trial as the Zuma support faction comprised of numerous females, many members of the ANC who were female remained silent during the rape trial and would not publicly speak out. The ANC women's league took the side of their comrade, Zuma- it is alleged that they made remarks that distanced themselves from Khuzwayo. ANC Women's league president Bathabile Dlamini was quoted saying; "Those who feel the league should not have nominated him (Zuma) because of the rape case want us to be part of a kangaroo court. The case went to court and everybody knows the outcome"²²⁸. Zuma was found not guilty and according to Redi Tlhabi's autobiography on the life of Khuzwayo *Remember Khwezi*, Khuzwayo fled the country as she continued to face intimidation and threats from women in particular, many distanced themselves from her and did not want to be associated with her during and after the rape trial. The irony was of course the fact that the Zuma rape trial was in 2006, which marked the 50th year of the famous 9th August woman's march 1956.

It was only after the ANC's 2017 General Conference that the ANC Women's league realized their nonchalance in female matters. The subject of nonchalance seems to not only pertain to men in reaction to female matters, but also women, who were said to have been the same towards women who stepped forward when South African female television and film practitioners stepped forward during #MeToo. This was particularly evident too within the ANC. This came after the conference election results only saw election of one female among the top six officials of the ANC, and the loss of Nkosazana-Dlamini Zuma and Lindiwe Sisulu battle for presidential candidacy to President Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ANC women's league alleged that they saw their wrongs and wanted to address patriarchy in the organization. This saw the league attempt to redeem their position in the South African

²²⁷ 'Unknown author, "Jacob Zuma cleared of rape, The Guardian, 8 May 2006, <https://amp.theguardian.com/world/2006/may/08/aids.southafrica>, accessed: 12/05/2021

²²⁸R Pather, 'Remembering Khwezi and how the ANCWL continues without admitting they were wrong', <https://www.google.co.za/amp/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2016-10-10-remembering-khwezi-and-how-the-ancwl-continues-without-admitting-they-were-wrong/%3famp/>, accessed: 12/05/2021

society that had gradually lost confidence in them by devoting their notable presence and support to alleged rape victims of popular Nigerian born televangelist, Timothy Omotoso. The rape trial that began in 2018 saw a number of influential ANC women's league delegates attend the trial and pledge their support to the alleged victims. The ANC women's league was also a recognizable face at the Reeva Steenkamp murder case, the slain girlfriend of Paralympian Oscar Pistorius, who was the one who fired the shot that killed Steenkamp on Valentine's Day of 2008. Yet even though there was form of activism, there was a disturbing silence from women and female organizations after the Zuma rape trial. The women of South Africa missed an opportunity to display their activism during the 2009 disqualification of Olympic runner, Caster Semenya. The silence of women during this time was loud and only saw Winnie Madikizela-Mandela publicly support and speak up for her, going to further extents of imploring South Africans to do the same.

As the South African feministic voice became alarmingly silent, female students began identifying the gap and void the silence had created, the silence was not caused by less patriarchy and less crimes committed against women, but a sense of fatigue was the closest explanation to the silence. Young female students became uncomfortable with the silence and saw the eruption of #MbokodoLead movement that was birthed by the patriarchy experienced by female leaders in the #FeesMustFall movement. Male students expressed discomfort through their actions and behavior towards being led by female leaders, and this saw an eruption among female members of the #FeesMustFall movement to support female leaders and push for their recognition; "The #MbokodoLead hashtag was created to be used on social platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram"²²⁹. Kandawire details the role played by Jodi Williams from the University of Stellenbosch who was at the forefront of the of the #FeesMustFall movement. Yet, taking on issues of gender and patriarchy head on in the institution, as well as being the advocate for queer students in the LGBTQI+ community. She also highlights the role of the outgoing University of Witwatersrand (Wits) SRC president, Shaera Kalla and her incumbent successor, Nompandolo Mkhathswa who both led numerous students from the University of Johannesburg (UJ) and Wits to hand over a memorandum of demands to government respectively.

²²⁹ N Kandawire, 'The black female movement, Mbokodo lead movement: A case study', Honours Research essay, University of Johannesburg, November 2016, pp1-2

Kandawire's research dwells in-depth on how toxic male masculinity was asserted by male students on female students and the need to push the #MbokodoLead hashtag and movement which garnered much online support and attention. Barely a year after the inception of #FeesMustFall and #MbokodoLead, the #EndRapeCulture hashtag and movement emerged, which saw females from across South Africa's academic institutions, particularly Rhodes University have bare-chested female students walk the streets in protest of the rape culture in university institutions. "During the #Endrapeculture protests, female students across various campuses marched topless with some carrying sjamboks (whips, which are linked to the apartheid past and are symbolic of fighting back) to show their solidarity with the cause and voice their frustration. Under the #nakedprotest, news rapidly spread concerning the topless women, thereby igniting debates across social media platforms"²³⁰.

Zaida Orth's study ponders on the social media reactions and perceptions of society when it comes to rape, shedding light that most people believe in female modesty and that robust rejection of rape culture that transcends to bare chested protests for women is unacceptable, these views did not only come from men, but also from women. In fact, her study shows that it was mostly women who showed disdain and disgust in the actions of women who partook with no bras and shirts on. "The findings show that the public reaction towards the 2016 #Endrapeculture protest was divided, with some criticising the protesters and the protest method, while others showed their support. Those who criticized the protest perpetuated rape culture through discourse, which was predominantly expressed as attitudes that perpetuate victim-blaming, sexualise the female body, and trivialise the message behind the protest"²³¹.

Orth also makes mention on the male African debate expressed through Amanda Gouws analysis on #EndRapeCulture, in which she cites the evident distance attitude displayed by male fallists on #EndRapeCulture as opposed to that of #FeesMustFall, in which females worked hand in hand with men and even embodied female leadership, but when females began a movement that addressed issues that largely affected women, they were evidently distant.

²³⁰ A Gouws, '#EndRapeCulture campaign in South Africa: Resisting sexual violence', 2018, <http://etd.uwc.ac.za>, accessed: 15/05/2021

²³¹ Z Orth, 'Rape culture and social media: Exploring how social media influences students' opinions and perceptions of rape culture', Master's thesis, University of the western cape, p114

“It should be noted that the 2015 and 2016 #campaigns were spearheaded by Black students. During the #FMF protests, women were not only in solidarity with the men but also embodied leadership roles. However, during the #EndRapeCulture protests, many were left disappointed by the lack of solidarity from their male comrades. Some of them went as far as to insult the women protesters for objectifying themselves and acting ‘un-African’²³².

The evident distance Orth and Gouws draw on have also been a factor on #MeToo, besides the solidarity of handful male television and film practitioners in South Africa, the larger majority took a distant approach and made it clear in their nonchalance that this matter was not one that involved them. In October 2016, a new revolution emerged, a much needed one it seemed, as the country went abuzz in discussion and conversation. A Pretoria Girls High school pupil, Zulaikha Patel faced backlash from the school and teachers on her hair, which saw an eruption of protest from black students at the school, this protest spread across numerous high schools in South Africa. Patel was quoted saying; “Asking me to change my hair, is like asking me to change my blackness”²³³. Patel was harassed by the school by having heavy security presence dispatched to intimidate and silence her from leading a silent protest against the victimization and marginalization of the school and its policies. The powerful images and videos of Patel’s militant fist in the air as an act of protest, leading young high school girls in protest was powerful and saw Patel stand up to three heavy security guards who were sent to silence her.

Patel was threatened by the historically white high school founded in 1902 with legal action, the widespread commentary and public rebuke of Pretoria Girls High school led to the intervention of the Gauteng education department and saw MEC (Member of Executive Council) for education, Panyaza Lesufi intervene by hearing the grievances of students. The intervention revealed that racism was also a very eminent trait at the school. Lesufi banned the hair policy, and this inspired girls around the country in high schools to protest against oppressive systems birthed by both colonialism and apartheid. Some protests included parents walking with their children to confront the oppressive systems bestowed upon their children.

In the same year, an international hashtag emerged, #MenAreTrash. The hashtag was created to mobilize men to do better for themselves, women and children. Unfortunately, the hashtag was

²³² A Gouws, ‘ #EndRapeCulture campaign in South Africa: Resisting sexual violence’ , 2018, <http://etd.uwc.ac.za>, accessed: 15/05/2021

²³³ Z Patel, Pretoria Girls Highschool, October 2016

largely rejected by men who chose to take offense or the defensive route by saying ‘not all men’ and missed the opportunity to want to be better men for society and their families. It no longer served the purpose in which it was created for as it created an ‘us and them’ gender debate. The success and irony of the hashtag however was that it truly exposed the initial reasons for the hashtag emergence. “The #MenAreTrash movement began in 2016 when a number of women took to social media to call out the problematic behavior of men with regard to the emotional and physical abuse they had been experiencing in their relationships”²³⁴.

Not only were women subjected to ill-treatment in their relationships, but in society in general. Women took to social media to address their disdain and fears of being women. South African women expressed how they couldn’t be out alone at certain times because that would pose a threat to their lives, and subject them to potential unwanted attention from men that could result in major harm. A defensive stance was often the reaction the hashtag received from men, very few men understood the intent of the hashtag. “#MenAreTrash is not about singling out individual men nor is it about specific men. The movement does not aim average harmful relationships and it isn’t even about the bitterness about women”²³⁵. Furthermore, many men believed that if they’ve never laid a hand on a woman or murdered one, the hashtag did not relate to them. “#MenAreTrash does not only apply to men who abuse and kill children but also applies to those men who cat-call women, are complicit when it comes to the injustices women experience in the workplace, men who listen to stories of woe about female lived experiences but still do nothing about it, because ‘it’s not my problem’”²³⁶. #MenAreTrash was also about exposing the realities of women and how they are unequal in society; “It gives credence to the fact that as women, we understand that the world is not built for us, that unlike men, in order to create our realities, we constantly have to push and break barriers and boundaries because we are

²³⁴ S. Matebese, “#Men are trash: What is this movement all about?”, <https://www.ru.ac.za/criticalstudies/latestnews/menaretrashwhatisthismovementreallyabout.html>, accessed: 21/05/2021

²³⁵ S. Matebese, “#Men are trash: What is this movement all about?”, <https://www.ru.ac.za/criticalstudies/latestnews/menaretrashwhatisthismovementreallyabout.html>, accessed: 21/05/2021

²³⁶ S. Matebese, “#Men are trash: What is this movement all about?”, <https://www.ru.ac.za/criticalstudies/latestnews/menaretrashwhatisthismovementreallyabout.html>, accessed: 21/05/2021

not recognized. #MenAreTrash creates awareness about the issues society takes for granted which perpetuate patriarchy”²³⁷.

A counter response hashtag emerged, #NotAllMenAreTrash which was endorsed by both men and women, for men the hashtag was seemingly unfair for those who have not raped, killed or harmed a woman and for women, the debate centered around trash attracts trash, and that they have amazing fathers, husbands/lovers and brothers, so it must be the male lovers of those women complaining who are trash. This was another unfortunate example of how women contribute and endorse patriarchal thinking, which to a large extent has to be respected as Naledi Chirwa clearly put it in a television interview; “We feminists need to know, respect and understand that there are women who like patriarchy and we must not think we can change them”²³⁸. Deep embedded patriarchal behavior is once again a factor in relation to #MeToo, the idea of women being less than has largely contributed to the acts of sexual violence perpetrated on women.

Both hashtags were fueled around the Karabo Mokoena murder and saw a divide of two voices, consisting of both men and women; the first stating that Mokoena’s death was another classic example of how much men are trash and the other, if Mokoena was in an abusive relationship, she could have left. The latter voice felt that it was the women who stayed with ‘trashy’ men that should be at fault, and not the ‘trashy’ man himself. “When this hashtag is brought up, what it does is silence women. It allows its supporters (both men and women) but specifically men to tell women that they do not know what they are talking about and should keep quiet because the way they behave and act is a performance of their privilege, by saying not all men are trash you are protecting men from accounting for their actions”²³⁹.

On 9 August 2016, exactly 60 years since the famous women’s march, the IEC (Independent Electoral Commission) held local government and provincial elections, and former president Jacob Zuma was to speak regarding the results. A handful of women stood below the podium he was addressing the delegation on, with placards written ‘#RememberKhwezi’ in protest and

²³⁷ S. Matebese, “#Men are trash: What is this movement all about?”, <https://www.ru.ac.za/criticalstudies/latestnews/menaretrashwhatisthismovementreallyabout.html>, accessed: 21/05/2021

²³⁸ N Chirwa, ‘Trending SA on SABC 3’, October 2016

²³⁹ Ananya & Mbonambi, ‘#NotAllMen strikes again, this time against: #MenAreTrash. The ladies finger, <http://theladiesfinger.com/men-are-trash>

commemoration of 10 years since the infamous rape trial. Simamkele Dlakavu details in her master's research how the idea came to be.

“...while Tinyiko Shikwambane and I were driving to the same venue Zuma was expected to speak at. Shikwambane had been covering the election results for a news organization she was employed by, while I was engaging in participatory observations for this research inquiry. In the car Shikwambane and I thought about staging a protest at the centre, we were afraid and unsure if it was even possible in the little time we had. We decided to call One in Nine coordinator, Mpumi Mathabela for consent and political direction on the ways to effectively engage in protest. After receiving Mathabela's allowance and her reaffirmation that Kuzwayo “is all of us. She is a representative of all of us. She is a failure of the justice system. Any black women can protest” she suggested that we recruit other Black women at the venue to join the protest. Shikwambane and I decided to separate when we reached the venue in order to approach different women to join the protest. We decided that we would ask women at the venue a few initial questions, before inviting them to join the protest. We understood the security risks, therefore we could not easily part with our plan”²⁴⁰.

The demonstration garnered much media and social media attention alike, scratching wounds that many had buried, the issues of rape culture, male toxic masculinity and HIV/Aids emerged as great topics of discussion. Khuzwayo was an HIV positive woman and spoke publicly about her status, the female community of HIV/Aids activists were outraged at Zuma's alleged violation and mobilized themselves to support Khuzwayo. Dlakavu further explains that the mobilization of the women in the #RememberKhwezi demonstration needed careful consideration and the right answers to the questions would inform their participation.

“The answer to the last question would determine whether we would share our plan with the women at the venue to ask them to join the protest. After approaching various women at the venue, some expressed doubt of her rape while others reiterated political conspiracies such as Kuzwayo being bought to lie to about Zuma. We reconvened and realised that we would not be successful in that room. We knew that Chirwa was coming to the venue because she was working at the EFF desk, so we decided to call her to ask her to meet us by the IEC media desks when she arrived. The IEC media desk is where we received writing material (without their knowledge of the plan) and it is where we wrote our messages for the signs that we would carry. When she arrived with Amanda Mavuso, we asked them similar questions. Again, we asked if they remembered “Khwezi”, the first word out of Chirwa's mouth was “khanga” and then she proceeded to tell us about the poem written by Kuzwayo titled: “I am Khanga” that impacted her life. From that moment, we knew that it was safe to tell her of our plan. We invited her to join the protest and they both said yes, although not without fear or hesitation. The protest happened and Chirwa wrote “khanga” in a piece of

²⁴⁰ Ananya & Mbonambi, ‘#NotAllMen strikes again, this time against: #MenAreTrash. The ladies finger, <http://theladiesfinger.com/men-are-trash>

paper and carried that sign besides me as demonstrated in. Kuzwayo unexpectedly passed away two months later; we laid her to rest in the first African Feminist funeral I attended. May her soul continue to rest in peace and power, she is a Feminist warrior that we will never forget.”²⁴¹

Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, the former South African minister of defense, received much backlash and criticism from ANC men and women present at the event. Many felt that she had the responsibility to guard the potential harm, some feeling she took a blind eye and thus allowed the demonstration comprising of Dlakuva, Chirwa and Shikwambane. Many females in the organization called Mapisa-Nqakula a ‘sellout’, adding more to the argument of women protecting men in the ANC, the ‘protect a cadre’ policy was yet again at play. Reports surfaced that the women were forcibly removed by security after their demonstration.

Mapisa-Nqakula denied that she had any knowledge of the protest, she also denied claims that the women were mishandled by security in attempts to remove them from the protest, furthermore, she claimed that the protest itself was not a problem, it was the timing that was. “We live in a patriarchal world, not just a patriarchal society. Even as women are trying to break the ceiling there are many obstacles which they come across, but we are nonetheless trying [...] nothing was wrong with young women and old expressing their views in a disciplined manner... We should not distract the president. The nation needed to hear him”²⁴².

It is with the above context and history of women formations, protests and movements that the arrival of #MeToo fit perfectly in the already ongoing conversations and acts of defiance in South African women historiography. #MeToo was only a continuation of an already existing conversation, it merely shed more light in areas that were being under-looked, particularly in the South African television and film industry. The first emergence of the hashtag was in late 2017, in which South Africa was already engulfed in conversations of gender inequality and gender-based violence. When comparing the historic event of 9 August 1956 women’s march and #MeToo, themes of patriarchy, silencing and marginalization are mutual. The 1956 march was met with doubt and somewhat a resistance from men, resistance that had roots of patriarchy. The same was with #MeToo, the silent voice of South African male practitioners in the film and

²⁴¹ S Dlakuva, ‘Asijiki: Black Women in the Economic Freedom Fighters, Owning Space, Building a Movement, Masters research report, University of Witwatersrand’, March 2017, p85

²⁴² S. Dlakavu, ‘RememberKhwezi protest a ‘serious security breach’: Mapisa-Nqakula’, <https://www.enca.com/southafrica/rememberkhwezi-protest-a-serious-security-breach-defence-minister-mapisa-nqakula>, accessed: 20/05/2021

television industry was evident and noticeable. The tactics of silencing from ANC male comrades during the 1956 woman's march can also be compared with #MeToo, the only difference was that women were also involved in acts of silencing and ridiculing of victims who came forward in #MeToo. Both movements were enshrined on Ubuntu/empathy, yet Ubuntu and empathy was not visible with #MeToo, as victims allege that they received little to no support from other female practitioners or organizations that pledged solidarity.

Unity was the strength of the 1956 woman's march, unity was not very evident when #MeToo reached the shores of South Africa, according to Motene, they were alone and the unity they received was with themselves as victims, and no other women. Though one may argue that the cause and fights were different, but both movements were resisting a social evil, and both possessed what Mda refers to as a 'complaint' on the status quo. White women were not affected by the pass laws, but they pledged solidarity with the racial groups affected, particularly African women. It was unfortunate that according to Motene, and other #MeToo South African survivors, that they claim had no support from women who were not directly affected.

The conversation around #MeToo slowly died down in mid-2018, but birthed the hashtag, #ThatsNotOkay which was implemented by the organization SWIFT (Sisters Working in Film and Television), the hashtag was an initiative by SWIFT to address the wrongs done to females on television and film sets and sought to expose the social evils women continue to face in the in the film and television industry in South Africa. A few months later, South Africa was faced with more and more women being abducted, many going missing, and some being killed at the hands of their lovers and companions, this saw the inception of #TotalShutDown and was co-hash tagged with #EnoughIsEnough. The hashtag garnered huge social media attention and saw South African feminists and organizations mobilize South African women for a total shut down. Men were excluded from the nationwide march demonstrations but were encouraged to stay home in protest and to inconvenience the economy so that the government could be pressured to act. A year later, South Africa was met with the death of UCT student, Uyinene Mrwetyana who was raped by a South African post office official, at a South African Post Office in Claremont, Cape Town. Mrwetyana who tried to resist, was killed, burned and buried. Her remains were found after a missing person report was filed with the police. The country went on a standstill, anger and fear filled South African women, this saw the inception of #AmINext which was a national

question stemming from women, women wondered if they were indeed next? Would it be their turn to be abducted and killed next? Social media went abuzz with women sharing their testimonies, which resulted in South African women coming forward with names of men who had sexually violated and raped them. The names included well- known personalities, actors, musicians and DJs, as well as politicians.

CHAPTER II:

DIGITAL FEMINISM AS A MODE OF MASS MOBILIZATION

Feminism as a construct had already existed in South Africa during colonial times. It extended its presence in apartheid and continues to the present day. According to Fatima Derby, feminism has taken three waves, the first was concerned with, women rights and the voting of women thereof, the second was concerned with the fight and gain for equal rights for women, though Derby argues that the second wave excluded non-white and lower class women, which gave a gap for the third wave of feminism which challenged definitions of femininity that centered around the experience of heterosexual white middle-aged women, Derby argues that one of the strong components of the third wave of feminism is intersectionality²⁴³. This she argues as being concerned with African women defining different experiences of power, privilege, oppression and discrimination under systems of oppression. She cites patriarchy, colonialism, white supremacy and capitalism as examples. This chapter will focus on the third wave of feminism and how it transcended to digital feminism/activism- by firstly looking at its impact in South Africa, by tracing the genealogy of hashtag activism that eventually led to #MeToo, it will then look at the impact of #MeToo in South Africa. Furthermore, this chapter will track the impact of hashtag feminism/activism in Africa, and then #MeToo within the broader African continent. It will make a critical analysis, while making critical arguments on digital/hashtag feminism.

Hashtag feminism/activism refers to, “The ability of social media to function as an effective platform for the advancement of feminism’s objectives”²⁴⁴. Often the term hashtag feminism/activism is also referred to *Twitter Feminism*, which is largely attested to the fact that the activism itself is expressed on Twitter. In ‘Hope in a hashtag’ Clark describes hashtag feminism as; “Can be understood as a particular feminist linguistic activism that, due to the immediacy of Twitter, is event-orientated and focused on the discourse surrounding a highly visible social phenomenon unfolding in the moment”²⁴⁵. According to Derby, an internet minute

²⁴³F Derby, ‘how social media is impacting African women’s liberation’, https://medium.com/@MAKEDA_PR/feminism-in-the-digital-age-how-social-media-is-impacting-african-womens-liberation-519ee7b8c440, accessed: 05/07/2021

²⁴⁴ <https://repository.asu.edu>, accessed: 05/07/2021

²⁴⁵ D Ceron, ‘How Women of Color Are Discussed in Hashtag Feminist Movements’, *Elon University*, Vol9, 2018, p77

in 2019 had one million people log onto Facebook, and about 87 500 people tweeting. Derby asserts that African feminists and women's rights movements and organizations form a part of this statistic and are engaging each other regularly online.

Social Media has so far proven instrumental in shaping the way that feminists from different regions of Africa interact and collaborate with one another to organize around issues central to women's liberation, within an intersectional framework. In the struggle to dismantle patriarchy in its different facets, social media has demonstrated to be a useful tool for African women's rights activists to mobilize people and resources to take tangible and substantial action within the communities.

2.1 LOCATING HASHTAG FEMINISM WITHIN HASHTAG ACTIVISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Hashtag feminism/activism in South Africa can be attested to the youth, particularly female youth, who are tertiary students. Their redefinitions of the former status quo of female militancy began as early as 2014 during the #BringBackOurGirls campaign, which was a digital solidarity campaign with Nigerian girls who were abducted. The widely engaged hashtag #BringBackOurGirls was warmly received by the young South African generation, so much so a song was dedicated by the hugely popular South African DJ, 'DJ Tira' who is a favorite among South African youth. The militancy adapted by the hashtag transcended to inform the 'Fallist' era.

The 'Fallist' era was a significant moment for South Africa, this time period emerges from March 2015, when the University of Cape Town took their disgruntles towards the Rhodes statue on the university campus. They took their grievances to university management. Students were demanding for the statue's removal, as it bared gruesome nostalgic reminders of South Africa's painful past. This saw the emergence of the #RhodesMustFall, which became a widely hash tagged movement and achieved its mandate, as the statue was soon removed. The statue was in honour of Cecil John Rhodes, a British mining magnate and politician in Southern Africa who served as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from 1860 to 1896. In October of the same year, the arrival of the hashtag #FeesMustFall emerged, in which South African students demanded the scrapping of historical debt and for a free tertiary education. The hashtag became a widely publicized, reported and online engaged phenomenon, and escaped the confinements of digital media, to the streets of South Africa. The culture of hash tagging became a popular trend

within the South African digital space, that it soon birthed more hashtags that became a widely publicized phenomenon. It was not only until 2016, when digital feminism/activism became a notable force with the emergence of #MbokodoLead and #EndRapeCulture respectively, in which disgruntled female students at universities became increasingly frustrated by patriarchal norms expressed in the #FeesMustFall movement. The frustration transcended into the university systems themselves. This paved way for feministic activism outside of tertiary institutions to thrive online in South Africa. The hashtag #RememberKhwezi emerged in 2016 in remembrance of Fezeka Khuzwayo, affectionately known as ‘Khwezi’ in pursuit to protect her identity from angry supporters of former President Jacob Zuma.

‘Khwezi’ was the alleged rape victim of Jacob Zuma. The hashtag became a nostalgic moment as feminists, and those who resonated with her story remembered the court proceedings 10 years before the infamous hashtag. This paved way for the widely publicized hashtag #MenAreTrash, which began as an international hashtag but received much popularity in South Africa, so popular that South African’s created a counter hashtag, #NotAllMenAreTrash. The hashtag created a platform in which effective engagement on feministic matters could be expressed, which became a benchmark in which the heightened digital activism of feministic discourse in South Africa thrived. 2017 was the true birthing of digital feminism/activism in South Africa, after the death of a young woman by the name of Karabo Mokoena who was murdered by her boyfriend. Women were enraged and a siege of abductions began to erupt in South Africa, adding to the unrest among women. A television show titled *Isikizi* season 2 ran a storyline in which the antagonist was abducting and killing young females, this created a stir on social media, and calls to have the season discontinued were made on Twitter and Facebook alike.

#MeToo emerged in South Africa in late 2017, but only saw an eruption of digital feminism/activism in early 2018. Rosie Motene took to social media to lament her sexual harassment ordeal, more and more women stepped forward, alleging that director and producer, Khalo Matabane was responsible for violating them sexually. This created somewhat of a stir on social media, which led to SWIFT intervening and conducting inquests and reports on the state of sexual violence in the South African film and television industry. SWIFT also formed the hashtag, #ThatsNotOkay in which it aimed at shedding light on unwanted advances females may incur from men on television/film sets. The noise and hype around #MeToo slowly died down,

roughly a few months later. In April 2018, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela died. Madikizela-Mandela was the second wife of late South African statesman, Nelson Mandela. Madikizela-Mandela's involvement in the transformation of South Africa was one that continues to be lauded. The work began by her then imprisoned husband, Nelson Mandela was continued by her, she became a recognizable figure and a force to be reckoned with during the Apartheid era. South African women formulated the hashtag #IAmWinnieMandela as a means to honor her. Women took to Facebook, Twitter and Instagram in posting pictures in their 'doeks' (head wraps) in honor of her. This saw a united bond among South African women on social media.

In late 2018, South African women and feminists were disgruntled by the frequent reports of gender-based violence and sexual violence. A total shutdown was arranged which saw the hashtag #TotalShutDown and #EnoughIsEnough trend in South Africa. In 2019, UCT slain student, Uyinene Mrwetyana was raped and murdered by a South African Post office officer and buried by him, before being exhumed by a special detective unit from the South African Police Services. Her death moved South Africans to lament her brutal and tragic death on social media, which began the hashtag created by South African women, #AmINext? The hashtag garnered immense popularity and saw women from South Africa pose the questions of safety against abuse and harassment. The hashtag went to the extent of seeing women name and shame their alleged abusers, many were high profiled politicians and media personalities.

According to Visual historian, Christi-Lee Du Plessis's presentation at the 2021 *Womandla* conference,²⁴⁶ visuals and images contribute to the enhancement of a cause. She cites the image *Rosie the Riveter* as the global image of feminism. The image reflects cartoon Rosie the riveter with her bicep reflected, the image has gone on to be imitated and enacted by various powerful female figures such as *Beyoncé*, a famous female pop musician. Du Plessis cites Uyinene Mrwetyana's image as the digital/visual image of feminism in South Africa, and that when issues of rape and gender-based violence arise in South Africa, Mrwetyana's image becomes a reference. Her image has become as famous and powerful as Rosie the riveter and has garnered popularity when matters of rape culture is risen in South Africa. Du Plessis asserts that feminism

²⁴⁶ CL Du Plessis, 'Womandla Conference', July 2021

in South Africa has evolved from what Derby describes as a third wave of feminism, to now a fourth wave of feminism which is caused by what she calls a “problematic justice system”²⁴⁷.

So while the issues arising from the third wave of feminism may have inspired women to seek modes and platforms of activism, Du Plessis argues that the fourth wave is now the execution of the activism onto digital platforms such as social media. Du Plessis asserts that the fourth wave of feminism can be translated as *contemporary feminism* which is concerned with digital modes of activism. It is easy to connect and is famously known as ‘Hashtag activism’, it is also quicker and easier to consume. #MeToo arrived in South Africa with an already existing conversation and activism on gender-based violence. #MeToo merely contributed to the conversation and possibly opened a new window or perspective as far as abuse, rape and harassment is concerned. The activism before #MeToo centered on generalized narratives, whereas #MeToo was personified and owned by individuals. It no longer was a generalized discourse, but it was now owned and given practical names and examples.

Martine Kongshaug Wilhelmsen and Heidi Kristiansen disagree to a certain extent, they feel that #MeToo in South Africa unlike other countries was absent of high profile people taking responsibility for their actions. As stated in the introductory chapter, Matabane, Kodwa, Mabe and Jordaan denied allegations of sexual harassment and misconduct and sought the interventions of the courts to settle their allegations. The social media hashtag’s of #MeToo were absent of names of the alleged perpetrators, with a few exceptions, such as the names of Jordaan and Matabane. Wilhelmsen and Kristiansen further argue that no high profile alleged perpetrator stepped down or was even fired, even though women had told their stories. Femicide in South Africa is five times higher than the global average, but sexism is continued to be tolerated across the country argues Wilhelmsen and Kristiansen. They further quote Marianne Thamm an author and satirist who said²⁴⁸:

We as women, as girls, must each day step into the world and deal with perpetual and constant clear and present danger. As you can glean from the #MeToo campaign, the abuse not only emanates from the unwelcome glances, touches and whispers from men we know or who are directly in our orbit. The fear is with us always, everywhere.

²⁴⁷ CL Du Plessis, ‘Womandla Conference 2021: Panel 11’, 5 July 2021

²⁴⁸ Av M Kongshaug Wilhelmsen and H Kristiansen, ‘How is the #metoo campaign reflected in south africa?’, SAII, 7 July 2018, <https://saih.no/artikkel/2018/2/the-metoo-campaign-form-a-south-african-point-of-view>, accessed: 06/07/2021

The fourth wave of digital feminism was the stance of the previous generation's activism, but was rather digitalized and has garnered tremendous mass mobilization through its efforts. The young generation has actively taken the baton at ascertaining that women are heard, felt and known. Furthermore, young women are ensuring that their struggles are not swept under the carpet. It is through the works of hashtags such #RememberKhwezi and #AmINext that South Africa has seen the impact of the militancy displayed on social media regarding issues pertaining to women. It has been established that digital feminism exists in South Africa, and furthermore #MeToo had entered the shores of South Africa even for a brief moment. Wilhelmsen and Kristiansen researched the impact of #MeToo at the *lin9 Campaign* offices in Johannesburg, and the research concluded that black African women were finding it difficult to resonate with an American campaign, as they had their own different realities and narratives. "For the ladies in lin9 the main focus is what is happening to these women after they speak out? Is there a safety net to fetch them? Can they handle the consequences? To them it is more important that the survivors of sexual violence ask themselves questions: 'what is justice to me?'"²⁴⁹.

Women came forward to say it happened to them, and perhaps that was the revolutionary window opened by #MeToo. Derby argues that social media activism has also contributed to fruitful engagements and conversations around sexual assault, body positivity/autonomy, sex worker rights, LGBTQI+ rights and sexist micro-aggressions. Social media activism does not necessarily require one to express their views in images or social media posts, there are now share and like buttons, which also suffice as expressions of approval and solidarity.

News24 reported that an organization called *Amnesty International* says there was a spike in the abuse of women in Southern Africa during the COVID-19 lockdown. It also had revealed that 34 000 babies were born to girls aged seventeen or younger. "Shocking levels of gender-based violence across Southern Africa, including a horrifying rise in sexual abuse of girls, some as young as nine"²⁵⁰. The same organization, Amnesty international reported that around 40% of South African female users of Twitter experience abuse, and harassment on Twitter. "Up to 40%

²⁴⁹Av M Kongshaug Wilhelmsen and H Kristiansen, 'How is the #metoo campaign reflected in south africa?', *SAIJ*, 7 July 2018, <https://saih.no/artikkel/2018/2/the-metoo-campaign-form-a-south-african-point-of-view>, accessed: 06/07/2021

²⁵⁰ L. Ndebele, 'Covid-19 lockdown: How homes became 'cages of violence and abuse' for women, children – report', *News24*, 9 December 2021, <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/covid-19-lockdown-how-homes-became-cages-of-violence-and-abuse-for-women-children-report-20211209>, accessed: 18/05/2022

of female Twitter users, who use the platform more than once a day, have experienced abuse online”²⁵¹. Furthermore, a survey conducted by Amnesty International found that, “threats of violence, abuse and bullying were a ‘common’ experience for many South African women. The abuse included threats of violence, rape, or death. The report also said this was aimed at creating a hostile online environment for women with the aim of intimidating or silencing them.”²⁵²

The report found that the 40% of the women who were on the Twitter platform regularly experienced harassment. “The women who reported this abuse found the enforcement of Twitter’s rules to be inconsistent, the report found, adding that the platform had, in some instances, forced them to deactivate their accounts, change the way they interacted with the platform or to self-censor.”²⁵³. Amnesty International ruled that Twitter was not “doing enough to protect women and non-binary users from online abuse on the platforms dark’ side where it is used to spread disinformation, abuse people or incite violence”²⁵⁴. This coincides with the central argument of this study, digital feminism/activism is bringing discomfort to hegemony and it’s in these cyber violations of bullying and harassment that it is clear hegemony is inconvenienced by the activism. If hegemony is denounced or exposed it feels powerless and therefore cannot thrive. Thus, its defense gimmick is to ridicule, bully or intimidate.

2.2 #DIGITAL FEMINISM/ACTIVISM IN THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

The African continent as a whole has jumped on the wagon of social media/digital activism. Trending hashtags such as, #TotalShutDown, #MarketMarch, #NameAndShame, #SayHerNameNigeria, #AreweMeToo, #BringBackOurGirls and #HeForShe were just of some trending hashtags that received much engagement and popularity on social media and were formed by African’s. Derby narrates that the #NameAndShame campaign started as an online

²⁵¹ N. McCain, ‘40% of SA women regularly using Twitter face abuse, harassment - Amnesty International’, News24, 8 December 2021, <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/40-of-sa-women-regularly-using-twitter-face-abuse-harassment-amnesty-international-20211208>, accessed: 18/05/2022

²⁵² N. McCain, ‘40% of SA women regularly using Twitter face abuse, harassment - Amnesty International’, News24, 8 December 2021, <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/40-of-sa-women-regularly-using-twitter-face-abuse-harassment-amnesty-international-20211208>, accessed: 18/05/2022

²⁵³ N. McCain, ‘40% of SA women regularly using Twitter face abuse, harassment - Amnesty International’, News24, 8 December 2021, <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/40-of-sa-women-regularly-using-twitter-face-abuse-harassment-amnesty-international-20211208>, accessed: 18/05/2022

²⁵⁴ N. McCain, ‘40% of SA women regularly using Twitter face abuse, harassment - Amnesty International’, News24, 8 December 2021, <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/40-of-sa-women-regularly-using-twitter-face-abuse-harassment-amnesty-international-20211208>, accessed: 18/05/2022

conversation about rape culture in Nigeria, and the importance of sex offender registry in enhancing the implementation against the *Persons prohibition Act of Nigeria*. Derby also cites the story of queer rights activist, Doctor Stella Nyanzi, who was jailed by the Ugandan law enforcement on her published poem on her Facebook page in 2018. “The poem which described Yoweri Museveni as a ‘pair of buttocks’ was critical of the state of Uganda under Museveni’s rule.

The government charged her for cyber harassment and offensive communication, in violation of the Computer Misuse Act”²⁵⁵. On her 45th birthday, June 16, Dr Nyanzi released 45 poems from her prison cell in Luzira which became widely circulated on social media by African feminists. “Some of the poems are critical of Museveni governance while others are reflections of life as a political prisoner”²⁵⁶. The trending hashtag #PushForNyanzi became a successful social media movement phenomenon and according to Derby, it magnified hashtag activism and African feminism, as well as the general discourse on the ways African rights activists are packaging resistance.

Derby asserts that; “Social media is a piece of crucial machinery by which African feminists control the narrative around women’s rights and unify women’s stories and experiences”²⁵⁷. In June 2019 labor advocates from across the world celebrated the passage of a landmark global treaty that builds on the unprecedented gains made in the era of #MeToo. The siren raised by the hashtag was a true wakeup call for many countries, as #MeToo did not only target the entertainment industry, but also encompassed government officials too.

The high levels of digital engagement on #MeToo prove to be successful in treaty’s being signed and enforced. The treaty recognized that sexual harassment and other forms of violence and harassment have no place at work in any part of the world. “The treaty made history and revealed the important role that African countries can continue to play in the global fight for dignity at

²⁵⁵ F Derby, ‘how social media is impacting African women’s liberation’, https://medium.com/@MAKEDA_PR/feminissm-in-the-digital-age-how-social-media-is-impacting-african-womens-liberation-519ee7b8c440, accessed: 05/07/2021

²⁵⁶ F Derby, ‘how social media is impacting African women’s liberation’, https://medium.com/@MAKEDA_PR/feminissm-in-the-digital-age-how-social-media-is-impacting-african-womens-liberation-519ee7b8c440, accessed: 05/07/2021

²⁵⁷ F Derby, ‘how social media is impacting African women’s liberation’, https://medium.com/@MAKEDA_PR/feminissm-in-the-digital-age-how-social-media-is-impacting-african-womens-liberation-519ee7b8c440, accessed: 05/07/2021

work”²⁵⁸. Such revolutionary treaties can be attested to the noise and impact of movements such as #MeToo and the various digital hashtags that have exposed harassment. The International Labour organizations (ILO) convention 190 marks the first international ILO standard addressing the responsibilities of government and employers, to prevent and respond to violence and harassment in the work place around the world. The treaty garnered support from African states. “All African governments that voted, out of the 439 governments, workers and employers, supported adoption of the treaty”²⁵⁹. The discussion and adoption of the treaty was an eleven-day long event that took place at the United Nations (UN) headquarters in Geneva.

“Uganda and Namibia led the voting bloc of African countries- 54 altogether-and played a crucial role in shaping worker protections. They battled strongly to reaffirm the right to work free from violence and harassment, including gender-based abuses. When numerous other countries opposed the inclusion of rights-based language in the treaty, African nations joined the European Union, several Latin American countries, and the Philippines in developing an ILO standard grounded in rights”²⁶⁰

Uganda was at the forefront of advocating for rights of women, pushing for the adoption of the treaty, to protect women from sexual harassment in the workplace. This included job seekers, interns and informal economy workers. Uganda and Namibia were also vocal about women experiencing harassment from third parties, citing health workers as examples who at times experience harassment from the families of patients. They jointly pushed for women to not be harassed by their employers and their attempts to violate their rights within a physical workplace. “Protections apply to worker hostels, resting areas and sanitation facilities, for example”²⁶¹. African countries such as Namibia and Uganda also advocated for the rights of women and their protection thereof when commuting to work. A World Bank survey in 2018 reflected that 30 of the following African countries had existing sexual harassment governing policies in the workplace; Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Vrede, Cameroon, the Central African

²⁵⁸ A. Kashyap, ‘#MeToo in Africa - Governments Urged to Enact Protections They Fought For’, *Human Rights Watch*, 9 August 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/09/metoo-africa-governments-urged-enact-protections-they-fought>, accessed: 12/07/2021

²⁵⁹ A. Kashyap, ‘#MeToo in Africa - Governments Urged to Enact Protections They Fought For’, *Human Rights Watch*, 9 August 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/09/metoo-africa-governments-urged-enact-protections-they-fought>, accessed: 12/07/2021

²⁶⁰ A. Kashyap, ‘#MeToo in Africa - Governments Urged to Enact Protections They Fought For’, *Human Rights Watch*, 9 August 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/09/metoo-africa-governments-urged-enact-protections-they-fought>, accessed: 12/07/2021

²⁶¹ A. Kashyap, ‘#MeToo in Africa - Governments Urged to Enact Protections They Fought For’, *Human Rights Watch*, 9 August 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/09/metoo-africa-governments-urged-enact-protections-they-fought>, accessed: 12/07/2021

Republic, Comoros, Chad, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda and Zambia. Amanda Gouws argues that #MeToo was not loud in Africa as it was in first world countries, but asserts that this in no way says Africa has not had any of their own successful social media campaigns.

In her argument, Gouws cites Titilope Adeyi who argues that the entire concept of #MeToo was centered on countries such as United States, United Kingdom, France, China and India. She asserts that no mention has been about the Middle East and Africa. Gouws makes mention that even though #MeToo had very little noise in South Africa, South Africa had an already existing campaign, #EndRapeCulture that came prior to #MeToo. She also attests the passive response of African women on #MeToo on race. In her view, #MeToo was widely embraced by largely white and wealthy women, with prominence in society, this may have contributed to African women feeling less attached to #MeToo as there was very little to relate with. Another possibility Gouws links to the deeply embedded patriarchal views of Africans. "Women are afraid of being stigmatized when they speak out [...] the very visibility of this kind of action makes them more vulnerable. "Women are also afraid of their families finding out about the abuse. Women are therefore silenced by cultures of responsibility"²⁶². Gouws also makes mention of the fact that women are quite aware that law will not protect them. In a range of countries, including South Africa and Zimbabwe, secondary victimization of survivors is rife in male dominated courts, where conviction rates for rape are on average below 10%²⁶³. This further explains why the hash-tagging of #MeToo was not as prominent on the African continent in comparison to countries like the United States of America, the United Kingdom and China.

The fear of intimidation and the deeply embedded patriarchal systems that dominate the African continent make it difficult for women to personalize their ordeals, naming and shaming their perpetrators would be a shear risk to their livelihoods. Nikita Bhalla and Inna Lazareva claim

²⁶² A. Gouws, '#MeToo isn't big in Africa. But women have launched their own versions', *The Conversation*, <https://theconversation.com-metoo-isnt-big-in-africa-but-women-have-launched-theirown-versions-112328>, 7 March 2019, accessed:12/07/2021

²⁶³ A. Gouws, '#MeToo isn't big in Africa. But women have launched their own versions', *The Conversation*, 7 March 2019, <https://theconversation.com-metoo-isnt-big-in-africa-but-women-have-launched-theirown-versions-112328>, accessed:12/07/2021

that #MeToo in Africa is more of a murmur rather than an outcry. They cite Ugandan parliamentarian, Sylvia Rwabwogo who lived in anguish and fear after having been stalked and harassed for almost a year. Her stalker would phone her and send a hundred text messages declaring his undying love for her, telling her she could never belong to anyone else. Her entire life was on standstill, every knock on her door or unknown phone call made her panic.

I told him to stop calling and I blocked his number but he would just call and text from another number. For months, I was confined to my home. I was scared to go to work or even the supermarket. It took eight months before I reported the harassment to the police as I was worried I would not be taken seriously, and the media would blow up the issue and sensationalize it.²⁶⁴

This proved to be the case as she was ridiculed by fellow politicians, local media and the public for making ‘a big issue out of nothing’. She was additionally accused of destroying the life of a man who allegedly loved her, by seeking justice for the trauma. Campaigners of women’s rights say fear of backlash is one of the main reasons why #MeToo has been more of a murmur than an outcry in African nations. Women in Africa not only face possible sexual violations but child marriage, female genital mutilation, sexual and domestic violence. Researcher and Women’s rights researcher, Agnes Odhiambo claims through her research on #MeToo, findings reflected university students being the most militant and vocal on social media, particularly those who were allegedly forced by their lecturers to have sex with them. “But it has been slower to take off in Africa. Women are still shamed for speaking about sexual violence. The retaliation they face can be brutal and their character is assassinated and yet there is little support available to them”²⁶⁵. Comfort Mussa, Cameroonian journalist claims that #MeToo was slow but definitely not absent.

I would agree it’s not been as big on the continent as it probably was in the U.S and in other parts of the world, but at the same time, the movement is not insignificant. The feedback we’ve had as media women and media houses in Cameroon is amazing. There has never been time in our history where we’ve had more than 20 female journalists talking about the same thing at the same time and coming out to say #MeToo²⁶⁶.

²⁶⁴ N. Bhalla and I. Nazareva, ‘Why Africa's #Metoo is more a murmur than an outcry’, Reuters, 8 March 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-womens-day-africa-metoo-feature-idUSKCN1QPV0>, accessed: 13/07/2021

²⁶⁵ N. Bhalla and I. Nazareva, ‘Why Africa's #Metoo is more a murmur than an outcry’, Reuters, 8 March 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-womens-day-africa-metoo-feature-idUSKCN1QPV0>, accessed: 13/07/2021

²⁶⁶ N. Bhalla and I. Nazareva, ‘Why Africa's #Metoo is more a murmur than an outcry’, Reuters, 8 March 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-womens-day-africa-metoo-feature-idUSKCN1QPV0>, accessed: 13/07/2021

Bhalla and Lazareva claim that in countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria and Sierra Leone #MeToo prompted university female students to take to social media to detail their forced sexual experiences and harassments by their lecturers. Additionally, the African Union (AU) ran its own probe based on their own #MeToo experience. The revelations of the probe revealed that short-term staff, youth volunteers and interns were being sexually harassed by their supporters. The investigations found 44 cases of young women who were exploited for sex in exchange for jobs. Yet Bhalla and Lazareva claim that these cases are far below what there actually are, this is caused by a fear of backlash, and due to the fact that sexual harassment claims are not taken seriously. Judy Gitau, a human rights lawyer with campaign group *Equality Now* claims that;

Women in Africa have been at the receiving end of most grievous gender-based violations- from rape to femicide- to the extent that there's a little bit of desensitization when it comes to sexual harassment. Although it is as serious as every other form of gender-based violence, women here often see it at the lower end of the spectrum and would rather just let it go and deal with it.²⁶⁷.

According to Bhalla and Lazareva,

Campaigners said that the fact those accused of sexual violence were rarely held to account also discouraged women from speaking out²⁶⁸. While most African countries can be applauded for having sexual harassment policies in place, there are still those who do not, and those that do often prove to be ineffective. In Rwabwogo's harassment case, her stalker received a two year jail sentence for cyberstalking. He has appealed against the verdict. "I have suffered first because of this man, and then because of how people trivialized the whole thing. But I have no regrets. I encourage women to seek support from other people such as women's rights groups. We all have to stand together and speak out. Only then, this will end".

2.3 THE RESPONSE(S) OF #METOO IN THE AFRICAN FILM AND TELEVISION INDUSTRY

When hash tags are concerned, one is not always able to be specific in the ways in which it was used, especially hash tags as large as #MeToo. #MeToo was not always used by women who were harassed and violated within the film and television industry, as previously mentioned; #MeToo was used by women who were violated in corporate, academia, government, and media,

²⁶⁷ N. Bhalla and I. Nazareva, 'Why Africa's #Metoo is more a murmur than an outcry', Reuters, 8 March 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-womens-day-africa-metoo-feature-idUSKCN1QPV0>, accessed: 13/07/2021

²⁶⁸ N. Bhalla and I. Nazareva, 'Why Africa's #Metoo is more a murmur than an outcry', Reuters, 8 March 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-womens-day-africa-metoo-feature-idUSKCN1QPV0>, accessed: 13/07/2021

among many other sectors. It is also worth noting that because the noise around #MeToo in the film and television industry in Africa was not as loud as the first world countries, it makes it even harder to refine and accurately depict how the television and film industry in the African continent received the movement and hash tag.

Yet a defining and momentous moment for the #MeToo movement in the African film and television sector, escaped the confinements of social media and was experienced at the *Pan African Film and Television Festival* of Ouagadougou on 28th February 2019 where French actress Nadege Beausson Diagne, Burkina Faso's actress, Azata Soro and Cameroon's activist and filmmaker, Pascale Obolo unpacked and denounced sexual harassment in the African cinema industry in which Azata Soro came out and said 'Me Too' and detailed how she was attacked and disfigured in 2017 by Burkinabe director, Tahirou Tassere Ouedraogo during the filming of a series titled *Throne*. Nadege Beausson Diagne pledged to set up a movement called #Memepaspeur ('not even scared') to help women speak up in Africa. In South Africa, post #MeToo, the South African film and television industry became part of a worldwide movement when it adopted protocols launched in May 2021 for intimate content, this is another revolutionary milestone in the South African film and television industry, it is said that intimate scenes on production sets have been the benchmark in which sexual harassment has often occurred. Tracy Clayton from the South African Screen Federation (SASFED) and SWIFT said, "The consultative process to sustain the industry offered a template for developing the intimacy protocols"²⁶⁹.

SWIFT introduced the concept of intimacy coordination when movement director and intimacy coordinator, Kate Lush from the United Kingdom gave a workshop at the Durban International Film Festival in 2019. Lush claims that the intimate content can demand emotional and physical intimacy from an actor whether sexually motivated or not, "Keeping track of what actors agree to, what the director wants, what the storytelling wants, how the production is going to handle it, and to pull all these elements together and to get an agreement and consent on set"²⁷⁰.

²⁶⁹ M. Emmert, 'Stories', All Africa, 'South Africa: Making Intimacy Safe On Set', 7 June 2021, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202106090887.html>, accessed: 15/07/2021

²⁷⁰ M. Emmert, 'Stories', All Africa, 'South Africa: Making Intimacy Safe On Set', 7 June 2021, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202106090887.html>, accessed: 15/07/2021

Furthermore, O'Brien who pioneered intimacy coordination in the UK explains the danger and risk in unchoreographed sex scenes can cause trauma and a risk of sexual harassment.

“There is an inherent risk in unchoreographed sex scenes, a risk of trauma and a risk of sexual harassment. Any scenes involving fights or stunts are discussed in advance and mapped out to avoid anyone sustaining injury... It could be argued the emotional and physiological injury sustained in a poorly directed sex scene could have much longer lasting implications, and cause much more hurt, than physical injury”²⁷¹.

Through #MeToo on social media, founder and chairperson of SWIFT, Sara Bletcher and Lush collectively formed a company called 'Safe Sets' and non-profit Intimacy Practitioners South Africa (IPSA). Together they drafted intimacy protocols and consulted with representative bodies in the television and film industry in South Africa. The producers' Organization (IPO), SASFED, SAGA and the South African Personal Managers Associations of Agents (PMA). The founders of Safe Sets and IPSA who collectively drafted the protocols claim they were the first in the world to have concrete protocols that ensure safety for intimate scenes on sets, although Canada later followed, they claim South Africa is the first and only country that have producers, directors, writers, casting directors and even actors governed in one safety protocol handbook. Rosie Motene, an actress and gender activist who was one of the vocal actresses who spoke up during #MeToo had an unpleasant sex scene during filming of discontinued South African television soap opera, *Zabalaza*. Irrespective of her efforts to engage directors, producers and even her agent on the discomfort of the scenes, the scenes were still scheduled and Motene was still expected to perform the sex scenes.

Intimacy protocols were a much needed relief for practitioners in the South African film and television industry. Motene being vocal on her violations on social media led to many coming forward and speaking up, some discreetly approaching her in confidence to say they too were forced to do inappropriate sex scenes. The digital activism that occurred during #MeToo was a much needed addition to the already existing debate on gender based violence, rape culture and sexual violations against women. Miles Lamar argues that “Social movements existing in Africa are unavoidably hybrid in nature, utilizing and adapting Western ideas, funding, forms of

²⁷¹ M. Emmert, 'Stories', All Africa, 'South Africa: Making Intimacy Safe On Set', 7 June 2021, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202106090887.html>, accessed: 15/07/2021

organizations and methods of activism”²⁷². His statement suggest that movements like #MeToo adapt forms of western ideals and that social media is a western construct which counters against being African. Though there may be elements of truth in his statements, issues of sexual violence and gender issues need not to be politicized, they are human issues and violations that know no ‘Western’ and ‘African’ differences.

However, Nikolai Brandes and Bettina Engels who look at the social movement construct in Africa seek to redeem Africa from the narrative of being co-dependent on Western countries when activism is concerned, they collectively seek to display African movements as capable, strong and proactive, that are able to mobilize themselves without the assistance of Western theories. The journal cites Mahmood Mamdani and Ernest Wamba-dia Wamba’s ‘African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy’ which was published by CODESRIA in 1995 in which both authors sought to reveal how theories and debates within African studies ignore social movements. Instead, scholars reproduce an allegedly universal and deeply dualistic and traditionalist modernity emerging from modernization theory. Brandes and Engels argue that it hasn’t been until recently that European scholars began looking at African social movements both from the perspective of African and social movement studies. Additionally, Bandes and Engels cite Stephen Ellis and Ineke van Kessel who seek to deviate from the categorization of African movements to a particular compartment and kaleidoscope in order to compare empirical findings. “Ellis and van Kessel raise the general question of whether social movements are to be understood as a global phenomenon, or whether African movements rather do fundamentally differ from those in Europe or America”²⁷³. It is in my view that first world countries often take the lead as far as development of movements are concerned, this can be attested to their resources, systems and first world country influence and privilege.

An example is the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter that was started by African Americans. This is after the death of an American officer, George Floyd, who was killed by white police officers. The African Americans were also behind the emergence of the #IcantBreathe hashtag. The hashtag was originated in 2014 after the death of Eric Garner, who was violated and heard to say

²⁷² M Lamar, ‘Social Movement Struggles in Africa’, *Review of African Political Economy*, Volume 37:125, 2010, pp 251-262

²⁷³ N Brandes and B Engels, ‘Social Movements in Africa’, ‘Social Movements in Africa’, *Vienna Journal of African Studies*, No. 20, Vol. 11, 2011, p3

the words “I can’t breathe” before dying circulated on social media. Africa and South Africa specifically joining the movement. However, when South Africa had a similar situation, after the death of Collins Khosa -who was killed by members of the South African National Defense Force (SANDF) and a hashtag #JusticeForCollinsKhosa emerged in South Africa, there was no support from America or any first world country. Surprisingly there was less noise from twitter and social media activists from South Africa or even the African continent for that matter, especially those who were very vocal during #BlackLivesMatter.

This merely proves that the western and first world countries have more influence because of their world impact and resources than Africa. This is why movements that began in Africa often receive less noise. In essence, it is not that African women were not crying foul on social media and addressing social ills that affect women, but factors ranging from resources and world impact are contributing factors to the misleading narrative that Africa relies on western countries to push a movement. *The Gender Report* does a case study on female farm workers in South Africa, tracing and tracking their daily struggles and challenges on the ploughing fields. The report reveals that women working in farms are targets of unwanted sexual advances and patriarchal behavior from males working on the farms.

It shows the major marginalization’s women on farms face. The unequal pay between male and female workers is also a revelation that shows inequality. The report takes a slight turn and assesses whether online movements appeal to female workers who do not own smart phones, and the report reveals that certain groups are excluded and marginalized when online/social media activism is concerned. A movement like #MeToo would not appeal to a female farm worker because they don’t have a smart phone, tablet or laptop at their disposal. The report suggests that movements like #MeToo appeal more to middle class and privileged and completely excludes and disregards the poor. Ceron unpacks two theories that inform social media activism and engagement, namely ‘agenda’ and ‘framing’ media theory. Agenda theory is defined; “The media are persuasive in focusing public attention on specific events, issues and person in determining the importance people attach to public matters”²⁷⁴.

²⁷⁴D Ceron, ‘How Women of Color Are Discussed in Hashtag Feminist Movements’, Elon University, Vol9, 2018, p78

In a nutshell, media has the power to influence what people talk about and can carefully hand pick topics of discussion, resulting in ordinary citizens engaging on social media. Framing theory refers to; “the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue to reorient their thinking about an issue”²⁷⁵. In essence, media has the power to inform perspectives and critical engagements on social media. In South Africa alone, during the 2021 #RealeaseJacobZuma hashtag, saw unemployed and impoverished South Africans take opportunity to leverage on the hashtag. Resulting in looting supermarkets, malls, schools and even ‘spaza shops’ (informal community convenience stores). The media at that time only focused on such coverages, and very little about other trending topics. This saw Twitter alone trend with engagements associated to the lootings and the violent scenes erupting from the protests, which saw many arrested and some dying. The failure of #MeToo not being as big in Africa could possibly be attested to the lack of news coverage on the matter, agenda and framing theory suggests that what people see being reported will inform their interests to engage on social media. The mode of digital media/social media was the success of #MeToo. Through the extensive and robust engagement on #MeToo, awareness was created and thus many rallied behind the hashtag. This created a platform for survivors of harassment to have a place to find support, healing and in many instances, justice. The absence of media and news coverage on #MeToo in South Africa is partially to blame for the movement to be a murmur rather than an outcry. Yet social media platforms acted as agents of redemption to the disgruntled voices that experienced harassment.

The central argument of this research is that digital feminism/hashtag feminism (activism) is becoming a strong opposition and contender of hegemony and the hegemony discourse of telling history. Though women are being harassed online for speaking up, their mark is gradually being made and hegemony is being made uncomfortable by the robust confrontations of women online, as well as those who are allies of digital activists. Pablo Reneses argues that;

“Existing research on networked masculinities suggests that while most men subvert to traditional gender roles online, their digital interactions can also reshape their characteristics and values of hegemonic masculinity, as well as enable new spaces for alternative forms of masculinity to thrive [...] social media as surveillance practice of

²⁷⁵ D Ceron, ‘How Women of Color Are Discussed in Hashtag Feminist Movements’, Elon University, Vol9, 2018, p78

heteronormative and hegemonic masculinity, is pressuring heterosexual men to adapt their self-presentation online”²⁷⁶.

This is largely due to the emerging digital feminism across the digital spaces that is occupying online platforms, and is forcing hegemony to either engage or surrender. This is not only limited to the digital space, but also in history. History is now transcending and movements are no longer limited to physical war battles, but also in digital spaces. History is becoming digital and the activism transition is to a certain degree attempting to dismantle the hegemonic way of telling history.

²⁷⁶ P Reneses, ‘From #MenAreTrash to #MensConference: Networked masculinities in South African Twitter’, University of Cape Town, 2021, p31

CHAPTER III:

HISTORICIZING GENDER DIVISIONS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FILM AND TELEVISION INDUSTRY

3.1 THE RISE OF GENDER INEQUALITY AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN TELEVISION AND FILM INDUSTRY

The South African film and television industry has a deep rooted legacy of divisions and inequalities. Since the Apartheid era, the South African film and television industry was largely divided by racial inequality and divisions. South African black actors only saw an emergence of television in the mid 1980's to the early 1990s, while white actors enjoyed screen time since the mid-1970s, with only their stories being showcased on South African television and film. The racialized introduction of television sets themselves held a mandate to divide, censor and create inequality. The first proposal to bring television to South Africa, was made by *J Arthur Rank organization*. The proposal was made in 1953, it was rejected by the National Party (NP), the ruling party during Apartheid. The rejection emanated from the NP feeling that the introduction of television sets would pose a threat to Afrikaans, giving undue prominence and attention to English, thus creating unfair treatment to Afrikaans press²⁷⁷.

The then Prime Minister, Hendrik Verwoerd compared television with 'atomic bombs and poison gas', his view was that that it was the government's role to monitor potential dangers to the people, both spiritual and physical, to him television would be that danger to the people. The then minister for Posts and Telegraphs at the time, Dr. Albert Hertzog argued that "the effect of wrong pictures on children, the less developed and 'other' races can be destructive"²⁷⁸. Additionally, he stated that television would come to South Africa, "over his dead body". Hertzog also raised concerns that parents would no longer have control over what their children

²⁷⁷ 'Television in South Africa', *Wikipedia*, https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Television_in_South_Africa, accessed:20/09/2021

²⁷⁸ 'Television in South Africa', *Wikipedia*, https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Television_in_South_Africa, accessed:20/09/2021

think and learn, rebutting that South Africa would have to import international films that promoted the integration of races, and advertising would make Africans dissatisfied with their experience and reality. Furthermore, he was quoted in saying, “Television was only a miniature bioscope which is carried into the house and over which parents have no control”²⁷⁹. Many Afrikaners who were followers of the NP displayed disapproval with the NP’s stance, opposition parties like the United Party pointed out economic repercussions on the state should there be no television sets and television broadcasting, citing that less developed countries than South Africa have television sets. Neighboring countries such as Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) had introduced its own television broadcasting in 1960, at least sixteen years before South Africa. There was a massive backlash from NP voters. When the first moon landing took place, South Africa was left out. South Africans could not experience the historic moment because of the lack of TV sets, a revolt erupted from white South African citizens, who wanted to have the government’s decision of not having television sets reconsidered.

Ivor Benson, the then Director of the Government Information Department (GID) said, “South Africa has been wise to stand firm against a great deal of well-organized pressure and to insist on waiting until some means might be found of separating television from some of the evils which have attended it in other countries”²⁸⁰. On 6 September 1934, Hertzog invited the then British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) head, Sir John Reith, to assist the government in conducting a report for the South African government to ascertain if television broadcasting was a need for South Africa. “The South Africans were unhappy about their broadcasting organization. General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, invited me to visit them that they might consult me as to their policy in the future development of broadcasting in the Union”²⁸¹.

Reith strongly recommended that South Africa needed to establish a South African broadcasting corporation that was under the British Broadcasting Corporation, and needed to be independently run, with no interference of government, and that SABC should be permitted to make its own independent decisions. “The corporation should be an autonomous statutory body, and under no

²⁷⁹ ‘Television in South Africa’, *Wikipedia*, https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Television_in_South_Africa, accessed:20/09/2021

²⁸⁰ ‘Television in South Africa’, *Wikipedia*, https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Television_in_South_Africa, accessed:20/09/2021

²⁸¹ C Bevan, ‘Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976’, January 2008, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p27

circumstances could it function as a government controlled organization or a state department. The corporation would have to be controlled by a Board, and the corporation would have the sole right to manage the country's broadcasting"²⁸². Furthermore, Reith observed how South Africa was out of depth when it came to broadcasting, and did not fully understand its power. The first thing Reith stressed was the importance of the broadcasting industry, as he believed that the South Africans did not understand the potential power and influence of broadcasting. Moreover, Reith stated that because of its power, it was important to manage the industry properly: "As the assegai to the naked hand, as the rifle to the assegai, so and more is broadcasting rightly institutionalized, rightly inspired and rightly controlled, to any other instrument or power – but in the service of wisdom and beauty and peace"²⁸³. Opposition parties in South Africa at the time asserted that other countries had television broadcasting, why not South Africa? To which Hertzog responded, other countries did not have apartheid, so why South Africa?

"Albert Hertzog likened the opposition's argument to their stance with regards to apartheid. In the matter of television, the opposition argued that the rest of the world had television, why not South Africa? In terms of apartheid, according to Hertzog, the opposition would say that the rest of the world did not have apartheid, so why should South Africa?"²⁸⁴

After Hertzog's resignation in 1968, an inquiry was held to examine matters surrounding introduction of television sets in South Africa. The 'Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to Television' was established in 1971. Piet Meyer known as the 'television enemy', a chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond, "The Broederbond was established in 1918 to promote the Afrikaans language and culture. By the 1930s, it was a secret organization that allowed only white, Afrikaans speaking, Protestant Christian men as members, historians and journalists"²⁸⁵. Meyer was later was appointed to be the chairman of the SABC commission. "A majority of the members, recommended that a television service be introduced, provided that 'effective control'

²⁸² C Bevan, 'Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976', January 2008, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p27

²⁸³ C Bevan, 'Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976', January 2008, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p139

²⁸⁴ C Bevan, 'Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976', January 2008, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p139

²⁸⁵ C Bevan, 'Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976', January 2008, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p139

was exercised ‘to the advantage of our nation and country’²⁸⁶. Furthermore, the commission argued that the Publications Control board would, “‘‘censor each video cassette that came into the country when they became available in mass quantities’’²⁸⁷. The government wanted to be in full control on which information reaches South African citizens, and thus censorship would be their mode of control. Opposition parties displayed concern over the thirteen members of the commission, four of the thirteen were English speaking, while the other nine were Afrikaans. “‘‘This, argued UP member E. G. Malan, was not representative of and thus not fair to both sections of the (white) South African population. What is more, a number of the Afrikaans members were also members of the Broederbond, and Horwood, although English-speaking, was an NP senator’’²⁸⁸. The debates and concerns were all around the livelihood and languages of white South Africans, completely disregarding the black population. Furthermore, opposition expressed dissatisfaction with the slowness of the commission, and its secrecy, “‘‘Opposition members were furthermore not impressed by the Commission’s points of reference and composition, and complained about its slowness, methods and secrecy’’²⁸⁹.

Additionally, they expressed how the commission was a waste of money and a delay tactic, especially after Hertzog expressed that the NP would introduce ‘the small bioscope box’, but the commission was merely a process to rubber stamp the action. Historian, Saul Dubow echoed the sentiments of opposition, “‘‘governments often appoint commissions as a way of testing the political climate or, more cynically, to defer action on tricky problems’’²⁹⁰.

In 1971, the SABC was granted permission to introduce a television service. The initial proposal was for two major television channels, the first in English and another in Afrikaans. None in any African language.

“‘‘According to the commission, the South African television service had to be implemented in different phases. The first phase would see a combined Afrikaans and

²⁸⁶ C Bevan, ‘Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976’, January 2008, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p139

²⁸⁷ C Bevan, ‘Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976’, January 2008, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p139

²⁸⁸ C Bevan, ‘Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976’, January 2008, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p139

²⁸⁹ C Bevan, ‘Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976’, January 2008, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p139

²⁹⁰ S Dubow in C Bevan, ‘Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976’, January 2008, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p139

English service for white people in the main white population centres, namely the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, Rustenburg, Potchefstroom, Middelburg (Transvaal), Klerksdorp, Bloemfontein, Kroonstad, the Free State Goldfields, Kimberley, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, the Natal South Coast, the Cape Peninsula, the Boland, East London and Port Elizabeth. This would provide coverage for about 75% of the white population, 60% of the coloured population and 75% of the Asian population”²⁹¹

As soon as that service was in place, a Sotho and Zulu service for black people would be launched in the Witwatersrand area. In the second phase, the white service would split into two equal services: one in English and one in Afrikaans. The black service would be extended to Durban (in Zulu) and the Eastern Cape (in Xhosa)²⁹².

The initial proposal was for the Afrikaans and English speakers of South Africa. Later a proposal for *TV Bantu* was made, aimed at South African black viewers. However, when the television tests began, only one channel was introduced, divided evenly between English and Afrikaans. Test transmissions in Johannesburg began on 5 May 1975, followed by one in July of the same year in Cape Town and finally in Durban on 5 January 1976. It was only in 1982, that two additional services were introduced (TV 2), broadcasting in Isi Zulu and Isi Xhosa, and TV 3 which broadcast in Sesotho and Setswana. In 1992, TV 2 and TV 3 were combined in a new television service called CCV (Contemporary Community Values). The main channel, TV 1 was divided evenly between English and Afrikaans. In 1986, the SABC’s monopoly and revenue was challenged by a launched subscription-based service known as Mnet, which later became a component of DSTV satellite dish, and today Multichoice.

Mnet was met with harsh licensing restrictions, it could not broadcast news programs, which were still the prerogative of the SABC, and this was how Mnet created the multi award winning current affairs show, *Carte Blanche* in 1988. “As the state-controlled broadcaster, the SABC was accused of bias towards the apartheid regime, giving only limited coverage to opposition politicians”²⁹³. Inequality was also eminent in how foreign programming was dubbed to only Afrikaans, marginalizing black South Africans. Television’s initial mandate in South Africa was to divide, and push an agenda and narrative that would enhance the white populous of South

²⁹¹ B Purke (ed), ‘New Perspectives of historical writing’, University Park, Pennsylvania, 2001, p283

²⁹² C Bevan, ‘Putting up screens: A history of television in South Africa, 1929-1976’, January 2008, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p139

²⁹³ ‘Television in South Africa’, *Wikipedia*, https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Television_in_South_Africa, accessed:20/09/2021

Africa. This in its own very nature has been the legacy that still exists today. The gender divisions are a result of the initial mandate and have taken the pattern it has adapted today.

3.2 RACIAL AND PATRIARCHAL NUANCES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FILM AND TELEVISION INDUSTRY

The emergence of ‘Goliwood’, which can be loosely translated as the ‘Hollywood’ of South Africa, in which its main hub is in Johannesburg, ‘eGoli’ in its vernacular translation. Goliwood aimed to create a South African experience of black actors telling black stories only fully became operational in the 1980s, with full producing and funding from white South African film makers. This in essence compromised black stories and many times diluted narratives that belonged to black Africans. The story narration and execution was merely given to the black actors to make money for white owned production companies. Pioneers of South African black television and cinema were the likes of the late Gibson Kente, playwright and director, Mbongeni Ngema who created the award winning stage play *Sarafina!*, which later became one of South Africa’s first films produced for cinema and went to be nominated in largely successful Hollywood award ceremonies. The film became largely successful after its release in 1989. Head lining the film was South African actress, Leleti Khumalo and the renowned Hollywood star, Whoopi Goldberg. Additional pioneers were playwright and director, Duma Ka Ndlovu who created South Africa’s first Tshi Venda soap opera, *Muvhango* on SABC 2 in 1999 which still airs today, as well as Mfundi Mvundla, who created the first South African soap opera comprising of largely black actors in 1994, *Generations* which still airs on SABC 1 as *Generations: The Legacy*.

These pioneers were/are South African black men, which can be attested to the deep rooted nuances of patriarchy that still exists in the South African film and television industry today. In all the pioneering soap drama’s created by these renowned black male creators, the story centered around a patriarch and his legacy thereof. *Muvhango* centered on the death of a successful Venda businessman by the name of Mashudu, who also belonged to Venda royalty from the village of Thathe in Limpopo.

The story unravels itself as two women who were married in customary law with the deceased, fight for his assets and aim to have their offspring inherit as much as they can from his estate.

This on its own gives nuances of patriarchy, as two women are seen fighting over a corpse of a man. *Generations* is no different, the story centered around the dynasty of patriarch, Paul Moroka who founded 'New Horizons', South Africa's first black marketing and advertising company. The story revolves around this man's vision, and its female characters are underwritten to damsel in distresses, women who need saving, women fighting over men and even drug addicts. Although the story found a place in the hearts of black South Africans and can be lauded for instilling black excellence, setting and raising the bar in terms of how black South Africans viewed themselves in the dawning of a 'new' South Africa, it cannot be denied that the narrative bought into the 'man's world' in that women were either for a man's vision or a man's attention.

Yet the most notable iconic television moment in South Africa was when renowned female television producer, Roberta Durrant approached the then CCV, now SABC to create a leading female cast ensemble sitcom titled, *It's a woman's world* centered around three strong and dynamic female lead characters residing in Protea East, a township in Johannesburg, South Africa. Additionally, a male menace tenant living in one of the leading female's house, May Maseko played by the late legendary actress, Daphne Hlomuka. The entertaining comedy found a special place in the hearts of many black South Africans, as every episode saw May Maseko's tenant, 'Sdumo' played by the late veteran actor, Joe Mafela get himself into more and more trouble- often finding assistance from May's niece, Thoko Khumalo played by veteran actress, Thembi Mtshali-Jones. Humor resounded in almost every black South African's home in a time where South Africa was under a very dark cloud of Apartheid.

The comedic stakes were heightened by the cat and mouse relationship between Sdumo and May's neighbor, Gogo Louisa played by the late Gloria Mudau. The sitcom was renamed *Sgudi 'Snayisi* before its official premier airing in 1986. The show became the SABC's largely watched and viewed television program in the 1980's. The success of the show can be largely attributed to the female empowerment themes interwoven in almost every episode. May Maskeo, Thoko Khumalo and Gogo Louisa were strong and dynamic female black characters, a first for South African television. The story was exceptionally written, without bombarding feminism in the faces of viewers, instead the humor and comedic elements were able to educate and engage audiences. The show escaped the confinements of South Africa, and became available to

Swaziland (eSwatini) and Zimbabwe. *Sgudi'Snayisi* was largely popular due to it's never been seen portrayal for African women. This was new for South African audiences. It was also a necessary narrative that would empower women and depict them in a powerful, competent and militant light. The writing style and characterization was due to the gap in the South African television market, the writers leveraged on it and the viewer's caught on the wave of wonders that became the breath of fresh air South Africans needed. South African men too were onboard and enjoyed the ride the wave brought.

The South African television and film industry having had many challenges from its inception had displayed inequality even in the allocation of programing and the marginalization of content. Furthermore the censorship policy evoked by the Apartheid government, robbed black South African's of education, information and entertainment that was much needed in a time of despair and great agony for black South Africans. The name of Nelson Mandela was not allowed to be uttered or mentioned aloud. Written and graphic connotations of him were banned, anyone in disposal of them would be arrested. This saw the banning of many black South African artists who sang and wrote about him, such as the late legendary musician, also known as 'Mama Africa', Miriam Makeba and many of her musical counterparts. They were either banned or exiled, so much so that Makeba was banned from burying her mother who died while she was in exile.

The black South Africans living during apartheid had very little to be hopeful for, entertainment and music was one of their escapes from their sad and unbearable realities, the Apartheid government leveraged on this, and intricately banned those that brought black South African's joy. Stage plays such as *Sarafina!* Were banned too in the 1980s, as they evoked messages of hope, and the release of Nelson Mandela. For years the stage play toured abroad and was not allowed in South Africa. The same audacious act was done on the story of legendary Zulu king, *Shaka Zulu* who was known for iconic army formations and defeating many armed armies. The South African story was filmed by white producers in South Africa, and then sold to United States distributors and all the sole rights of the series belonged to the United States, robbing South Africans, and the Zulu people from such rich history. The story was only aired on the SABC in the late 1990's, early 2000's after having been broadcasted in the United States at least a decade earlier. The story of Steve Biko, that starred Denzel Washington as Steve Biko was

banned from being filmed in South Africa, and was filmed in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). These gruesome and cruel acts were ways to divide South Africans as well as marginalize them, particularly black South Africans. When times came for black South African stories to be told, ensembles were often led by men and more often than not, ascribed to the patriarchal way of storytelling. It is no surprise that black female actors would find it difficult to find opportunities in an already divided industry with a deep rooted legacy of inequality. The television and film industry in South Africa was largely run by established white producers and production companies. The very few black producers who were black men, and the desperation, and hunger of many black female actors to succeed in the television industry-became reasons they became prey of vile predators. Camouflaging themselves as pioneers of black television excellence.

Writer and producer, Phathu Makwarele, who boasts of three telenovela's in all of Mnet's entertainment platforms namely, *The River on 1 Magic*, *Gomora on Mzansi Magic* and *The Legacy on Mnet*, apart from the first Xitsonga telenovela on the SABC platform, *Giyani* and various other writing accolades, complained about the lack of diversity at the South African Television and Film Awards (SAFTAs), particularly the 10th edition of the SAFTAs²⁹⁴. While the *National Film Foundation and Video* (NFVF) made it mandatory that production houses needed to be (Black Economic Empowerment) BEE compliant, which broadcasters have also adhered to when commissioning productions, to bridge the gap between the racial inequalities of yesteryear, inequality continues to be evident. Production houses are largely owned by white citizens, and the black owned have a white man or woman funding it. Black producers are often the poster 'boys and girls' of a white funded model. Harriet Gavshon, a seasoned producer and television showrunner says though inequality in the industry is still high, it could have been far worse had it not been for the BEE compliance²⁹⁵.

In 2019, seasoned actress, Vatiswa Ndara penned an angry letter to Minister of Arts and culture, sports and recreation- Nathi Mthethwa, in which she complained about injustices of the television and film industry. She also complained about payment rates that have not changed

²⁹⁴P. Makwarela, 'Black producers are demanding their place at the main table', 19 February 2016, <https://www.ewn.co.za/2016/02/19/Black-producers-are-demanding-their-place-at-the-main-table/amp>, accessed: 19/01/2022

²⁹⁵C. Vourlias, 'South African Film and TV Businesses Struggle With Diversity Issues', *Variety*, 18 March 2016, <https://variety.com/2016/tv/global/south-african-film-and-tv-businesses-struggle-with-diversity-issues-1201734013/amp/>, accessed: 19/01/2022

since the beginning of democracy²⁹⁶. This came after *Mzansi Magic* commissioned *Ferguson Films* a third season of the widely popular Sunday night IsiXhosa melodrama, *Igazi*. When Ndara made the producers and the channel aware of her disgruntled spirit, the show was cancelled. This saw an infuriated Ndara gather actors and having a hugely attended meeting at the renowned Market Theater in Johannesburg in October 2019. The delegation was addressed by veteran actor, Doctor John Kani. “unlike musicians, actors have never enjoyed a statutory right to performance royalties. Residual earnings are of two kinds: repeat broadcast fees, for any further commercial exploitation fees, linked to sales of the program to other broadcasters”²⁹⁷. These injustices are also behind the firing of sixteen former *Generations* actors in 2014, who demanded performance royalties as the soap opera streamed as far as Jamaica, and were not receiving performance royalties. The actors were fired on the soap opera, and a new version of the show was created, now known as *Generations: The Legacy*. “For the first time in the country’s history, a statutory right for actors to receive a performer’s royalty is contained in pending legislations. The performer’s protection amendment bill and its companion copyright amendment bill sit on the president’s desk awaiting his signature”²⁹⁸. The South African film and television industry is said to be the worst run industry in the continent,

Never mind the rest of the world, South African actors are lagging behind the rest of the continent when it comes to recognition of rights. In Kenya, the collective management operation PRisk employs sophisticated technology to track, collect and distribute royalties generated globally for local actors. Morocco, work in a regulated environment. Their performers union SMPAD recently spearheaded the adoption of legislation that establishes a system of social protection for actors. Zimbabwe was the most recent African country to the Beijing Treaty and Audiovisual Performance which aims to secure the economic moral rights for actors worldwide. Zimbabwe joined Tunisia, Nigeria, Mali and Botswana in adopting the treaty. South Africa has yet to add its signature

The racism and patriarchy in the South African Film and television industry has birthed the major inequality in the industry. The inequality has resulted in both a gender and racial pool

²⁹⁶ F. Ramsay, ‘South Africa’s TV actors have every reason to demand a better deal’, *Wits News*, 28 November 2019, <https://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/opinion/2019/2019-10/south-africas-tv-actors-have-every-reason-to-demand-a-better-deal.html>, accessed: 24/09/2021

²⁹⁷F. Ramsay, ‘South Africa’s TV actors have every reason to demand a better deal’, *Wits News*, 28 November 2019, <https://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/opinion/2019/2019-10/south-africas-tv-actors-have-every-reason-to-demand-a-better-deal.html>, accessed: 24/09/2021

²⁹⁸ F. Ramsay, ‘South Africa’s TV actors have every reason to demand a better deal’, *Wits News*, 28 November 2019, <https://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/opinion/2019/2019-10/south-africas-tv-actors-have-every-reason-to-demand-a-better-deal.html>, accessed: 24/09/2021

of divisions. While it is evident that the South African television and film industry has many challenges, and actors are subjected to bad pay and exploitation, being a female in the industry bears additional challenges. One of those challenges is the issue of maternal leave. Performers in South Africa are often under freelancer contracts, this means that if they do not work, they do not get paid. With many hopefuls idling to have a foot in the door, this makes freelancers vulnerable to the idea that they may be easily replaced. Seasoned actress, Manaka Ranaka has opened up in several radio, magazine and television interviews about being fired on her first job, playing Nandipha Matabane on South Africa's discontinued soap opera, which once was a very popular television show, *Isidingo* on SABC 3 (now S3).

Ranaka claims at first her agent and television producers were fine with her pregnancy, there was even a couch and a water tank in the studio for her use, in attempts to make her more comfortable on set. However, Ranaka claims while reporting for work one day, she found actress, Hlubi Mboya dressed in similar wardrobe, receiving instructions from the director and Ranaka was shown the door. The role went to be played by Mboya until the discontinuation of the soap opera. Ranaka claims the storyline she suggested for her character to enhance her character's story arch and accommodate her pregnancy was given to Mboya to execute²⁹⁹. Furthermore, she revealed the producers gave her an ultimatum to abort her baby, to which she refused. Both her intellectual property and constitutional rights were taken from her. Ranaka is not the only media personality who has received scrutiny and hardships for falling pregnant. Penny Lebyane, a seasoned radio and television presenter spoke about being one of the first few female radio pioneers in South Africa, and how she was given a difficult time by radio management amidst her pregnancy. "Simple demands like asking for a bigger dressing room at an award show, to accommodate my baby and nanny was always an issue. They were comparing me to my male counterparts, who don't have the same challenges as I, a woman"³⁰⁰.

²⁹⁹ M. Mazibuko, 'Manaka Ranaka on being fired for refusing to abort her baby: "I didn't allow it to affect me"', *News24*, 5 November 2020, <https://www.all4women.co.za/1497744/entertainment/tv/manaka-ranaka-claims-isidingo-fired-her-after-falling-pregnant/amp>, accessed: 19/01/2022

³⁰⁰ *YouTube*, <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=YImaqvLoi78>, accessed: 19/01/2022

3.3 THE RAPE, SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND PREDATORY CULTURE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FILM AND TELEVISION INDUSTRY

The legacy of rape and sexual harassment stemmed as a result of few opportunities controlled by men. Unfortunately black performers were at a disadvantage because television broadcast executives were white men, whose agenda was not to enhance black excellence or even protect black misfortunes on television sets. This left women stranded and unattended when met with unwanted sexual gestures and invites. This planted seeds of silence and isolation among women, particularly black female actors as they knew the competition was high, the demand was too, and that they could be easily ‘replaced’ at any given point. Gradually the legacy of sexual harassment on television and film sets continued to live and breathe in South Africa.

The silence of victims did not assist the situation as it gave male predators validation that what they were doing to vulnerable and gullible women was alright. Some women continued to have sexual relations with television executives, denying their morale and avoiding the discomfort this brought, in aims to succeed in the television and film industry. The cycle continued, and men with less control but with positions still, continued to violate women, particularly the vulnerable and gullible female extras. A notable example is the story of renowned actress, Leleti Khumalo who headlined the iconic *Sarafna!* by legendary theatre maker, Mbongeni Ngema. Though their relationship is relayed to have been consensual, it cannot be ignored that Khumalo was fifteen years younger than Ngema when the relationship emerged. Ngema was a married man, powerful and connected in the theatre, television, and music and film industry in South Africa and abroad. “I kind of had a problem with that, I even asked him and he still wanted to make me his wife”³⁰¹.

Khumalo details a fourteen years of a miserable married life, she felt trapped and was not allowed to take on any projects by Ngema, who she felt was controlling and jealous of her. “I wasn’t living a normal life. I wasn’t allowed to go anywhere I wanted t [...] I wanted to do different plays but it wasn’t possible. I don’t know if I could say he was jealous of me, I don’t

³⁰¹ L Khumalo, www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/news/2016-10-25-leleti-khumalo-opens-about-her-abusive-marriage-to-mbongeni-ngema-i-wanted-out/, accessed: 26/09/2021

know”³⁰². Khumalo is said to have begun her affair with Ngema while married to his former wife, Xoliswa Nduneni-Ngema, who Khumalo claims tried to stop the wedding on her wedding day with Ngema. “On the day of the wedding, the wife tried to stop the ceremony [...] My family was furious, they were asking me why I am doing this because he is married”³⁰³. *The Sunday Times* describes Ngema as more than a two dimensional villain, “Ngema is more than a two dimensional villain. His brilliance is celebrated, before it dims amid his abuse of power involving his wife and young cast members”³⁰⁴.

Nduneni-Ngema details the abuse he suffered in the hands of Ngema throughout her marriage with him, in her tell-all book; in which she details how she experienced immense physical, emotional and sexual abuse through Ngema’s actions. She details how Ngema often humiliated her with affairs with cast members, and how she was beaten to a pulp in Lagos, Nigeria as *Sarafina!* was due to perform as part of a tour to Nigeria. One hundred and fifty cast members formed part of the touring cast ensemble. “Mbongeni grabbed my body around my hips. Lifting me off the floor, pushing me against the windows [...] I screamed. Help! I screamed again and again. Continuously. Nobody came”³⁰⁵. Ndudeni-Ngema details how that physical violation ended in a sexual violation as Ngema ended the ordeal with rape³⁰⁶. Nduneni-Ngema claims her physical, emotional and sexual violation experiences in the hands of Ngema needed her to act fast and decisively or she would land up in a coffin. “I had to snap out of it. No-one was going to do it on my behalf. I had to do it myself. Otherwise this man was going to kill me. I had to act fast”³⁰⁷. When speaking on the inspiration of her tell-all book, Nduneni-Ngema states that there have been so many young women who have been sexually victimized, subjected to horrendous sexual acts at the hands of ‘powerful’ men in the television and film industry,

³⁰² L Khumalo, www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/news/2016-10-25-leleti-khumalo-opens-about-her-abusive-marriage-to-mbongeni-ngema-i-wanted-out/, accessed: 26/09/2021

³⁰³ X Nduneni-Ngema, www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/entertainment/2020-08-19-mbongeni-ngema-ex-wife-regrets-assaulting-leleti-khumalo/, accessed: 28/09/2021

³⁰⁴ X Nduneni-Ngema, www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/entertainment/2020-08-19-mbongeni-ngema-ex-wife-regrets-assaulting-leleti-khumalo/, accessed: 28/09/2021

³⁰⁵ X Nduneni-Ngema, www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/entertainment/2020-08-19-mbongeni-ngema-ex-wife-regrets-assaulting-leleti-khumalo/, accessed: 28/09/2021

³⁰⁶ X Nduneni-Ngema, www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/entertainment/2020-08-19-mbongeni-ngema-ex-wife-regrets-assaulting-leleti-khumalo/, accessed: 28/09/2021

³⁰⁷ X Nduneni-Ngema, www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/entertainment/2020-08-19-mbongeni-ngema-ex-wife-regrets-assaulting-leleti-khumalo/, accessed: 28/09/2021

“I am telling my story now in an attempt to break the silence, to break this vicious circle which breeds an environment fertile for the abuse of young innocent women who are trying to make an earnest and honest living in the artistic industry. The industry does not have to be sexually toxic. It is the spirits of these women which continue to inspire me, to give me courage to go on and push open the doors that have long been closed on us”³⁰⁸

Highly acclaimed theatre creator, turned television director and producer, the late Gibson Kente who undoubtedly was the ‘Shakespeare’ of the South African black townships, is also not left unexcused for having sexual relations with talent. Many said to be much younger than he, in fact, at a media briefing he held when disclosing his HIV status, with legendary jazz musicians Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela by his side, he said “when I was diagnosed with HIV, I was not surprised. I have been a naughty boy and I knew it could happen to me”³⁰⁹.

Journalist, Liz McGregor writes, “In his heyday, Kente lived a glamorous, fast-paced life. He drove fancy cars, partied energetically and had numerous girlfriends, some decades younger than himself”³¹⁰. The startling revelation Kente renders of being ‘a naughty boy’ gives an impression that often than not, sexual predators in the television and film industry are well aware of their predatory, but merely take chances because they can, justified by their status and power in the industry. Theatre was the peak of acting excellence during the Apartheid era, being in a Gibson Kente production was a sheer honor and achievement. The yearning desire of young and naïve women, full of youth and hunger to escape the bleakness of the township were often the reasons of why young women flocked Kente’s garage where he often held acting and music classes.

Halls were packed to full capacity at both his auditions and performances, young men and women wanted to see themselves as big super stars that would one day escape the pains of their realities and poverty. The fame of the likes of Kente and Ngema heightened as television was introduced, that became the epitome of ultimate success. Many veteran black performers in South Africa such as the late Mary Twala, Sello Maake ka-Ncube and others were products of theatre legends such as Kente. When young black women approached these powerful men,

³⁰⁸ X Nduneni-Ngema, www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/entertainment/2020-08-19-mbongeni-ngema-ex-wife-regrets-assaulting-leleti-khumalo/, accessed: 28/09/2021

³⁰⁹ G Kente, amp.theguardian.com/news/2004/nov/10/guardianobituaries.southafrica, accessed: 29/09/2021

³¹⁰ L McGregor, amp.theguardian.com/news/2004/nov/10/guardianobituaries.southafrica, accessed: 29/09/2021

they more often than not subjected themselves to unwanted sexual advances from these influential male producers to attain screen time. Many were alleged to be impregnated by unnamed producers, and denied opportunities they were promised as they were often viewed as ‘used goods’, and so the predatory-prey cycle continued. This resulted to speaking no truth to power, resulting to no accountability and so the norm that SWIFT identified, became prevalent in the South African film and television industry.

3.4 THE LACK OF SAFETY FOR FEMALE ACTORS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FILM AND TELEVISION INDUSTRY

South African television and film budgets are said to be hugely ambitious according to television and film producers, considering that channels that commission productions have many expectations on the final outcome of the product/content. This often sees producers attempt to cut down on production expenditure and not prioritize certain aspects of production budgets. Security and security personnel is one of the most vital components of production, because talent, crew and equipment all need protection from a very unsafe South Africa. Yet sadly, this component is often left out in production budgets/or included but not allocated by the producers to the departments, in ways to make profit for themselves. This often leaves female personnel and actress’s feeling unsafe and compromised.

In the late 1990’s, five years post the first democratic elections, a disastrous event occurred in the television and film industry. The royalty of South African television soap opera, *Generations* had a safety attack on one of their female actors, Florence Masebe. Masebe played the role of ‘Thembi Moyo’ in the world-class production that heightened the level of black excellence and prestige in South Africa in the 1990s. An alleged syndicate was said to be orchestrated to target a few of the actors on the production. “A man claiming to having been hired to kill cast members of the popular soap opera, *Generations* has turned himself in to the police. ‘The alleged man was said to have been offered R70 000, a townhouse and a car if he kills several *Generations* actors”³¹¹.

³¹¹ A Cooper, S. Scott and I. Suder, ‘Man offered cash to kill soap stars’, 3 September 1999, IOL News, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/man-offered-cash-to-kill-soap-stars-11483>, accessed:30/09/2021

Masebe, who was gunned down outside her then home in prestigious Johannesburg suburb, Sandton on August 18, 1999. “Masebe, apparently noticed a Jetta car following her for two days before the shooting. It was alleged that the same car tried to run her off the road a day before the attack”³¹². The police was said to count up twenty six bullet holes in her car, “the glamorous actress and SABC 2 presenter had a series of operations to remove bullets and repair wounds, after her attacker fired between six and eight rounds at her car outside her Bramley Park home in Sandton”³¹³.

Masebe was wounded in the arms and legs, and to this very day can be seen with scarring on her hands from the shooting. Other actors alleged to be on the hit list were renowned actress, presenter and producer, Carol Mogale, now Carol Bouwer³¹⁴. The South African nation was rattled, anxieties ran high for most women in South Africa, and this saw former president Nelson Mandela pen a letter of comfort to Masebe on what she had experienced. Masebe was taken away from the hospital she was operated in to a secret location of safety; “After a Sunday newspaper published the name of the hospital where she was recovering, she was moved to a secret location for fear that the gunman would attack again”³¹⁵. One would have imagined that such an event would have heightened security personnel on television and film sets across South Africa, particularly on *Generations*; this unfortunately was not the case as veteran actress and a lead on the soap opera at the time, Pamela Nomvete, who played the villain, ‘Ntsiki Lukhele’ had a stalker make unwanted advances and calls to her, shortly before Masebe’s incident and even after,

“Not long after Florence’s shooting there was a young man that was sort of communicating with me. I would get these texts and then he would call me. I remember saying, ‘you know what? I don’t know what this is about or how you got my number but leave me alone. I was in studio one day and they were doing my make-up and I heard this voice, and I thought, ‘that’s familiar’. So I turned to look and he spoke again and then came up to me and spoke to me. I thought, ‘Oh my word’. So I

³¹²A Cooper, S. Scott and I. Suder, ‘Man offered cash to kill soap stars’, 3 September 1999, IOL News, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/man-offered-cash-to-kill-soap-stars-11483>, accessed:30/09/2021

³¹³ A Cooper, S. Scott and I. Suder, ‘Man offered cash to kill soap stars’, 3 September 1999, IOL News, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/man-offered-cash-to-kill-soap-stars-11483>, accessed:30/09/2021

³¹⁴ A Cooper, S. Scott and I. Suder, ‘Man offered cash to kill soap stars’, 3 September 1999, *IOL News*, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/man-offered-cash-to-kill-soap-stars-11483>, accessed:30/09/2021

³¹⁵ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/man-offered-cash-to-kill-soap-stars-11483>, accessed:30/09/2021

called the make-up lady and said ‘please get security. This man has been stalking me and I can’t believe he was in the make-up room’³¹⁶

Nomvete details the traumatic experience and feeling unsafe at work, and how when she brought up the issue with Generations management was ignored. When Masebe’s incident occurred, she remembers how she had warned management that there were major security risks on set. She also became vocal about management offering cast private security. It then raises the question, why was security for actors, particularly female actors not a priority? Furthermore, how was information of female actors not safe guarded? How was Masebe’s personal home address privy to potential killers? And how was Nomvete’s personal phone number at the disposal of a stalker? And incidentally both events are work linked. Seasoned and celebrated actress, Bonnie Mbuli details in her memoir, *Eye bags and dimples* on how she was instructed to fall from a high building with no proper security measures to safeguard her. When she refused to do the scene she was seen as impossible and difficult, which is often the tune when women put their foot down in the South African film and television industry. They are silenced, intimidated and called ‘dramatic’ or ‘divas’. The previous chapter of this study details how Rosie Motene felt unsafe with doing a sexual scene on the discontinued telenovela, *Zabalaza* and how the discontinuation of the show was pinned on her for daring to speak up. Seasoned actresses, Florence Masebe, Nokuthula Ledwala and Bonnie Mbuli are additional female performers who have spoken up about feeling unsafe and how women who speak truth to power are often marginalized, silenced and given labels.

“The sad part about speaking out, according to Masebe, would be that the actresses would be attacked. We’d ask what they did to encourage it. We’d ask if it was an affair gone sour. We’d violate them again. The most vulnerable to men on set were the extras. They are preyed on by all. Directors, crew and actors”³¹⁷.

Nokuthula Ledwaba shared how after reporting a male actor on a television set resulted in her being called a ‘diva’,

³¹⁶ ‘Yikes! Pamela Nomvete had one of the creepiest stalkers around!’, *Tshisa Live*, 18 May 2017, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/tshisa-live/tshisa-live/2017-05-08-yikes-pamela-nomvete-had-one-of-the-creepiest-stalkers-around/>, accessed: 30/09/2021

³¹⁷ F Masebe, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news/1687893/flo-masebe-bonnie-mbuli-speak-on-sexual-harassment-of-sa-female-actors/, accessed: 01/10/2021

“Broersap stand together, those who speak up would end up not working, and given the difficult to work with tag [...] These men destroy careers in a flash when an actress refuses their advances. Actresses disappear. Case closed”³¹⁸.

Her particular incident resulted in her being told she was difficult to work with because the male actor would constantly harass her when no one was watching.

“I had reported him on many occasions, and nobody listened. I got fed up. I asked to be written out of the show. They thought I was kidding. I simply refused to work. They got other actors to talk me out of my madness. Stood my ground. I was ready to march to the broadcaster. I was feeling unsafe in our scenes together. He found opportunity in them. Poking, touching, brushing”³¹⁹

Ledwaba adds that a female director she worked with had the same issue with the said actor, after turning him down several times, he would disrespect her. Ledwaba has now taken it upon herself to protect young and emerging actresses in the South African film and television industry, “We owe it to women and girls everywhere, in all industries and spaces, to stand up for one another. Kubi [it’s bad]”³²⁰. Bonnie Mbuli also echoed the sentiments of her fellow colleagues, “Women are always torn between fighting harassment or furthering their careers”³²¹. She further details how she too was called names for standing up for herself,

“I was called a troublemaker, he called me all sorts of names and the production squashed it by vilifying, curtain closed! [...] The women denied it ever happening, I was hung out to dry, and they told the papers I was a prima donna and difficult to work with”³²².

Mbuli believes it is time women in the television and film industry spoke out against these men who preyed on women, “When I was at *Backstage*, there was a man on set who would sexually harass the women, I spoke up and reported him, and he denied it”³²³. Amidst the #MeToo emergence in South Africa, in the first quarter of 2018, a female extra on the telenovela, *Imbewu* took to Facebook to detail her traumatic experience of being violated, and sexually harassed by

³¹⁸ N Ledwaba, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news/1687893/flo-masebe-bonnie-mbuli-speak-on-sexual-harassment-of-sa-female-actors/, accessed: 01/10/2021

³¹⁹ N Ledwaba, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news/1687893/flo-masebe-bonnie-mbuli-speak-on-sexual-harassment-of-sa-female-actors/, accessed: 01/10/2021

³²⁰ N Ledwaba, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news/1687893/flo-masebe-bonnie-mbuli-speak-on-sexual-harassment-of-sa-female-actors/, accessed: 01/10/2021

³²¹ B Mbuli, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news/1687893/flo-masebe-bonnie-mbuli-speak-on-sexual-harassment-of-sa-female-actors/, accessed: 01/10/2021

³²² B Mbuli, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news/1687893/flo-masebe-bonnie-mbuli-speak-on-sexual-harassment-of-sa-female-actors/, accessed: 01/10/2021

³²³ B Mbuli, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news/1687893/flo-masebe-bonnie-mbuli-speak-on-sexual-harassment-of-sa-female-actors/, accessed: 01/10/2021

male crew members on the set. “You people treat extras like nobodies. I will make sure I gather up a team of extras and boycott *Imbewu* and get the media involved too. The way extras are treated there is disgusting! Those male crew members are perverts as well”³²⁴. The disgruntled extra tagged the director, Duma Ka Ndlovu.

She further stated that she felt ‘violated and unsafe’, after a male crew member allegedly swore at her, she claims this happened after she mistakenly banged a door, “when the shoot began they called me in to be an extra for the scene. The men there (part of the crew I think’ kept pointing at my legs and laughing. I felt so uncomfortable.... As if there was something wrong with me”³²⁵. This incident was a topic of much discussion social media in April 2018, adding to the noise around unsafety of women in the South African film television industry.

Ziyanda Mngomezulu, E-TV’s general manager, the broadcaster that airs the program, said they were aware of the allegations and as a channel take such allegations very seriously. “The moment the channel became aware of this allegation, it initiated an investigation with the production company of *Imbewu: The Seed*. ”³²⁶.

The findings of the investigation were unavailable to the public nor was there ever any other additional communique to the media and the general public on steps taken amidst the allegations. A Twitter user @LumkoJohnson tweeted after the incident, “it’s really common. Crew and cast take their chances with extras. Worked on a set where an actor had sex with an extra on one of the studio beds- it was an open secret no one addressed”³²⁷. These discussions on social media sparked an outrage amongst social media users, which in turn compelled those in senior positions to react and respond. It is highly likely that if the extra on *Imbewu*

³²⁴ K. Thakurdin, ‘e.tv drama *Imbewu* rocked by sexual misconduct allegations’, 5 April 2018, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/tshisa-live/2018-04-05-etv-drama-imbewu-rocked-by-sexual-misconduct-allegations/>, accessed: 02/10/2021

³²⁵ K. Thakurdin, ‘e.tv drama *Imbewu* rocked by sexual misconduct allegations’, 5 April 2018, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/tshisa-live/2018-04-05-etv-drama-imbewu-rocked-by-sexual-misconduct-allegations/>, accessed: 02/10/2021

³²⁶ K. Thakurdin, ‘e.tv drama *Imbewu* rocked by sexual misconduct allegations’, 5 April 2018, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/tshisa-live/2018-04-05-etv-drama-imbewu-rocked-by-sexual-misconduct-allegations/>, accessed: 02/10/2021

³²⁷ K. Thakurdin, ‘e.tv drama *Imbewu* rocked by sexual misconduct allegations’, 5 April 2018, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/tshisa-live/2018-04-05-etv-drama-imbewu-rocked-by-sexual-misconduct-allegations/>, accessed: 02/10/2021

had not utilized social media platforms, and tagged Ka Ndlovu, her ordeal would have added to many undocumented and unattended cases of sexual violations on television sets.

In July 2020, actress, Lorraine Moropa went public about alleged sexual harassment experienced on the set of SABC 2 telenovela, *Lithapo* in the hands of veteran actor, Mangaliso Ngema. Moropa who played the role of Pabi on the telenovela, detailed how she was sexually harassed on set. She took to her Instagram profile to speak about her ordeal, “Being constantly sexually harassed by a male senior at a workplace cannot and should not be tolerated [...] he would be grabbing his genitals on set while looking at your ass and laugh off”³²⁸. Furthermore, Moropa detailed how she would be subjected to such violations in front of other cast and crew members, “[...] yes my cases have always been in the presence of my colleagues. That to me is worse than slap in the face”³²⁹. Moropa lamented her pain of being sexualized by a grown man who is old enough to be her father, in fact, his daughter is her age, “This is a father, who also happens to speak highly of their daughter whom by the way, is practically my age and also in the industry”³³⁰. Moropa called out male actors, producers and directors.

What happens to our dignity as people in the industry if we allow such behavior? I for one am sick and tired. IT ENDS HERE AND NOW FOR ME!!!! I did not sleep my way into any role and I refuse for my process to get into this industry and cement my name just for it to be tainted by someone who has zero self-control or respect for us as professionals in the industry. ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!”

Moropa was met with support from fellow cast member and actress, Altovise Lawrence who commented on the Instagram post, “I stand in solidarity with @lorrainemoropa who has had the courage to come out and say that she has been sexually harassed by an actor on set. The same man that sexually harassed her, has sexually harassed me too on the very same set”³³¹. Lawrence continued to detail how the actor would undress her with his eyes and make sexually inappropriate comments towards her,

“He told me that I’m sexy. He asked me how far down my tattoos go. He has undressed me with his eyes. He offered to furnish my apartment in exchange with sex.

³²⁸ L Moropa, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news-2325629/sa-actors-come-out-in-support-of-lithapo-actress-after-sexual-misconduct-allegations/, accessed: 28/09/2021

³²⁹ L Moropa, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news-2325629/sa-actors-come-out-in-support-of-lithapo-actress-after-sexual-misconduct-allegations/, accessed: 28/09/2021

³³⁰ L Moropa, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news-2325629/sa-actors-come-out-in-support-of-lithapo-actress-after-sexual-misconduct-allegations/, accessed: 28/09/2021

³³¹ A Lawrence, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news-2325629/sa-actors-come-out-in-support-of-lithapo-actress-after-sexual-misconduct-allegations/, accessed: 28/09/2021

He has bitten his lips when I've exited the change-rooms. He has spoken about how great my ass looks in wardrobe (pencil skirt in this instance); loud enough for cast & crew to hear"³³².

Lawrence further explained how she badly wanted to inform production about the ordeals but did not want to be accused of halting production, which would cause interruptions and tensions on set. Seasoned actress, Masasa Mbangeni also came to the support of Moropa, "The DMs I am getting are making me ill. Kantu sinenzeni (what did we do to you for you to hurt us like this). We will deal with you one by one Stru!"³³³.

In November 2020, SWIFT praised the much loved telenovela, *The Queen* on Multi Choice's television channel, Mzansi Magic and its producers, Ferguson Films for cooperating in a SWIFT safety on sets campaign,

We thank the cast and crew of the Queen for opening their minds and hearts and took the pledge to play their role in ending harassment and discrimination in the entertainment industry. The leadership of Ferguson Films is in full support of the sexual harassment impact workshop held on the set of *The Queen*³³⁴

And even though this was a milestone in the television and film industry, a month later, it was alleged that a male actor on the telenovela was to have his character written off the show for sexual harassment and predatory towards female colleagues, "Mzansi Magic hit telenovela *The Queen* will be writing off a male character because of his alleged inappropriate advances on his female colleagues. The said character's identity has not yet been revealed as yet but will be in due time"³³⁵. Actress, Mandisa Nduna detailed how she too has been sexually violated by directors, actors and even funders of television/film shows, "I can tell you it's not about how we dress on set or if we're even interested in men at all. Predators don't care. I've been harassed by directors, actors and even funders! Groped, cornered, you name it. You're threatened with blacklisting if you make noise"³³⁶. The nonchalance taken by television executives as far as

³³² A Lawrence, amp.citizen.co.za/entertainment/celebrity-news-2325629/sa-actors-come-out-in-support-of-lithapo-actress-after-sexual-misconduct-allegations/, accessed: 28/09/2021

³³³ M Mbangeni, www.sundayworld.co.za/news/lithapo-actress-accuses-senior-male-colleauge-of-sexual-harassment/, accessed: 29/09/2021

³³⁴ M Seemela, 'The Fergusons take a stand against sexual harassment on set', 11 November 2020, www.timeslive.co.za/amp/tshisa-live/tshisa-live/2020-11-11-the-fergusons-take-a-stand-against-sexual-harassment-on-set/, accessed on: 20/01/2022

³³⁵ <https://zalebs.com/drama/the-queen-mzansi-to-write-off-a-male-character>, accessed: 30/09/2021

³³⁶ C Kekana, 'Mandisa Nduna on sexual harassment on set: I've been groped, cornered, you name it!', 27 July 2020, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/amp/tshisa-live/tshisa-live/2020-07-27-mandisa-nduna-on-sexual-harassment-on-set-ive-been-groped-cornered-you-name-it/>, accessed on: 20/01/2022

sexual harassment is concerned can be linked as reasons behind the rape and sexual harassment culture remaining a constant norm.

Television and film director, Mandla Ngcongwane, popularly known as ‘Mandla N’ came into scrutiny as fears were expressed by the media on his decision to cast South African actor and musician, ‘Sjava’ who came under fire after he allegedly committed an act of rape against musician, ‘Lady Zamar’ in 2019/20. Ngcongwane vehemently defended Sjava who was fired from SABC soap opera, *Uzalo* amidst the rape allegations. “Sjava made headlines amid social media reports that his role on popular SABC 1 soapie *Uzalo* had been terminated because of a sexual assault case against him. *City press* added that the SABC had allegedly told *Uzalo*’s executive’s producers that they had made a mistake for casting him”³³⁷. Ngcongwane dismissed the fears expressed by the media towards the casting of Sjava on the Mzansi Magic Sunday night drama, *eHostele* stating that Sjava is talented and that he is not worried that fans may boycott the show,

Boycotting Sjava? How about the other actors. How about the other artists, how about everyone else? You know what I mean? So, for me, that’s how I look at it. “I’m not scared at the possibility of a boycott, as what I think is it will actually attract people, because his case is pretty much done now. So Must we shun him? Must we take him out? It’s very challenging, unless he was found guilty and taken to prison, then that would’ve been a different story. Sjava has always been such an amazing actor, I’ve worked with him musically as well. I’ve admired his work when it comes to that, so we brought him to shake things up

For Ngcongwane, it was of more paramount importance to “shake things up” for the sake of television ratings, rather than justice fully taking its course. Though the case was eventually thrown out by the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), it still cannot be nullified as an incident that did not allegedly occur. This mindset can be largely attested to the continuation of sexual harassment within the television and film industry, sexual harassment for the longest time has been ignored, shunned and undealt with. The lack of prioritization of intimacy coaches and coordinators have largely placed female performers in very opportunistic and gullible situations as they are able to navigate and protect the sexual scenes in ways that do not affect the actor. Motene’s case on *Zabalaza* is a classic example of how an intimacy coach

³³⁷ M. Seemela, ‘Mandla N not fazed by possible ‘eHostela’ boycott over Sjava role, 31 December 2021, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/amp/tshisa-live/tshisa-live/2020-12-31-mandla-n-not-fazed-by-possible-ehostela-boycott-over-sjava-role/>, accessed: 01/11/2021

could have served as protection from discomfort and friction. “It has taken years for intimacy coordinators to be recognized as equals with stunt coordinators, animal wranglers and child wranglers, which are required by law on South African film and television sets”³³⁸.

One of the key critical points raised by Thandi Davids, IPO co-chair, is the lack of priority bestowed on intimacy coordinators on the film and television budgets, and because of this, IPO has had to issue check lists to producers as a means to alert them of things to be cognisant of when it comes to rape and sex scenes in aims at protecting actors, and safe guarding them from unwanted sexual advances and trauma,

“But not all producers can afford an intimacy coordinator, so what we have done is create what we call a producers’ checklist, which indicates what to look out for and to be aware of and cognisant of as we go into creating intimate scenes on set. With the understanding that it is going to take us a number of years before these protocols, from a cost perspective, will be in every budget that producers create”³³⁹

Davids claims that gradually change is coming as the organization is now working with commissioning editors of broadcasters. Furthermore, South African actress and writer Vicki Bawcombe explains that the change has made new demands on television and film writers,

“Over the years we have been comfortable just saying ‘cut to sex’ or ‘cut to rape’, and leaving it to the actors and directors to figure how to do it. But the story doesn’t go on pause while these extreme moments are happening. In fact, those moments reveal aspects of the storytelling that we need to take responsibility for”³⁴⁰.

Khayelihle Dom Gumede asserts that with the backdrop of Gender Based Violence in South Africa, male producers, directors and actors must understand that they possess power, and that is the premise from which they should operate when they walk onto the set, “the responsibility is really how I read and understand myself as a man, because that has a power to it that is exceptionally clear”³⁴¹. Therein lies the problem, the power dynamic. If a male television and film practitioner believes they have some form of power, it may transcend to the entitlement over

³³⁸ M. Emmert, ‘Stories’, All Africa, ‘South Africa: Making Intimacy Safe On Set’, 7 June 2021, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202106090887.html>, accessed: 30/10/2021

³³⁹ M. Emmert, ‘Stories’, All Africa, ‘South Africa: Making Intimacy Safe On Set’, 7 June 2021, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202106090887.html>, accessed: 30/10/2021

³⁴⁰ M. Emmert, ‘Stories’, All Africa, ‘South Africa: Making Intimacy Safe On Set’, 7 June 2021, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202106090887.html>, accessed: 30/10/2021

³⁴¹ M. Emmert, ‘Stories’, All Africa, ‘South Africa: Making Intimacy Safe On Set’, 7 June 2021, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202106090887.html>, accessed: 30/10/2021

female bodies, and the dominance that is informed by the alleged can be interpreted as the hindrance that the television and film industry currently experiences.

Director, Sechaba Morojele asserts that time is up for sexual predatory in the South African television and film industry. “Time is up in the patriarchal world that we live in. If any actor makes any kind of sexual advance to a woman now, they kicked off set. That could happen to directors as well. It will change the way that directors work. But producers must set the standard by finding the money to employ an intimacy coordinator”³⁴². Male actors who have been traumatized by playing a perpetrator of sexual violence, have also welcomed the protocols. Veteran actress, Nthathi Moshesh explained how fulfilling and benefiting it has been to have an intimacy coordinator on set as she plays the leading lady in the BET Africa telenovela, *Isono* which sees her character get involved in various sexual relations. “An actor has to ask for permission to come into your personal space and there is a lot of staring into each other’s eyes to establish the level of comfort you feel between one another, and from then on you shoot the scene. And then after the scene, the intimacy coordinator debriefs you, which is something that has never been done before in this country”³⁴³.

Actress, Tarryn Wyngaard worked with an intimacy coordinator in the Afrikaans coming-of-age film, *Pou* (Peacock). There were intimate scenes that included a girl kissing her best friend in a swimming pool,

“Issues around consent were important. Intimacy is a strange, strange thing. You think that kissing is hectic, or whatever, but sometimes just holding hands and giving someone permission to see you can be more intimate than having to do a stunt that very nuts-and-boltsy”³⁴⁴.

Wyngaard details how she once had an unpleasant incident on set once, where she was filming outside South Africa and was bullied by the producer to partake in a nudity scene that was not discussed prior to filming. She had no one, away from her agent and family. On *Pou* she details a different experience. The director was willing to have conversations about the intimacy and nudity scenes prior, the conversations were fruitful and liberating which put her ease. Wyngaard

³⁴² M. Emmert, ‘Stories’, All Africa, ‘South Africa: Making Intimacy Safe On Set’, 7 June 2021, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202106090887.html>, accessed: 30/10/2021

³⁴³ M. Emmert, ‘Stories’, All Africa, ‘South Africa: Making Intimacy Safe On Set’, 7 June 2021, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202106090887.html>, accessed: 30/10/2021

³⁴⁴ M. Emmert, ‘Stories’, All Africa, ‘South Africa: Making Intimacy Safe On Set’, 7 June 2021, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202106090887.html>, accessed: 30/10/2021

remains steadfast that the female body continues to receive unrealistic expectations in the South African film and television industry,

How does the female body have agency and also be protected at the same time? You want this female body to have an agency and be free and also to have its own artistry. How do you reconcile those different expectations from a woman's body in a film industry where all this harassment and bullshit is happening? The issue of agency, plus safety, plus creativity in this industry that can be so violent, it is like a hornet's nest³⁴⁵

Unwanted touching, groping and harassment can cause immense trauma and anxiety, the late Nomakula 'Kuli' Roberts, a seasoned journalist and television/radio personality described trauma in a television show she presented in 2016-2018, *Trending SA* on SABC 3, "when we are inappropriately touched, violated and groped, we freeze"³⁴⁶. The role of intimacy coordinators is a milestone in the South African film and television industry, it is able to combat potential traumas and attempts to dismantle the legacy of sexual harassment and the norm of sexual predators in the South African film and television industry. These strides can be linked to the conversations that emerged during and post #MeToo. The momentous strides can be attested to the use and work of digital/social media which began these conversations and continues to be its carriers.

³⁴⁵ M. Emmert, 'Stories', All Africa, 'South Africa: Making Intimacy Safe On Set', 7 June 2021, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202106090887.html>, accessed: 30/10/2021

³⁴⁶ K Roberts, 'Trending SA', SABC 3, 2018

PART II- INVESTIGATING THE IMPACT OF #METOO

3.5 CRITIQUE OF THE SABC SEXUAL HARASSMENT COMMISSION AND ITS WORK

Since the 1970s, the SABC has never engaged in its own commission until the emergence of #MeToo which began conversation in various entities. In 2016, the National Assembly (parliament) set up an ad-hoc committee on the SABC. The committee comprised of various political parties with seats in parliament, namely, the ANC, DA, EFF, UDM and many other political formations. The role of the Ad-hoc committee was to “inquire inter alia into the fitness of the SABC Board to discharge its duties as prescribed in the broadcasting act, No 4 of 1999 and any other applicable legislation”³⁴⁷. This came after numerous complaints emerged on the operations of the SABC board, from SABC staff and the management style and operations of the then former Chief Operations Officer (COO), Hlaudi Motsoeneng. The SABC newsroom staff in particular were disgruntled with the policing, political interference and erosion of power from the COO and board. The noise of the disgruntled SABC staff became louder during the 2015/16 #FeesMustFall student protests, and the decision from the SABC board to refrain from covering the student protests.

This saw eight SABC seasoned journalists become targets for refusing to comply with the directives from the board. Many received immense persecution and death threats. After a series of public hearings conducted by the Ad hoc committee, the SABC management was tasked to establish an independent commission that would look into political interference in the newsroom. According to former SABC group CEO, Nomsa Philiso, the SABC management took it upon themselves to establish an additional independent commission that would look into allegations of sexual harassment within the organization. Philiso claims that more and more rumors in SABC corridors were erupting on alleged sexual harassment taking place at the SABC, and due to this, the management unanimously decided to establish an inquest on the allegations. During the establishment of the sexual harassment commission, #MeToo had taken place a few months

³⁴⁷The Parliamentary Monitoring Group, ‘ATC170224: Final Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the SABC Board Inquiry into the fitness of the SABC Board’, 24 February 2017, [https:// www.parliament.gov.za](https://www.parliament.gov.za), accessed: 01/11/2021

earlier. The president summit on GBV had taken place a week before. The Ad hoc committee recommendations were independent from the SABC management's decision to hold an additional commission on sexual harassment.

Philiso was vague in her recollection on how the rumors and murmurs in the corridors on sexual harassment reached management, and any other triggers that prompted SABC management to act on their stance. What was clear however was it was issues within the SABC, and not necessarily because of an international or national outcry response to any hashtag. #MeToo had re-emerged in October 2017, and around March/April 2018, South African actresses were being vocal about the television and film sector, and the alleged perpetrators. It would be ambitious to assume that the hashtags were prompts to the SABC to establish a commission, but it is safe to conclude that the national outcry coincided with the realities of society and the SABC falls within the society, and was thus not exempt from the sexual harassment outcry. It was for this reason that the need arose to address the issues pertaining to sexual harassment within the corporation. The SABC was unable to assist, comment or clarify when contacted, on any issue pertaining to the commission and the sexual harassment report, as they claim it was for internal processes and was a sensitive matter. Thus, the analysis that will follow will be one sided and based solely on public information and records.

The commission was tasked to be independent and would conduct its work at a separate location. Furthermore, anonymity would be granted to whistleblowers and victims who asked to remain anonymous. Victims and whistleblowers were issued with an email address in which they could notify the commission in writing on the allegations. Alleged perpetrators would be called in to clear their names and assist the commission in addressing sexual harassment matters and allegations. Alleged perpetrators would not be summoned legally and would only appear voluntarily. Gender activists, Barbara Watson was assigned by the SABC management to chair the commission, and deputized by, Mfana Shoji. The commission began its work in June 2018³⁴⁸. The findings of the commission were communicated in a public press conference on November 6, 2018, at the SABC headquarters in Johannesburg, Auckland Park. Watson began her feedback by mapping up GBV in South Africa and placing it in context with the then recent

³⁴⁸ 'SABC releases findings of sexual harassment commission', YouTube, <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=P37zs1WbN18>, 6 November 2018, accessed: 21/01/2022

GBV summit held by the presidency a week before the SABC commission released its findings publicly. She further explained how sexual harassment was an attribute of GBV. She further explained that, unlike other forms of violence, sexual harassment has no medical prescription, it has no medication to heal a victim³⁴⁹.

She proceeded to address the issues of the sexual harassment commission by first stating that it was not a legal process, as such the commission was not able to issue legal summons or subpoenas. Watson accredited the lack of it not being a legal process as a heavy limitation on the work of the commission. Furthermore, she explained that the commission was investigating *Quid Pro Co* sexual harassment within the SABC. Watson explained that the report used pseudonyms and not actual names, in cases where there were whistleblowers. There was a portion of the report with actual names, and the prerogative would be on the SABC to further investigate or take further matters. Watson revealed that the report revealed a deep fear of speaking truth to power, misuse of trust and deceit.

Furthermore, Watson revealed some startling revelations, that a female employee said to have been sexually harassed by her superior, went on a secret holiday with the alleged perpetrator in Mauritius, the names were not released to the CEO as yet. She stated that no explanations were granted for this, and one wonders why? Another revelation was that although it was expected that the television division would be the cohort with more sexual harassment cases, it was actually radio that came forward with sexual harassment cases. The final revelation was that, there were no sexual harassment cases in the Western Cape, but all the other provinces came forward with cases.

Watson then handed over to her deputy, Mfana Shozi who came with an even more detailed account of findings of sexual harassment at the SABC. Shozi pointed out that there was no execution of the existing Human Resources (HR) policy, seniors at the SABC slid it under the carpet, when HR was made aware of sexual harassment, victims were told not to worry. Furthermore, victims were told that this was normal, and it was nothing new under the sun. This revelation saw a shocked and startled former Head of news at the SABC, Phatiswa Magopeni and an SABC executive seated next to her. Shozi described the SABC as a complete *fiasco* in

³⁴⁹ 'SABC releases findings of sexual harassment commission', YouTube, <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=P37zs1WbN18>, 6 November 2018, accessed: 21/01/2022

which he used a Zulu term, 'Ukhamacanca' to describe the chaos the SABC was in, according to the commission's findings. Shozi revealed that over and above sexual harassment cases, there was also a rape case at the SABC. Shozi emphasized the issue of patriarchy being extremely rife at the SABC, and how male bosses take advantage of junior female staff and use them as subordinates³⁵⁰.

He revealed that Lotus FM in particular, a SABC Durban based radio station, had high levels of patriarchy and sexual harassment cases. This was so much so that the commission specially moved from Johannesburg to Durban, to attend to the allegations. The station had employed mainly Indians, which the commission found high level of patriarchy among the Indian community and how male management assert their power on Indian junior females. The commission also found that leadership was lacking at the SABC, and when management has intervened in a sexual harassment case, the findings are only disclosed to the perpetrator and not the victim. Shozi made reference of a case in which management displayed patriarchal and unfair discretion; a male employee circulated nude pictures of an SABC female employee, and due to the reputational damage of this act, the woman was dismissed and not the man who circulated them, this commission found to be unfair. The commission found that 'special favors' were extremely eminent at the SABC. The relationship between the benefactor and the benefiter were placed in perspective. The issue of jobs versus money or sex was evident throughout the proceedings.

The fear of coming forward was another heavy drawback of the commission, some eventually found courage and took solace after researching the chairperson and deputy of the commission, established that they are not linked to the SABC, and came forward. The commission chairperson also revealed that no man came forward, since it was a gender commission, it was crucial to also allow men to come forward with any harassment allegation, as harassment isn't only applicable when it's done to women. The only victims that came forward were women³⁵¹.

The big question was why the SABC was once again giving life to protecting perpetrators? Why the identities of these alleged predators were once again shielded? Watson reiterated that the

³⁵⁰ 'SABC releases findings of sexual harassment commission', YouTube, <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=P37zs1WbN18>, 6 November 2018, accessed: 21/01/2022

³⁵¹ 'SABC releases findings of sexual harassment commission', YouTube, <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=P37zs1WbN18>, 6 November 2018, accessed: 21/01/2022

SABC commission on sexual harassment chose this discretion to protect the SABC from legal action, and that the SABC wanted to deal with the matter 'privately'. This once again aids to the 'sliding under the carpet' notion the SABC has been said to ascribe by. Furthermore, the fact that the SABC to date has not officially released the full report and findings, and not the summary, raises a brow on the intentions of the broadcaster. Sexual harassment according to the findings was a living disaster at the SABC and is revealed to be known by management, hence the need to establish the commission, yet it is still being safeguarded and protected. The SABC was also unwilling to engage in the follow-up questions of this study as they believed the matters of the commission were sensitive and private, which then raises another brow as to why the SABC has and continues to be secretive with regards to sexual harassment, though it is safe to assume that the safeguarding of the privacy of victims was paramount, it cannot be ignored that the report has not been published and that the SABC has not called a follow up press conference on steps taken amidst the report submission to its management.

The commission also found that an alleged perpetrator that was implicated in allegations was promoted during the work of the commission. The commission emphasized that HR failed dismally when it came to dealing with issues of sexual harassment. The commission recommended that the SABC must take action on alleged perpetrators who were called but refused to appear, or at the very least investigate them. The commission leaders began going into detail with some of the cases, without mentioning names.

In Bloemfontein, a woman was subjected to sexual touching and the perpetrator walking into her office with an erect penis and asking her to stroke it. When the victim expressed discomfort, he became hostile. The SABC was aware of this case and did nothing about it and justified it by saying because it was not formally reported, it could not be investigated.

A woman working at the SABC, channel Africa, would receive comments from a manager with sexual innuendos. He would offer to do her hair, buy/ rent her a flat, buy her a car and would take her out for lunch at *Bright Water Commons* in Johannesburg. He would also send her money occasionally. He began to be sexually inappropriate and made the victim feel very uncomfortable. The line manager of the alleged perpetrators was aware of this but turned a blind eye to it. He even allowed him to let the victim work late shifts together with him at night (which

was another revelation³⁵². Many perpetrators would assign their victims late night shifts so they could be alone with them at night in the office and offer lifts at night). When the perpetrator appeared before the commission, he seemed shocked and surprised and justified his actions by saying he and the victim were from the same country and he wanted to be a big brother and be friendly. When the commission inquired if his wife was aware, seeing that he was merely being a big brother, he strongly said “NO”.

After the perpetrator appeared at the commission, he reduced the victim’s working hours, thus resulting in her earning less as she was a freelancer. The line manager was once again aware but did not act. The Commission recommended that an investigation be made and perpetrator/enablers be charged. A number of the victims were students lured by prominent managers for sexual favors and have since become permanent. The commission strongly recommended that the SABC looks into this culture. Particularly in the Auckland Park offices where University of Witwatersrand and University of Johannesburg are close by, and where most of the victims are alumnis of. A woman had recently been employed at the SABC. Her manager was on leave when she commenced her duties. Upon his arrival, came into her office to greet her. He was overly warm and friendly and asked for a hug, he further complimented her hair and perfume and insisted to be called by first name. Gradually their encounters became more and more uncomfortable. There were long stares and forward advances from the perpetrator who would ask to feel the victim’s body. When she declined the advances, he would beg her and say, ‘Don’t do this. I won’t hurt you’.

The victim’s husband worked for HR and witnessed his distressed wife frequent HR to report these matters. The perpetrator grew angry after knowing the victim reported him and would email the victim gun pictures, and threats that he was once a member of the army. The victim could not take it anymore, she resigned. She took the matter to the Commission for Conciliation (CCMA) through her lawyer who seemed to be out of depth with the case, or as the commission suggested ‘sabotaged’ her and did not notify the SABC of the case. Upon the SABC hearing late about the case, they asked the CCMA to not condone the case and thus the case was thrown out.

³⁵² ‘SABC releases findings of sexual harassment commission’, YouTube, <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=P37zs1WbN18>, 6 November 2018, accessed: 21/01/2022

By this time, the victim's husband had also resigned at the SABC as he was traumatized by the entire experience of witnessing his wife being harassed, and as a result the couple filed for a divorce. One man's inability to self-control resulted in a broken family, where children were heavily affected. It also caused unemployment and irrevocable pain and hurt that has scarred an entire family. There was a case in which an alleged victim made submissions before the commission, she later withdrew her submission, and when it was investigated, the alleged perpetrator of the victim had promoted her into a more senior position. The commission made strong recommendations to the SABC to investigate this further.

The commission witnessed arrogant perpetrators when appearing before them, and often vehemently denied their allegations. Furthermore, many emphasized they were 'God fearing Christians' and married, thus the allegations against them held no weight as they possessed a good moral compass. The commission reported that there was no remorse displayed, except one alleged perpetrator who demanded to be charged if the allegations were so true. Shockingly, the commission found great resistance from unmentioned labor unions (which the commission never mentioned) who often than not attempted to sabotage the work of the commission. Unions were used by alleged perpetrators to shield them from appearing at the commission and were incredibly supportive of perpetrators. There were alleged victims that revealed that they had approached the unions for assistance but were met with nonchalance and no agency. The commission outlined that unions had sexual harassment policies but they were merely words on paper as they were not implemented. The commission also revealed that despite sexual harassment being detected by HR in some instances, no dismissal was evoked, but a mere "unprofessional conduct" was issued on the perpetrator.

The commission ruled that SABC HR and senior management colluded in cover-ups of sexual harassment. Furthermore, HR was at times unaware when appointments were made, this gave alleged predators/perpetrators a gap to employ staff for sexual favors. The commission revealed that the SABC is "like a brothel run by prostitutes"³⁵³. The commission revealed that only two freelancers appeared before the commission, the rest were/are permanent staff. *Lotus FM* as well as *Channel Africa* were the most affected by sexual harassment. The commission revealed that

³⁵³ M Shozi, South African Broadcasting Corporation, September 2018

HR was out-of-depth and that freelancers were privy to sexual advances as there was no adequate protection for them. Watson reiterated that there was a systematic problem at the SABC, and that needed urgent intervention to combat sexual harassment. Watson quoted veteran journalist, Vanessa Govender who worked as a journalist and news anchor at the SABC for years.

Govender coincidentally released a tell-all memoir at the time of the work of the commission, in which she revealed the name of her abuser, a Lotus FM jock and employee of the SABC who abused her in many painful ways. This Watson cites as another example of harassment happening at the SABC, for years Govender bared the pain and the hurt of being harassed and abused at the corridors of the SABC and nothing was done about it. Watson also implored the SABC management to seriously look into the cases at Lotus FM, as there were too many to ignore, furthermore they identified a lack of diversity at the station, a lack of diversity that did not represent a rainbow nation. The commission further announced that there were no allegations from the LGBTQI+ community. It finally made mention that the commission was not a witch hunt but rather a cleansing and repositioning of the SABC. The commission was open to permanent SABC staff, freelancers, former staff and vendors/suppliers. The commission's feedback session concluded with a Question and Answer session (Q&A) from the media on the report issued by the leaders of the commission.

Q: Nkateko Mabaso (Daily Maverick)- WAS THE COMMISSION OPEN TO THE NEWLY RETRENCHED STAFF AT THE SABC? HOW WILL THAT AFFECT THEIR CASES?

A: Most of the staff who came forward had already left the SABC. This has not affected the cases of the commission

Q: PHENYO DLAMINI (Sowetan) - WAS THERE COMMUNIQUE FROM SABC MANAGEMENT COMPELLING THEM TO APPEAR AT THE COMMISSION

Though the question was misunderstood at first, Watson proceeded to say yes, there was a press statement issued to all staff. Dlamini was not satisfied with that response, and further explained that at his place of work, if there would be an inquest of this nature, an official communique would be issued to all staff, formally detailing the plans and objectives of the commission and

further encouraging/compelling those implicated to appear, Watson proceeded to respond after clarity

A: NO. There was no communique of that nature

A startled media presence shook its head. How could anyone possibly cooperate in the proceedings if there was nothing that officially instructed them to do so? One further wonders if the SABC management was truly pro this ‘clean-up’ operation or was it a mere PR (Public Relations) exercise

Q: ANGELA BOLOWANA (SABC) - HOW MANY OF THE PERPETRATORS CAME?

A: Most of the cases were historic (had happened) but before the victims left, it was reported to the SABC.

This answer left many questions. The first, why is there no clear recollection of the number of alleged perpetrators that came forward, the second, the same SABC HR that has been deemed incompetent and out-of-depth, is entrusted by the same commission that found error in them, to deal with cases that were reported before victims left the broadcaster? “According to daily Maverick, 17 cases were lodged by victims, and whistleblowers. Eleven alleged perpetrators were interviewed. Two refused to appear before the commission”³⁵⁴

Q: KHAYA (The star) - WHAT HAPPENS TO THE FREELANCERS WHO THE COMMISSION DEEMED TO BE THE MOST VULNERABLE

A: The CEO was immediately tasked to assign social workers to attend to the freelancers for therapeutic purposes

Once again, this response leaves follow up questions. The fact that the vulnerable freelancers are receiving therapy free of charge by SABC assigned social workers is all good and well. However, from a human resources perspective, what happens to safeguard these freelancers’ jobs? Once again, the onus is on the same HR that is deemed incompetent and not enough practical steps have been directed to ensure job safety

³⁵⁴ K Koko, Shocking SABC Sex Report, *The Star*, 7 November 2018, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za>, accessed: 21/01/2022

Q: KHAYA (The star)- DO THESE RECOMMENDATIONS HAVE TIME FRAMES? WILL THERE BE OVERSEEING THAT THEY ARE ADHERED TO?

A: No. The recommendations and their adherence are all at the prerogative of the SABC management, however when and if cases are reopened, the perpetrators can be forced to come forward.

This again raises many issues. The SABC management that has failed at safeguarding the lives of many victims, who the commission has found colludes with HR at slipping harassment under the carpet, yet it is the same management that will have freewill with regards to the outcome of the commission and will not be bound or have any independent overseer on next steps taken.

Q: BRIAN (The Citizen) - WHAT WILL THE SABC DO TO REMEDY ITS DENTED REPUTATION?

The group CEO, Madoda Mxako proceeded to answer the question

A: The SABC board accepts the report in all entirety. It's not about fixing a reputation, but doing what is right

Q: PHENYO DLAMINI (Sowetan)- NOW THAT THE BOARD AND MANAGEMENT IS AWARE OF ALL THAT HAS TRANSPIRED, WILL POLICE BE INCLUDED/INVOLVED?

There were chuckles in the room before the chairperson responded

A: Survivors were asked why they never laid a charge. Various reasons were given. The report has recommended that the police be involved

Q: ANGELA BOLOWANA (SABC) - WERE THERE ANY SABC EXECUTIVES IMPLICATED IN SEXUAL HARASSMENT?

A: There were managers and men in high positions of leadership implicated

Q: ANGELA BOLOWANA (SABC) - WILL THE REPORT BE MADE PUBLIC?

A: That decision solely lies with the SABC management/board

Q: PILANE (NEWS 24) - WHO WILL COMPEL THOSE IMPLICATED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE COMMISSION?

A: It will strictly be on the alleged perpetrator to appear

This poses an additional problem. The SABC once again gives far too much power in the alleged perpetrator who have already proved to misuse their power by harassing women. They are given additional power to decide whether or not to appear before the commission.

Mfana Shozi concluded the feedback session by emphasizing that the SABC had a bigger problem than just harassment, he emphasized the need for a follow-up on the recommendations. Shozi appeared on SABC morning news show *Morning Live* on 7 November 2018 with journalist, Sakina Kamwendo in which he emphasized that a panel must be appointed to monitor HR that displayed incompetency. Kamwendo also posed the question of, why perpetrators were not named. Shozi re-emphasized that the commission did not want to put the SABC into disputes legally. Barbra Watson appeared on the lunch time news bulletin, with former SABC journalist, Arabile Gumede. Gumede posed a question of whether or not HR was colluding with sexual harassment cases or were they clueless, to which Watson responded by citing the example of the female whose case was thrown out of CCMA because the SABC refused it to be condoned.

It almost seems safe to say that the SABC HR were colluding with sexual harassment and were enablers of the sexual harassment crisis at the SABC. Watson explained that those implicated were served with a letter in which they had to provide a response, before appearing. Watson also appeared on the lunch time news at the SABC with journalist, Nompumelelo Siziba in which Siziba asked the commission's terms of reference. Watson responded by citing the SABC head office, regional offices in all provinces, emails and face to face hearings.

Watson also made mention of the judicial milestone that ruled that there was no particular time frame limitation when investigating a rape of sexual harassment case, in other words, a rape case can never be too old to prosecute and investigate. This allowed the commission to investigate former employee cases. Watson further explained that recommendations to the SABC board and management would be aligned to the already existing sexual harassment policy, which poses confusion because the same policy has been badly executed for years according to the commission. One wonders how will the board and management be able to take steps on a policy

they failed to implement or adhere to? Furthermore, Watson appeared on the prime time news bulletin with SABC journalist, Francis Herd in which she added that the recommendations in the report also advise the SABC to have a sexual harassment fund in their budget to assist employees who have been subjected to sexual harassment within the organization. These recommendations pose a serious risk, who will administer these funds? Who qualifies, on which merits and standards? Will the SABC be responsible for the allocation of the funds? The SABC has been shown to be incompetent to deal with sexual harassment for years, what will qualify them to handle the administration of these funds? These were unclear at the time of the announcement. The unfortunate part is that the report is still not available to the public, and the broadcaster has been unwilling to engage this research on further answers, the information provided is from public records, public press conferences held by the SABC and public radio/television interviews.

Herd posed the question to Watson on when the report can be available for the public, to which Watson replied that it was solely a decision of the SABC management and board. An astonishing revelation in the interview was that there were managers, who were alleged perpetrators who had not gone through any form of disciplinary process or investigation, in which HR was aware of allegations, but no investigation was done. An SABC youth radio station, *Tru FM* came under fire on social media in 2020, when a seasoned radio DJ was accused of various sexual harassment ordeals within the station, regardless of efforts to address these issues, according to the alleged victim's social media post, no steps were taken to address these. This case is another example that supports findings of the SABC sexual harassment commission that the management and HR collude with perpetrators.

To date, the said on air personality who is alleged to have committed sexual harassment is still on air, and occupies one of the most popular time slots on radio. Furthermore, SABC is known to have an infamous 'red casting couch' which has seen many powerful SABC executives predate young females looking for an entrance to the television and film industry which has been an unaddressed issue by the SABC sexual harassment commission. The infamous casting couch became a wide and broad conversation in which the SABC's current affairs show, *Daily Thetha* addressed in 2017, minutes before the live broadcast a Tweet was released on its official Twitter

page on the 26th of June 2017, at 11:47, “Oh-Oh couch casting where actors sleep their way to the top #Young Actors”³⁵⁵

Actress and performer, Zikhona Bali spoke up about producers and industry heavyweights expecting sexual favors for jobs, “I didn’t have the courage to do such things”³⁵⁶. This statement comes after an interview in which she addressed the inequality in the television and film industry

“First of all, addressing the inequality in the industry she stressed how she was unable to give sexual favors in return of getting a role. She said that most producers and directors would seek sexual favors especially for new actors and she just couldn’t do it”³⁵⁷.

In 2017, Bali was interviewed in *The Sowetan* in which she spoke candidly about South African television and film actors who engaged in sexual favors for work³⁵⁸. Many others have rallied behind this knowledge.

Barbra Watson engaged in a radio interview with Joanne Joseph of *Radio 702* in which she alluded to the fact that HR at the SABC needed training. Since the commission handed the report to the SABC, all the alleged perpetrators were issued with letters of suspension on the 07 of December 2018 according to an SABC media statement;

“Following an extensive investigation process by the Commission of Inquiry into Sexual Harassment at the SABC, which completed its work at the end of October 2018, the organization is implementing the recommendations of the Commission. In this regard, the SABC has suspended the alleged perpetrators identified in the Commission’s report. The alleged perpetrators were served with requisite notices to afford them an opportunity to make written submissions as to why they believe the preliminary suspension should not be made final. Following due consideration of the written submissions, the SABC believes it has sufficient grounds to investigate further and has consequently issued suspension notices to the alleged perpetrators confirming their suspensions, pending a disciplinary enquiry. The SABC has is in the process of formulating charges in line with HR policies and legislation”³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ Twitter, www.twitter.com/dailythetha , accessed: 02/11/2021

³⁵⁶ XploreMzansi, ‘Celebs’, ‘When times were tough for Zikhona Bali – ‘My grandmothers prayers were my fuel and drive’, 18 August 2021, <https://www.xploremzansi.online/2021/08/when-times-were-tough-for-zikhona-bali.html?m=1>, accessed: 26/11/2021

³⁵⁷ XploreMzansi, ‘Celebs’, ‘When times were tough for Zikhona Bali – ‘My grandmothers prayers were my fuel and drive’, 18 August 2021, <https://www.xploremzansi.online/2021/08/when-times-were-tough-for-zikhona-bali.html?m=1>, accessed: 26/11/2021

³⁵⁸ L. Khalianyane, ‘Is’thunzi actress Zikhona Bali stands her ground on sexual casting couch’, 23 August 2017. www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/sundayworld/lifestyle/2017-0-23-isthunzi-actress-zikhona-bali-stands-her-ground-on-sexual-casting-couch/ , accessed: 24/01/2021

³⁵⁹ SABC Media Statement, ‘SABC suspends alleged perpetrators of sexual harassment’, 7 December 2018, <https://www.sabc.co.za>, accessed: 03/11/2021

An article published on the 24th of June 2020, by Thabiso Baloyi on *The South African* detailed the appearance of the SABC board before a parliament committee. The article revealed that after almost two years of the SABC sexual harassment report, was still under review. “The SABC sexual harassment policy is currently under review as well as the Sexual Harassment Standard Operating Procedure. Sexual harassment educational workshops for HRBPs are planned on how to effectively deal with cases of sexual harassment and to ensure that any recommendations emanating from investigations are in line with policy provisions and principles of law”³⁶⁰.

These claims are astonishing, the SABC has in the past (as revealed by the sexual harassment commission) displayed a passive attitude when it comes to sexual harassment. Over two years since the report was compiled, the SABC is still reviewing recommendations and still plans to create workshops. One would be under the assumption that after such staunch strides and stringent recommendations, action would have been taken speedily. On the 9th of November 2018, the former deputy minister of Communications, Pinky Kekana noted with concern in a penned letter to the SABC regarding the findings of the SABC sexual harassment report.

The former deputy minister expressed in the letter to Bongumusa Makathini, the SABC board chairperson, on the manner in which HR executives conducted sexual harassment claims, and how these HR executives were implicated in the report. “A failure to act by such senior executives on sexual harassment allegations creates an environment wherein women are rendered powerless and incapable of asserting their rights. It is important for public institutions of this nature to hold our society, chief amongst those being concerted and tangible commitment towards gender equality”³⁶¹. While the SABC claimed to take the recommendations of the commission seriously, very little seems to have been done.

Radio and television personality, Pearl Modiadie’s made allegations on sexual harassment within the SABC, just two years since the sexual harassment inquiry to which it claimed would utilize its internal processes to deal with the matter.

“The SABC notes with concern the media articles about the alleged sexual harassment case at Metro FM, and the Tweet by Ms. Pearl Modiadie. The SABC views sexual

³⁶⁰ T. Baloyi, SABC executives appear before parliament committee, 24 June 2020, <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/sabc-executives-appear-before-parliament-committee/>, accessed: 04/11/2021

³⁶¹ T. Baloyi, SABC executives appear before parliament committee, 24 June 2020, <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/sabc-executives-appear-before-parliament-committee/>, accessed: 04/11/2021

harassment in a serious light and will use its internal procedures and policies to deal with the matter. The SABC encourages any employees subjected to sexual harassment to use the corporation's specific internal channels to report such cases"³⁶².

Although the SABC claims to take the allegations seriously, *Sunday World* revealed in an article that there were email exchanges between Modiadie and the SABC Metro FM marketing team and management, in which Modiadie complained about her manager's sexually inappropriate comments, and nothing was done about it up until her contract was not renewed after working at the station for five years.

In a series of email exchanges displayed on the Sunday World article, Modiadie can be seen inquiring how long she'll be needed on stage for an outside broadcast for the station, to which the manager responds, "Yoh since we are there, can I also get asked that question, when do you need Pearl? And for how long? You are pimpsta of the year. Sorry guys but that was really funny"³⁶³. Modiadie responds, "I don't find that response funny, at all. This is highly inappropriate. I'm asking about a job I've been booked for by the station and you're taking it a completely different direction. This is not the first time you've made such comments when I'm concerned. I will not take it anymore"³⁶⁴.

Modiadie claims there was another incident in which the manager made sexually inappropriate comments, to which a colleague came to her rescue and defended her. She was at work, live on air with a celebrity guest in studio. The manager came down to the station to apologize to a visibly upset and teary Modiadie and he continued with his sexually inappropriate commentary, even in front of new colleagues at the station. Modiadie claims that she had written to the station manager, who was female and she did not respond or come to her rescue, "I had copied the then female manager in the email and there was never a response from her. It was never addressed"³⁶⁵. Furthermore, the alleged perpetrator according to Modiadie, made sexually

³⁶² Sunday World, 'Breaking News', 17 June 2021, <https://www.sundayworld.co.za/breaking-news/sabc-responds-to-pearl-modiadies-sexual-harassment-claims/>, accessed: 03/11/2021

³⁶³ *Sunday World*, 'Breaking News', 17 June 2021, <https://www.sundayworld.co.za/breaking-news/sabc-responds-to-pearl-modiadies-sexual-harassment-claims/>, accessed: 03/11/2021

³⁶⁴ *Sunday World*, 'Breaking News', 17 June 2021, <https://www.sundayworld.co.za/breaking-news/sabc-responds-to-pearl-modiadies-sexual-harassment-claims/>, accessed: 03/11/2021

³⁶⁵ *Sunday World*, 'Breaking News', 17 June 2021, <https://www.sundayworld.co.za/breaking-news/sabc-responds-to-pearl-modiadies-sexual-harassment-claims/>, accessed: 03/11/2021

suggestive comments at an outside broadcast event towards her, “The outside broadcast you are referring to left me feeling like a piece of meat.

It was an outside broadcast at a cricket stadium. I was wearing a tight jumpsuit and as we were taking pictures, he asked that I look the other way instead so that my ‘booty’ would be in the picture”³⁶⁶. There was an incident Modiadie mentions in which the same manager made comments on her bikini picture upload on Instagram, and calling her body ‘hot’, which was not the first time the manager made sexually suggestive comments publicly on her body. Once the Sunday World article was published, Modiadie took to Twitter to say, “I kept quiet for too long until media picked it up and never have been grateful for that because it finally gave me the courage to speak out about sexual harassment I was subjected to at Metro FM”³⁶⁷.

Many Twitter users called for justice for Pearl, creating a hashtag to garner support for Modiadie, in attempts for the SABC to suspend the alleged perpetrator. Among those that called for justice for Modiadie were media personality, musician and poet, Ntsiki Mazwai and Television, radio personality and television producer, Anele Modisaane. Both Mazwai and Modisaane tweeted publicly that Modiadie must not stop fighting, and that too many people were coming out and speaking about the sexual harassment at the SABC, and how an alleged perpetrator at the SABC is suing the alleged victim. The SABC’s stance on taking sexual harassment claims seriously seems to be nothing but a selective fallacy, in cases such as Modiadie’s that occur two years after the recommendations of the commission were handed to management. Moreover, to date, the report has not been publicly released and very little public engagement has occurred in reporting what steps have been taken.

It is however important to highlight that even though very little seems to have been done since the issuing of the report, cases such as news anchor, Rams Mokoena who was allegedly reported for inappropriate behavior was suspended in August 2021, “It is alleged that Rams Mokoena touched a female colleague inappropriately during preparations for the August 15 show”³⁶⁸.

³⁶⁶ *Sunday World*, ‘Breaking News’, 17 June 2021, <https://www.sundayworld.co.za/breaking-news/sabc-responds-to-pearl-modiadies-sexual-harassment-claims/>, accessed: 03/11/2021

³⁶⁸ *Sunday World*, ‘Breaking News’, 17 June 2021, <https://www.sundayworld.co.za/breaking-news/sabc-responds-to-pearl-modiadies-sexual-harassment-claims/>, accessed: 03/11/2021

Mobote was a television anchor for a current affairs show on the SABC 24 hour news channel on the DSTV platform.

The SABC issued an email in which requested Mobote to not report for duty pending an investigation on the allegations, and that services of a stand-in presenter/anchor would be utilized in the interim. Gugu Ntuli, Group Executive: Corporate Affairs and marketing commented, “This matter has been brought to the attention of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. As such the SABC is dealing with it within the applicable prescripts. Please note that the SABC does not engage publicly on employer and employee related issues, especially whilst the matter is getting the requisite attention”³⁶⁹.

Though these strides are promising, one wonders if the SABC is selective in who they charge, suspend or investigate, given their history of protecting alleged perpetrators. While it is commendable that the SABC protects the integrity and privacy of all its employees, alleged victims and perpetrators alike (who are innocent until proven guilty), one wonders if the SABC hides behind its policies that have been proven to be misused by HR in the past, and if justice ever fully prevails in the name of safeguarding the integrity of its employees. In fairness, the SABC has the right to its own internal procedures, it also has the responsibility on ensuring fairness and justice prevails for all of its employees, but it cannot be at the expense of ones trauma and pain.

3.6 ANALYZING POLICIES, REGULATIONS AND TRANSFORMATIVE MEASURES POST #METOO IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FILM AND TELEVISION INDUSTRY – HOW THINGS ARE TODAY

During the field work of this research, more findings emerged from representatives of SWIFT and South African Guild of Actors (SAGA). While the world were introduced to #MeToo in October 2017, South Africa had already began dismantling sexual harassment in the early

³⁶⁹ Sunday World, ‘Breaking News’, 17 June 2021, <https://www.sundayworld.co.za/breaking-news/sabc-responds-to-pearl-modiadies-sexual-harassment-claims/>, accessed: 03/11/2021

months of 2017. In fact, SWIFT began its investigations and research between January until April of 2017.

“On behalf of Sisters Working In Film and Television (SWIFT), a research report based on a survey conducted by SWIFT between the months of January and April 2017, has been collated and organized by the authors of this paper. SWIFT is a non-profit organization (NPO) based in South Africa, formed in response to a shared consensus for a forum that addresses the concerns of women in the SAFT industry”³⁷⁰.

It also emerged that conversations of transformation and addressing issues of harassment and sexual predatory emerged in 2016, at the Durban International Film Festival (DIFF). It was through dialogues from that meeting that triggered women to stand up and form an organization (SWIFT) that would in turn investigate the sexual harassment that was said to be prevalent in the industry. It was through these investigations between January until April 2017, that findings revealed that, sexual harassment in the South African Film and Television industry (SAFT) was a norm.

“After a meeting that took place amongst over 40 women on the final day of the Durban Film Festival in 2016, a decision was made for further meetings to take place. These meetings took place in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban and have since resulted in the organization establishing subcommittees looking at the organizational structure, skills and mentorship, and an advocacy platform for the industry”³⁷¹.

The general understanding was that the SAFT industry only began speaking up post the hashtag #MeToo, this information is far from the truth, in fact, if anything, it was South Africa that took the lead in beginning conversations that would lead to transformative measures with regards to the sexual harassment in the SAFT industry. As previously mentioned in the preceding chapter, Africa is always finding itself fixated with the phenomenon of the west, when they have their own challenges and phenomenon. #MeToo is another classical example of how the African continent, South Africa in this case has once again deemed their own challenges irrelevant, unless endorsed or validated by first world countries.

³⁷⁰ L Ntoele & M Atougia, ‘A SWIFT mission: Tackling the Gender Disparities in South Africa’s film and television’, 2018

³⁷¹ L Ntoele & M Atougia, ‘A SWIFT mission: Tackling the Gender Disparities in South Africa’s film and television’, 2018

Similarly, SAGA was invited to attend a film festival in Toronto in January 2017, and during a workshop and dialogue it was revealed that sexual harassment was prevalent in the film industry as a whole. Amidst these robust conversations, the SAGA delegation felt compelled to begin conversations that would investigate these claims in the SAFT industry. Coincidentally, the conversation had already begun with SWIFT. SAGA joined with SWIFT and pledged solidarity to finding solutions to the issues pertaining transformation in the SAFT industry and sexual harassment. Both SWIFT and SAGA are registered under the SAFT umbrella body.

The South African Film and Television Federation (SASFED), SASFED was founded in 2006 in response to the government's call for the independent production sector to speak with a unified voice,

SASFED represents a broad spectrum of industry players, via affiliates representing several thousand individual members and hundreds of member companies employing up to a hundred staff. SASFED is also the Working Group and Coordination Committee member of SOS. The Supporting Public Broadcasting Coalition, an advocacy group driving industry oversight and dialogue on critical policy, legislation, regulatory and management matters pertaining to the local broadcast sector, and in particular, the public broadcaster, the SABC³⁷²

SASFED's full member organizations include, Animation South Africa (ASA), The Documentary Filmmaker's Association (DFA), The Independent Black Filmmakers Collective (IBFC), The South African Guild of Actors (SAGA) and Sisters Working In Film and Television (SWIFT), among others. One then raises the question, if the SAFT has had existing bodies before the discoveries of SWIFT at DIFF in 2016, and a Toronto film festival dialogue, where were the SAFT bodies that serve as advocacy groups and protective platforms for actors? Furthermore, why were they silent if indeed there is sexual harassment in the industry? The secretary general of SAGA, and one of its founding members, Carlynn De Waal responds to the question at hand by saying that she as a talent agent who has been in the SAFT industry for twenty-five years, and also one of the founding members of SAGA in 2006, had never encountered any sexual harassment claims or reports. It shook her completely when she discovered such gruesome violations were taking place for all these years. SWIFT chairperson, Zanele Mthembu and former E-Tv's head of local content, shares the same experience. She claims that during all her years at broadcasting level, she had never heard or been part of any sexual harassment claims on

³⁷² The South African Screen Federation, "About SASFED", <https://www.sasfed.co.za>, accessed: 29/11/2021

any television set. Contradictory to claims made by Ledwaba and Mbuli who both spoke of sexual harassment on E-Tv sets. It must be considered that either these claims were not reported, or if they were, they were merely ignored at production level and not escalated to either performer associations or broadcaster.

This is why SAGA issued a reporting guide which it claims has been approved by various stakeholders, including the legal fraternity. However, the reporting guide seemingly gives onus on the victim/survivor and not the perpetrator,

The burden of proof in sexual harassment cases is on the party who alleges the harassment. A complaint of sexual harassment must be made in as much detail as possible in order for the incident to be fully investigated and dealt with appropriately³⁷³.

The fact that the traumatized victim has the burden of proof, and is expected to detail in writing all the various events is problematic, when this was posed to SAGA, SAGA responded by claiming if it's not the survivor who gives evidence, then who? In fair judgement, this may very much be true, but in retrospect, when trauma has occurred to a survivor, it may be the last thing in their minds to write things down, and the failure to do so may be deemed to be nothing but a fallacy and an allegation. When this was also posed to SAGA, it responded, that a voice note would suffice as another means of a statement, which too is problematic, as Roberts stated above, survivors of sexual violence often 'freeze'. Furthermore, the reporting guide (Attached in appendix R) requires too much detail on a traumatized survivor, and the failure to give detail may make yet another perpetrator walk scotch free

“Who was the perpetrator? What was the date, time and place? Is it a recurring event or was it just once off? What did the perpetrator do exactly, and what was said? How did you react? Were there witnesses? What are their names and designations? Did they say or do anything to assist or intervene? Was there any physical evidence of the event? Bruises or marks on your body, stains, damage to property, video footage”³⁷⁴

Expecting a survivor to remember word for word what was said, or a video footage of an incident seems a little too unfair, considering the traumatic act performed. Though one may argue that this is a standard practice in the justice system, it does not make the practice correct. There seems to be no concern for how the survivor felt, but rather what was done and

³⁷³ ‘SAGA Guide To Reporting Sexual Harassment’, p2, 2019

³⁷⁴ ‘SAGA Guide To Reporting Sexual Harassment’, p2-3, 2019

if this isn't in order, the claim remains an allegation that may not receive attention. SAGA must be commended however, for its strides to assist its members, as the reporting guide clearly states, "SAGA will follow the process with you and support you every step of the way"³⁷⁵.

SAGA elaborated in interview engagements of this research, that they do offer legal assistance and advice for its members, although additional expenses may be of the survivor. The reporting guide can be seen as a positive stride as it is an acknowledgement of a serious problem, and thus aids awareness of the problem, sexual harassment. Furthermore, it combats the silence that filled many survivors, who remained silent before and never reported it, hence it continued to thrive in the SAFT. The reporting guide not only gives details on how to report the incidents, but also gives detailed definitions, and steps that must be taken by production in such cases. Furthermore, the reporting guide gives an accurate background of sexual predatory in SAFT, giving detailed and informative information that can assist survivors in defining their ordeals and incidents, this is just one of the momentous strides in acknowledging that the SAFT industry has a problem, and for the problem to be treated, it must first be acknowledged and identified.

SWIFT and SAGA jointly came together in drafting the code of good practice which is a contract issued to producers and production companies. The code of good practice is an acknowledgement from the producers end to act swiftly on any incident of sexual harassment, and for all crew and cast involved to pledge that they will conduct themselves morally. The contract is binding and conditioned upon taking on the job/project and aims to combat the sexual harassment culture that remains prevalent in the SAFT industry. The code of good practice has been accepted by all broadcasters in South Africa, namely E-tv, SABC and Multichoice. It is widely distributed among producers and production companies as they are the ones who cast talent and contract crew members, and not the channels or broadcasters. The producers are the only ones with a contract with broadcasters, talent and crew are contracted by producers. SWIFT has mentioned the reluctance of most producers since the adoption of the code of good practice, many have been accustomed to treating talent as they please, with little to no rebuke.

³⁷⁵ SAGA Guide To Reporting Sexual Harassment', p2-3, 2019

The strides of SWIFT and SAGA serves as sheer inconvenience to many production companies, as many have swept issues like sexual harassment under the carpet, with no one to hold them to account. This research has also discovered during its field work that, producer's contract talent on their terms and conditions, as talent/actors are freelancers, and not employees. This leaves them with very little to no labor laws protecting them. As such, actors do not have access to labor unions and this has given producers a benchmark in which they can ill-treat talent and do as they please.

Though this is the case, there has been somewhat a level of support from a handful of production companies and producers, who have adopted the code and issue each and every actor and crew member with it before entering a SAFT set. The code unfortunately is not mandatory, which poses issues of potential continuation of harassment on SAFT sets. The fact that it is not a mandatory regulatory mode of compliance is problematic, but SWIFT believes that this is just the first step to fixing the problem, and perhaps in time, there can be mandatory measures in adopting the code. The gap according to SAGA is that broadcasters do not contract actors, and perhaps if broadcasters could issue a directive that makes it mandatory that producers adopt the code and issue to each and every personnel on the set, there could be a stronger reaction in dismantling the sexual harassment culture. SAGA is however against actors being made employees by the labor force as this will restrict the number of jobs an actor can take, conflict of interest among many other factors may lead to a breach of promise, should actors be made employees. Yet in the same breath, actors are subjected to unacceptable treatment due to the fact that they're freelancers.

Producers turn a blind eye to issues of ill-treatment and sexual harassment because actors are not protected by the labor market. In essence, there seems to be no winning with regards to the legislation of actors and securing their integrity, and assuring they are protected from risks such as sexual harassment. When SAGA's Carlynn de Waal-Smit was asked during the field work of this research, what was the norm in the SAFT industry prior and post #MeToo? she responded by saying that- sexual harassment, innuendos and careless sex talk was the norm, so much that it was almost second nature and normal. It became normal for both the perpetrator and the survivor/victim³⁷⁶. This was established during a series of talks held by SAGA and SWIFT, in

³⁷⁶ C de Waal-Smit, interview conducted by Ntsika Majiba, Zoom, October 2021

which one actress broke down at the realization that all the definitions of sexual harassment expressed at the talks, had happened to her the week before. This is also a momentous moment for the #MeToo movement in South Africa, through dialogues and talks held by SWIFT and SAGA, performers have had the opportunity to debrief, get support and validation of the violations they had experienced. Such talks and sessions were unheard of prior #MeToo, and before SWIFT began the initiative of dismantling sexual harassment and inequality.

Additionally, this research engaged the SWIFT chairperson, Zanele Mthembu in an interview, who was asked; where protective bodies were for South African actors prior to SWIFT. In which she responded, there were organizations such as, *Women of Sun*, which was largely comprising of business women, renowned producer, Roberta Durant was also a member, according to Mthembu. Many of the members however were not necessarily in the SAFT industry, this in her view was problematic, in that issues experienced by talent may not be adequately dealt with as there may not be enough experience to deal with issues pertaining to the SAFT industry. Mthembu details SWIFT's emergence by mapping out the foregrounding reasons behind its establishment. SWIFT was concerned with discrimination in its entirety in the SAFT industry, and sexual harassment became the prevalent discussion with regards to discrimination³⁷⁷.

After the release of its report, SWIFT established forums and advocacy groups that would deal with sexual harassment in the SAFT industry. The establishment of Safety Contact Officers (SCO's) were established and dispersed to various SAFT sets. They were to deal with sexual harassment and attend to it should it emerge during the production process. The safety contact officers however, are a body that is independent from the SWIFT organization and are not SAFT members. Mthembu admits that many are not aware of these SCO on SAFT sets. The lack of funding or shortage thereof is a reason behind the SCO deployment being unknown among actors. *The code of good practice* was also introduced in collaboration with SWIFT, under the umbrella of SASFED. The code has been adopted by many producers and television productions, but not all. The challenge of the code adoption by producers is that not all producers belong to a body or organization that can make them account. This causes a problem in that many cannot be tracked or compelled to comply. SWIFT also introduced sexual harassment workshops, this is

³⁷⁷ Z Mthembu, interview conducted by Ntsika Majiba, Sandton, October 2021

where SCOs come in, giving workshops and awareness of what sexual harassment is and how to deal with it in the SAFT industry.

While SWIFT acknowledges the role of media, there is a great concern for how South African media ‘slept’ on reporting about #MeToo in South Africa, particularly television broadcasting media entities. A marketing division under SWIFT has been discovered by competent personnel, to partner with media in getting messages and initiatives across. This is much needed because what came out in archival and field research, was that SWIFT has all these momentous initiatives, but no one is aware of them. This is largely because of a lack of coverage by media. This is also much needed as SWIFT chair agrees that there are many predators in the SAFT industry who walk away scotch free. Many have been named and alleged to have violated actors and actresses, yet no coverage has been found from South African broadcasters.

SWIFT agrees with this research, in that it attests colonialism and apartheid have a direct reason behind the legacy of patriarchy, which in turn affirms sexual harassment and entitlement over female bodies. When analyzing the findings of SWIFT in archives, 51% of the women who had said had experienced sexual harassment or observed another being violated on a SAFT set, were white women. 42% were black women³⁷⁸.

When asking why white women seemed to have experienced it more, while black women were more vocal in the media, Mthembu attests the legacy of deep embedded patriarchy as a cause of silencing women, black women in particular. During the early phases of the research conducted by SWIFT, black women were possibly under the deeply embedded silencing that comes with the African culture, and were possibly afraid to speak up, yet the younger generation has dismantled the shackles of patriarchy and are beginning to speak up, this is the reason behind more and more women coming out to express how they were violated. In hindsight, it is the young women who are acquainted with digital media, many of the testimonies came from fairly young black women. Actresses who are deemed ‘veterans’ were left behind in the SAFT #MeToo.

³⁷⁸ L Ntoele & M Atougia, ‘A SWIFT mission: Tackling the Gender Disparities in South Africa’s film and television’, 2018

Black women have also been reluctant to join organizations such as SWIFT and SAGA, much of this is financial constraints according to Mthembu. Many would like to join, but the joining fees tend to scare black women away. Many black women have asked themselves, “what will this do for me” should they join SWIFT, according to Mthembu. This has been a slight challenge for the organization, it has not discouraged or deterred them, however. SWIFT has made momentous strides to regulate the SAFT industry, however the *employment relations act* does not apply to contracts. SAGA is against regulation as it feels it will limit actors and actresses in the number of projects they take. Freelance contracts allow talent fluidity to work from project to project. However, in terms of protection and the lack thereof, it is a hindrance on the actor as the contracts they get into are at the discretion of the producer, and not necessarily governed labor laws.

SWIFT has made strides to have continuous and ongoing talks with the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and the conversation centers around ‘collective bargaining’, during the archive component of research, the SWIFT chairperson, Zanele Mthembu was meeting with Minister Ebrahim Patel (South African minister of trade and industry) before engaging this research for an interview. SWIFTs on going conversations with the minister is to make continuous submissions, to have benefits of labor acts, but to exclude Unemployment Insurance Fund deductions (UIF). SWIFT believes without a legislative framework, there won’t be progress. SWIFT continues to face challenges with engagements from various stakeholders regarding this, including Cape Town based production companies who do not want government regulations. SWIFT is aiming at having a minimum payment scale regulated to combat exploitation of personnel on SAFT sets. Cape Town based production companies according to SWIFT, don’t want this as they enjoy exploiting black personnel and want to make as much profit for themselves. If there is a regulated pay scale, they will no longer make chunky profits from under paying black personnel on SAFT sets. Mthembu believes what had happened during apartheid, is a direct reflection of what is happening in SAFT sets. She believes it is mostly white male producers who exploit the most, and often are the ones who dismiss the efforts of SWIFT.

Although the dispersing of SCO’s has begun, this operation also faces challenges, there was an incident according to Mthembu, where an SCO was harassed on a SAFT set before giving a

presentation. One of the crew members had not seen her on set before and proceeded to be inappropriate. When the workshop began, and she began her presentation, the crew member was consumed with shame as he knew he had recently harassed her. This speaks to the huge 'crisis' and 'norm' SWIFT has alluded to on sexual harassment on SAFT sets. Interveners of the problem are also being harassed. Furthermore, the crew member's shame is confirmation that perpetrators of sexual harassment are aware of their transgressions.

According to Mthembu, the #MeToo resistance in the SAFT industry was like that of apartheid. The resistance of aggression and insecurity from many producers, were exactly the same reactions of apartheid apologists. She makes an example of the white South Africans who claimed to be pro-democracy, but when systems like Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Affirmative Action were enforced, suddenly there was resistance. In essence the white South Africans referred to in the example were saying, black South Africans can get their freedom, just as long as they don't take "what is theirs" (as white people). The same resistance was felt by women in the SAFT industry. Producers seemed open to change, but not if it means it must interfere with ways they exploit their privilege. Sexual harassment is a power dynamic, asserts Mthembu- those in power take advantage and misuse their power, much like apartheid. It was all about the power of white rule. Every other races such as Colored and Indian, particularly Black were seen as less than, thus blacks were exploited, ill-treated and abused.

Many producers also complained about harassment from commissioning editors of channels/broadcasters. Many found themselves having to do 'favors' to get their productions commissioned by broadcasters. The cycle of sexual harassment is a top-down approach, it stems from the top management of production to the bottom of production, affecting talent and extra's alike. This, SWIFT attests to the lack of a watchdog in the SAFT industry. The reason why many commissioning editors and producers were or are able to get away with so many things is because there is no independent watchdog that monitors the SAFT industry. The SAFT industry has been largely criticized by the Department of Arts and Culture in many instances for not being organized. This is why SWIFT is in current talks to have an ombudsman for the industry, these conversations are slow because an agreement must be reached by all stakeholders, but however these conversations are happening, according to Mthembu.

Mthembu who has a seasoned profile in the SAFT industry, having worked for a popular broadcaster, and claims during her time with the broadcaster, they were oblivious to sexual harassment taking place on SAFT sets. Though she admits there were allegations, but that is all they remained as, allegations. Furthermore, channels were unable to investigate because talent is contracted by producer(s) and not the broadcaster. This gives the impression that channels and broadcasters can hide behind that, as a means to not account for sexual harassment on SAFT sets.

SWIFT states that they have been largely met with resistance by men, many men in the SAFT industry feel the efforts of SWIFT are unnecessary and are attempts to start trouble. Producers are only concerned with making money and talks of transformation that come with heaps of documentation and compliance are seen as a sheer inconvenience by most male producers. According to Mthembu, organizations such as the IBFC were begun by black filmmakers who saw that organizations like the IPO were not playing ball with regards to transformation, the cries of black producers was falling on deaf ears and thus the IBFC was founded. Issues of transformation run very deep in the SAFT industry and talks of it are usually met with resistance and discomfort. Mthembu poses a question, “How do you transform self-seeking organizations?” SWIFT has a long-term agenda and goal-in which maternity leave can be a regulated right in the SAFT industry. It also seeks to have children’s facilities for mothers who have no child sitters, these are matters discussed within SWIFT advocacy groups³⁷⁹.

One of the major questions this research aimed to discover was the involvement of the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture (DAC) if any? SWIFT has confirmed on record that DAC has been tremendously supportive financially, as well as supporting and backing documentation that has been drafted by SWIFT. In 2019, DAC signed a pledge to support the works of SWIFT, in aims to transform the SAFT industry. DAC also launched a film summit in which issues of transformation was raised. Recommendations were made, which ranged from drafting transformation charters, value chain and capacity that contributes to the commercial industry master plan. SWIFT has assured this research that SAGA is doing its best to negotiate terms and contracts, but IPO is stalling with reaching an agreement.

³⁷⁹ Z Mthembu, interview conducted by Ntsika Majiba, Sandton, October 2021

When inquiring about whether or not broadcasters have supported the work of SWIFT, Mthembu responded enthusiastically about the SABC, which has signed the code of good practice with all its producers/productions and is ought to still broadcast the “That’s not okay” awareness programs. SWIFT had extended an open call to female writers and producers to submit beat sheets for various provided synopsis’s, the selected beat sheets filmed an episode of awareness of sexual harassment on SAFT sets. Due to Corona Virus, the initiative was halted, but emerging discussions are underway to revive the agreement. Furthermore, the SABC, according to SWIFT has requested training of commissioning editors from SWIFT. Mthembu also added that Multi Choice funded the “that’s not okay” television projects. Generally, SWIFT can conclude that South African broadcasters have been receptive and cooperative. All broadcasting entities are subject to the regulations of the *National Association of Broadcasters* (NAB) which is the main broadcast regulator in South Africa. Though SWIFT has done exceptional work since its existence, they have been met with harshness at times, and have often been rejected, particularly as far as discussions of regulation and protocol.

The media has often taken a nonchalant stance with regards to the trajectory of #MeToo in South Africa, and when compared to the American press, South Africa has dismally failed in bringing awareness on the gruesome violations that female practitioners face on SAFT sets. SWIFT has also identified that it’s not only producers and crew members who prey on female practitioners and actresses. Harassment can be from caterers and service providers. Harassment doesn’t only take place on the set itself; it can take place in hotels if the shoots are on location. The challenge in reprimanding these violators is that not all of them belong to a body or organization in the SAFT industry. Once again, the other major issue is that the labor force is not protective of freelancers, and the only act that covers freelancers and actresses is *The protection of equality and prevention of unfair discrimination act* and that is it.

SWIFT as an organization has made momentous strides through their various engagements with government departments, production companies and broadcasters alike. Their advocacy committee and its work has displayed remarkable strides, as well as the introduction of the SCOs in television sets. The SCO program began as a pilot from 7 September 2020- April 2021. The dispersal of the SCOs was nationwide, with specific reference to Gauteng, Western Cape and Kwa Zulu Natal. There were six SCOs for the pilot and were selected based on their

qualifications as either a qualified social worker or counsellors. The SCOs received training (legal) on the overview of sexual harassment from TOKISO, A credible South African dispute resolution organization. In the pilot process, seven production companies responded to the call for participation on free sexual harassment impact sessions. Additionally, a two-day session was held for producers who are beneficiaries of the *Gauteng Film Commission Funds*. A contact center was set up nationally in December 2020. As well as an email address, to receive inquiries, complaints and information. A twenty-four hour SMS line was widely promoted and communicated during December 2020- April 2021, which generates an automatic email for SCOs to respond.

SWIFT has also issued a toolkit on handling sexual harassment in the SAFT industry among producers and broadcasters, the toolkit explains sexual harassment, its effects and how producers ought to deal with such an ordeal on their sets. It has compiled a code of good practice, in collaboration with SAGA, under the banner of SAFED, as well as widely circulated intimacy protocols that direct and govern how intimacy scenes are to be handled on SAFT sets. The detailed protocols, which this research has viewed in archives, is a practical guide for writers, how to write intimate scenes, crew, producers and talent. While all these strides are noteworthy and laudable, there remains two main issues identified during this research- the SWIFT report details a percentile of women who went ‘missing’, in other words, women who after being harassed, ‘disappeared’ and left the SAFT industry because of the shame and trauma. SWIFT has not offered solutions to what happens to those women, and what can be done to find them and counsel them.

Yet, the reality is, if women do not come forward, there is little to nothing SWIFT can do. Secondly, SWIFT’s marketing strategy has been rather passive, and has not had a good reach, all these amazing initiatives are often than not, unknown.

SAGA has shown disdain over women who take to social media to speak on their violations. De Waal states that it is a trend in South Africa, unlike the west, South African actresses do not consult legal experts first, instead, they run to social media to ‘report’ their violations. While this is a worthy point, it is imperial that awareness is shed on these issues pertaining to harassment, if women do not speak up, the problem continues. The narrative is neglecting hegemonic considerations and take matters in recreating a narrative that will empower women to hold their

own ground and tell their own history, without being mindful of men and their need to legal dignity. More so, victims/survivors have made mention of the nonchalance from police officers when reporting rape and harassment, many actresses have felt the need to utilize platforms that will hear them. Moreover, actresses from the west are paid far more kindly than South African actresses, they can afford services of a lawyer. The inequalities of the West and Africa cannot be compared.

South African police minister, Bheki Cele claims there has been a decrease in sexual offence cases in the last quarter of 2021, claiming that there had been 5012 rape cases at the homes of the survivors, or by perpetrators that are known to them. Further adding that 674 rape cases were domestic violence related, in which 632 of the survivors were female and 42 males, an NPO member, Jason Angels claims he has seen a large increase in rape cases

“I will most definitely attribute the increase to the fact that our judicial system disappoints time and again and victims feel it is almost worthless reporting abuse as very often abusers are let free without as much as a slap on the wrist. Abusers are comfortable in knowing that in most cases they will get away with it”³⁸⁰

The SAPS response to the latest rape figures in South Africa is the establishment of femicide desks at 381 police stations in aims to combat the alarming rape figures in South Africa. The police minister also revealed that Lusikisiki police station in the Eastern Cape had recorded the highest number of reported rape cases in South Africa. While figures and statistics may suggest to the police minister that rape cases have decreased, the figures at his disposal are only of reported cases. There are many survivors who feel afraid and defeated even at the thought of coming forward to report a sexual offence,

“It is estimated that over 40% of South African women will be raped in their lifetime, and only 1 in 9 rapes are reported. It is also estimated that 14% of perpetrators of rape are convicted in South Africa [...] while women’s groups in South Africa estimate that a woman is raped every 26 seconds in South Africa, SAPS estimates that a woman is raped every 36 seconds”³⁸¹.

³⁸⁰ C. Mthethwa, ‘Crime stats: An area in the Eastern Cape recorded the highest number of rape cases’ <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/crime-stats-an-area-in-the-eastern-cape-recorded-the-highest-number-of-rape-cases-20220219>, 19 October 2021, accessed: 17/05/2022

³⁸¹ ‘Sexual violence in South Africa’, *Wikipedia*, https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sexual_violence_in_South_Africa, accessed: 18/05/2022

In March 2022, the official South African government opposition, the DA revealed shocking court backlog figures of sexual offences in South Africa. A member of the South African parliament, Werner Horn- a member of the DA and a shadow deputy minister of justice and correctional services, said “Following a parliamentary question the DA submitted earlier this month, it has been revealed that as of December 31 last year, the backlog of sexual offence cases in the court system stands at 15 605, a staggering 81.4% of all sexual offence cases in South Africa”³⁸². Horn further revealed that the South African Medical Research Council found that almost half of rape cases enrolled in South Africa are withdrawn even before evidence is conducted. “[...] with about half of these withdrawals being initiated by victims who indicate that they do so because they want to get on with their lives. It is clear that our criminal justice system still fails these victims”³⁸³. This research has proven how survivors are failed by the justice system nationally, how much more within the SAFT industry? Social media has been proven by this research to be impactful in making women heard. But is the impact solely on the role of social media? Is there more than #MeToo did to aid change in the SAFT industry?

Though there is bleakness with the horrifying rape statistics in South Africa, there has been light somewhat as the amended Code of Good Practice on the Prevention and Elimination of Harassment in Workplace came into motion in March 2022. “The test for harassment takes into account whether it was unwanted, the nature thereof and the impact on the victim- it is no longer acceptable just to say, I did not mean it”³⁸⁴. An article published by *News24* in mid-April 2022 revealed that the code dealt with a wide variety of issues ranging from, “passive aggressive behavior, bullying, ostracizing, cyberbullying, career sabotage, and racist, sexist or LGBTQIA+ phobic language is just some of many forms of harassment in a new, wider code of conduct for the workplace on which victims can rely to get employees to take action”³⁸⁵.

³⁸² C Smith, ‘Harassment in the workplace: These are the things that can now get you into trouble’, <https://www.news24.com/amp/witness/news/kzn/shocking/-figures-reveal-sexual-offences-court-backlog-now-at-over-80-20220308>, accessed: 18/05/2022

³⁸³ C Smith, ‘Harassment in the workplace: These are the things that can now get you into trouble’, <https://www.news24.com/amp/witness/news/kzn/shocking/-figures-reveal-sexual-offences-court-backlog-now-at-over-80-20220308>, accessed: 18/05/2022

³⁸⁴ C Smith, ‘Harassment in the workplace: These are the things that can now get you into trouble’, <https://www.news24.com/fin24/jobs/harassment-in-the-workplace-these-are-the-things-that-can-now-get-you-into-trouble-20220417>, accessed: 18/05/2022

³⁸⁵ C Smith, ‘Harassment in the workplace: These are the things that can now get you into trouble’, <https://www.news24.com/fin24/jobs/harassment-in-the-workplace-these-are-the-things-that-can-now-get-you-into-trouble-20220417>, accessed: 18/05/2022

The new amended code gives matters provision to be investigated through a formal or informal process. Both the perpetrator and victim can be a colleague or a visitor to the place of work. The new code can have repercussions for employers who do not act speedily. “Employers should develop clear procedures to deal with harassment which enable the resolution of problems in a gender sensitive, confidential, efficient, and effective manner. When an employee has reported an alleged incident of harassment or laid a complaint, the employer is obliged to investigate the allegation of harassment and advise the complainant about the procedures available”³⁸⁶.

News24 reported that a recent judgement fined an employer and the harasser four million rand for failing to deal with a case of sexual harassment in the workplace. Gradually South Africa is dealing with sexual harassment and harassment in general. Though hopeful, many of the policies are mere well worded documents with empty promises and this research is revealing how resistance to this has now contributed to social media/digital activism. Though this has proven to also bring harassment towards activists who address injustices from the social media populous.

Many seasoned actors in the SAFT industry have been accused of being GBV offenders. In October 2021, *Sunday World* released an article which revealed that acclaimed South African actor, Sello Maake KaNcube had resigned from anti GBV organization, *ActNow* amidst accusations of women abuse. KaNcube’s accusations were made by media personality, JJ Tabane and former lover of kaNcube to a potential donor of the organization. KaNcube admitted to the allegations but claimed the incident took place in 2002. “The fight took place in 2002, it was an ‘interrelationship violence’”³⁸⁷. KaNcube alleges the former lover had done many things, among many she tore his clothes to shreds and tried to force him into having sex with her. “After the fight, I asked her to go to the police to get me arrested for what I had done to her. But she said she had forgiven me”³⁸⁸.

³⁸⁶ C Smith, ‘Harassment in the workplace: These are the things that can now get you into trouble’, <https://www.news24.com/fin24/jobs/harassment-in-the-workplace-these-are-the-things-that-can-now-get-you-into-trouble-20220417>, accessed: 18/05/2022

³⁸⁷ C Smith, ‘Harassment in the workplace: These are the things that can now get you into trouble’, <https://sundayworld.co.za/news/sello-maake-kancube-resigns-form-anti-gbv-organisation-after-accusations-of-women-abuse/>, accessed: 18/05/2022

³⁸⁸ N. Malatji, ‘Sello Maake KaNcube resigns from anti GBV organisation after accusations of women abuse’, 17 October 2021, <https://sundayworld.co.za/news/sello-maake-kancube-resigns-form-anti-gbv-organisation-after-accusations-of-women-abuse/>, accessed: 18/05/2022

KaNcube is not the only working actor/television personality with allegations of violence. *MojaLove*, a South African broadcaster- has come under fire previously for having protected their favorite talent, merely suspending them and then bringing them to work in aims to keep the ratings these personalities bring. In April 2022, it dismissed a contestant on their reality television show, *Lovey Dovey* for allegations of sexual harassment. The channel released a statement and aired an episode disqualifying the contestant. Yet ironically one of the television hosts of the show has several sexual violation allegations, some *subjudice* and still continues to host the show and work on several other endorsements.

CHAPTER IV:

THE FEMALE PRACTITIONER’S RESPONSE OF #ME TOO IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN TELEVISION AND FILM INDUSTRY

“Women are more concerned about how men see them, more than how they see themselves”

“Men have seen the world has changed, but they don’t want to be part of that change”

“If you’ve seen me perform my art, you’ve seen me pray- so why harass me while praying?”

This research embarked on a quest for data on the response of female practitioners in the South African Film and Television Industry (SAFT). Eleven seasoned female and prominent practitioners were interviewed, they all ranged between the ages of 18-60. All the eleven participants have a minimum of three years working experience in the industry or were vocal during the #MeToo denouncing in 2017/18. Twenty female practitioners were initially approached for the research, thirteen responded and of the thirteen participants, the first refrained from responding and the other after having been interviewed, expressed concerns of safety and possible intimidation based on previous encounters when speaking out publicly, her interview was then discarded from this research. This tallied a total of eleven interviews conducted and used. All eleven interviews ranged between forty five minutes to an hour. They were all conducted during the South African State of Disaster, South Africa’s response to COVID-19. And as such, the interviews were all conducted on Zoom, a virtual meeting platform. All participants are guaranteed anonymity and will be referred to as “participants”, and no pseudonyms were issued. There were health care workers on standby, clinical psychologists and social workers, in case any of the participants incurred triggering moments and emotional breakdowns during the data collection/interviews. None of the participants made use of them, however.

The research encountered only but one challenge, as abovementioned, a particular participant’s interview was withdrawn in attempts to put the participant at ease for her safety concerns. The other related challenge to the above was nonresponse from approached participants. Due to the

nature of this research's subject, naturally participants were paranoid, anxious and some feared the research of having ulterior motives and of collusion with alleged perpetrators. This was understood due to the pain many of the approached participants encountered, many felt disappointed and betrayed in previous encounters nonrelated to this research and researcher. Participants were asked twenty questions, and a summary of responses were collated during the data analysis of this research. This research had two motives, the first was to establish how women felt about #MeToo in the SAFT industry, and its impact, and how both men and women in the SAFT industry responded.

The first participant was unsure if #MeToo had an impact in her line of work, she claims many people have said it holds people accountable, she personally does not see that. The first participant is an independent producer and director. She claims the movement was impactful for the industry as a whole however, but not so much in her position as a producer or director. She believes there are many issues post #MeToo still, largely the lack of females in heavy duty crew roles on set. She makes an example of the lack and absence of female Directors of Photography (DOPs). She believes there is a gap there, and strongly asserts that the absence of female DOPs is not because there aren't any, but because the industry is not hiring women for the position, due to gender constructs perpetuated by society.

Prior to #MeToo, the first participant stated that the SAFT industry had female producers mostly, but there was always a male director, male DOP, the only female personnel were makeup and wardrobe assistants. Production coordinators were mostly female. Heavy duty work was for males, women would do the 'domesticated' crew services. Post #MeToo, the first participant believes there are slight changes in the employment of crew, men are now in wardrobe, female DOPs are now coming up and there are now male production managers. When asked about how broadcasters have reacted to the noise of #MeToo, she believes that broadcasters are now insisting on female leads and more female dominant stories.

The first participant believes that casting agencies actors guilds have risen to the occasion in protecting their talent, they have become more supportive to actress's, checking if they were picked up on time, if they got to set and home safe, as well as being strict about their rates. Male actors were previously paid more, this has gradually changed post #MeToo. The first participant shared how she has a conversations with all the men on her set, how to treat females and which

roles they are to play. Protection is paramount to her. Her contracts do not have sexual harassment and consequences, she feels this needs to be in policies of the SAFT industry and regulations. She shares that she always had these conversations because sexual harassment has always be on a high, she's worked with many men and claims she knows how they are. When asked about which position is likely to violate an actress, she was certain it was a director. She makes an example of a male director she once worked with, who would have sexual relations with female actors, and then approach the writers to write more dialogue for the female actor. Directors in the SAFT industry do not have a guild body, unlike producers and this is possibly one of the reasons directors have been alleged to being one of the biggest enablers as far as sexual harassment is concerned.

The first participant was asked if she believed that ear marking and blacklisting existed to females who spoke up about harassment, to which she agreed that it is very much in existence. According to her, females are very afraid to be seen as problematic. The first participant has made mention that she is aware that male producers and directors are sexually active with talent, as well as inexperienced female producers, who sexually work their way to the top with channel executives and commissioning editors for opportunities. In her many years of experience as a producer and director, the first participant has never encountered a sexual harassment clause on a contract, even when subcontracted on another production. She claims she has seen male crew "fool around" with female talent, when rebuked the male crew usually downplay it and claim he was merely joking around.

The first participant has no knowledge of the SWIFT and SAGA code of good practice, SWIFT's safety contact officers (SCOs), SAGA's reporting guide or even the dialogues and talks launched by SAGA and SWIFT and admits to not having worked on the big SAFT sets in a while, though this does not excuse the low knowledge of these initiatives. The first participant feels safe only on her sets, on sets she is subcontracted on, she does not feel safe and does not think other female practitioners feel safe either. When asked what she said or did when women were saying '#MeToo', she explains that she was reminding her male crew members, reminding them of their talks. The noise was loud but could have been louder- in her view. She claims if it was loud enough, we would have to search for the change. She believes the low number of the women

who partook in #MeToo, may have contributed to the murmur of the ‘noise’. Women are the minority she says.

The first participant believes that the male response was denial during the #MeToo outrage. When asked about the impact of social media, as reasons behind the failures or success of #MeToo- the first participant believes that social media did spread the word but faded very quickly. It brought about ‘cancel culture’ (which refers to a social media outcry of naming and shaming a culprit, and having them fired from a position, hence the word ‘cancel’). The first participant felt uncertain when asked if she had the same opportunity as a man in the SAFT industry, and then reverts with a resounding ‘NO’. She then makes an example of newly graduated females film and television graduate, and their slim chances of finding work, unless there is a more established female such as herself who would believe in the newly graduated female practitioner and give her an opportunity. When asked if women are united in the SAFT industry, she responds by saying;

We are but not for long. Women don’t have a backbone though. So not so much, because if we were, we would stand together and there wouldn’t be gaps. Women who sleep with the men at the top are lacking opportunities

When asked if she ever experienced sexual harassment on a set/ or her set, or ever witnessed another female practitioner harassed, the first participant stated that she had never been harassed but was working on a production where an allegation from an actress came forward about harassment. She claims that the allegation was dismissed as the actress was “problematic” and had “issues”. She too admits having jumped on that bandwagon of blaming the actress, but now profusely regrets it. She also is committed to including a sexual harassment clause in her contracts in the future.

The second participant is an award-winning television and film actress and has graced the screens of very laudable screen productions both in South Africa, and abroad. She believes #MeToo did nothing for her field, according to her, producers and directors are still having sexual relations with talent. She has expressed irritation on the women who entertain these predators and attests this to women not wanting to act anymore. By act, she means putting in the hours and hard work to hone an art or skill. When asked if #MeToo was impactful in the SAFT industry as a whole, she responds by saying, “It’s made producers to know “we see you” and agents to account why actresses are preferred for certain roles”. She believes that a hashtag was

put on what was already known. All the harassment is still continuing. She believes that sometimes it's not about harassment, sometimes one is fired for not being 'sexy enough'. Her MeToo is not being sexually appealing and thus results in bad treatment (colorism). The participant explains how her dark skin color has often been a hindrance and has lost a role to light in complexion actresses. She elaborates how light skinned actresses are preferred than dark skinned ones.

According to the second participant, producers are still having sexual relations with actresses. She details an experience she is aware of, whereby a leading lady on a soapie is sexually active with the producer and lives large. She believes beauty over talent is a real issue in the SAFT industry. She believes producers are disrespecting the craft by holding open calls for work on Facebook yet there are agents. This results in no respect for the art and acting in South Africa. She questions on who is casting and why they use social media to cast. She suggests that this is merely a gimmick to lure vulnerable and gullible girls for sex. She also adds that channels are "groupies" who love influencers (social media sensations with a large following) and get them to play a role, and they are compromising quality and talent. Furthermore, she believes channels are only interested in figures and marketing, that's it. Some actresses are paying to be in productions according to her.

The second participant states that men on set make her uncomfortable. But she has mastered befriending men so that they don't make sexual advances on her, a skill she learnt growing up in the township. In her words, "women continue to be drumsticks" in that men use them and throw them away like they're nothing. She expresses the lack of dignity afforded to female personnel on set, men use the designated female mobile toilets during shoots on set, and there is no regard for females in the industry, according to the second participant. In her view, men never have boundaries. The use of face masks is the only saving grace from harassment, since the outbreak of COVID-19, according to the second participant. The second participant is adamant that men do not recognize women and treat them as used utensils. She emphasizes that extras are treated far worse. The conditions extras continue to work under are unacceptable, says the second participant. Furthermore, she states that extras are paid by use of envelopes and do not get electronic payments and often are underpaid too. Beyond that, the second participant believes that male crew harass makeup and wardrobe females, and that the outcry #MeToo came because

of loud ‘big’ actresses, and not extras, had it been extras who began the hashtag, the second participant believes it would have not been successful.

The second participant believes that the casting process in the SAFT industry is an enabler to the gruesome sexual harassment culture and is often looks based and not on merit and competence. The issue of silencing, fear and intimidation still run high in the industry. According to the second participant, she is aware of actresses who are badly executing roles because they have sexual relations with the producer. She strongly believes #MeToo did nothing for the SAFT industry. When asked about how broadcasters responded to the hashtag, she boldly responds by saying, “they are the hashtag!”, to this she explains that broadcasters are the biggest enablers of perpetrators as they protect male talent implicated in sexual harassment scandals. She makes an example of *Moja Love TV* that protected two different male presenters who were embroiled in sexual misconduct, even a rape allegation. “The broadcaster merely exercises a suspension operation as check box tool kit, before taking the implicated male talent back again”, this is according to the second participant. She emphasizes that #MeToo was not South African, the country merely jumped on the bandwagon like the other countries that followed the United States. She asks where are South Africa’s own hashtags? And why can’t South Africa make its own documentaries like the other countries, exposing sexual predators?

The second participant believes reporting harassment to your agent is pointless because the agent will call the same personnel on the set you were harassed on, they’re more likely to protect their set by either firing the actress or firing the actor and then re-hire them again once the allegations have simmered. She also makes mention of the fact that as an actress, you’re exposed to sexual harassment as early as drama school. She cites acquitted lecturer, from the University of Witwatersrand who was found guilty of sexual misconduct. By the time an actress arrives to the working world, she has become immune to the sexual advances predatory, and this is not right. She says that most times an actress needs to go on ‘survival mode’ and that can either mean to make friends with the men or ‘dance around them’, giggling and entertaining their slight jabs and pokes of harassment.

The second participant believes there should be more female crew employment. Equity in the industry is a need. She also believes education and qualification should be a requirement. She believes quality is compromised. She believes there is no regulation on the industry, no

standard, and no requirement. She frowns upon the South African call to ‘open up the industry’ she believes it’s not even open to professionals, so why open it up to those who are just trying their luck? She believes broadcasters are not enough, so why open up when it hasn’t even opened up. The second participant details the financial, mental and emotional preparation an actress ought to undergo just for one audition, only for them to not be cast. She believes social media apps, *Tik Tok and Instagram* are taking jobs of actresses. This is largely because actresses are tired of working hard and not being recognized, so they create their own work.

She believes no man on set is to be under looked with regards to sexual harassment, it can happen from any department on set, a man with power or very little power can be capable of harassment. Silencing and earmarking is very high in the SAFT industry when it comes to an actress speaking up, this is according to the second participant. She wonders why women who were working before this current generation kept quiet, because she is certain harassment has always been rife in the industry. She speaks about how high ‘couch casting’ is in the industry, this refers to actresses who lie on their backs, on producers couches and engage in sexual acts for work. The second participant claims it is usually the beautiful and light in complexion women who fall victim to this casting process. She is of the view that feedback sessions should be created after an audition process, in which an actor can know where they can improve and why they did not get the role after an audition.

The second participant claims she has never seen a sexual harassment clause on a contract and believes that the definition of sexual harassment is vague, sets need awareness on what sexual harassment is. The contractual clauses on the contracts are merely rape toolkits in her view. She also has no knowledge of SWIFT’s SCO program, reporting guides by SAGA and SWIFT, Code of Good Practice, nor is she privy to any knowledge of dialogues and seminars denouncing sexual harassment. When asked if she feels safe on set, the second participant claims that it varies from production to production, and even having an agent does not guarantee her job security should she report unsafety or harassment on set. She wonders why SAFT sets can establish COVID-19 offices, but not offices strictly for sexual harassment. She wonders who would be properly qualified on a current SAFT set to handle sexual harassment reports. She claims that perpetrators are usually taken again when several women complain about them, but not always, as channels/broadcasters protect them.

When asked what she said or did during the #MeToo era, she claims she honestly sat and watched others hashtag as #MeToo is as temporary as the hashtag itself in South Africa. She believes if the SAFT industry was truly serious about sexual harassment, many SABC executives would be fired by now, and many other commissioning editors from various broadcasters who collude with perpetrators. She references an accused, musical sensation, and television star, 'Jub Jub' who was reinstated by broadcaster *Moja Love*, amidst rape allegations. She believes if this continues to happen, no change will come with regards to sexual harassment in the SAFT industry. She believes men took no accountability towards the hashtag; they mostly believed it was a hashtag to discredit 'innocent' men.

In her experience, she believes the best of the best men (the most talented) are the worst of the worst in terms of sexual predators. She makes mention of actor and presenter, SK Khoza who has been accused of sexual misconduct, who is a father of two girls and believes he has been given ample opportunities to change his outlook. She claims if the widely circulated video of him being sexually inappropriate, in 2021 did not emerge, the public would have never known his transgression. She claims that Khoza is not the only one, men in the SAFT industry have been doing this for years, high profile men in the SAFT industry. She references the rape allegations against DJs Eufonik and DJ Fresh, who came under fire in 2020/21 for their allegations.

The second participant believes that social media is the new television, it holds power and has exposed many GBV stories. The case of slain Tshgofatso Pule, who was allegedly killed by hitman linked to her boyfriend and father of her unborn child, this was exposed by social media, as well as the GBV case of Karabo Mokoena, which sparked GBV and #MeToo conversations in 2017/18 in South Africa. The second participant does not believe she has equal opportunities as men, and details how badly written female stories are in narratives, they have no depth and have a shallow story journey. She believes women in the SAFT industry are united to a certain degree. She mentions that it depends on which cliques you belong to, she cites witchcraft as a divider among women in the SAFT industry. She also cites women who sleep their way to the top as a divider among women. She further explains that she does not mind consensual sex between an actress and a male practitioner with power in the SAFT industry, all she asks is that the actress can at least act and bring justice to the role, as well as respect the craft. She wonders

why experienced actresses must suffer compromised quality due to a woman who has sexual relations with the ‘right’ men.

The second participant claims she herself has never been harassed on set, but has observed it happening to other women through directors who pull impromptu directions on an actress during a take, i.e. expecting the actress to take off her bra during a heated sexual scene, which was never discussed prior. She also believes that the industry needs to employ more female sound technicians, that way male sound technicians will only mic men, and women will mic women, eradicating potential harassment risks. The SAFT industry has a history of employing male sound engineers, and it is usually these male sound engineers who take advantage of women when micing them up.

The third participant is an award-winning film producer, development executive and director in South Africa. She began her career as a production assistant, working on high profile television productions in South Africa. She is internationally acclaimed and has sound knowledge of the SAFT industry. She believes that #MeToo was impactful in creating an awareness of sexual predatory in the SAFT industry. When she began working in the industry, she was always made aware to dress ‘appropriately’ so as to avoid harassment and to have a pleasant and peaceful day. She details how she has always kept that at the back of her mind, but not knowing why she does that. When the hashtag dropped, she felt validated that she was not alone, if it can happen in Hollywood, it can happen anywhere says the third participant. The third participant insists that male privilege is a norm in South Africa. She is grateful for #MeToo because she believes it assisted her in locating her own experiences, it gave it a name and validated her bad experiences of harassment as wrong.

The third participant claims that post #MeToo the SAFT industry is still unregulated, there are no set fees or rates, and you can be paid anything. There is no HR- “If your boss is ill-treating you, who do you go to? If your boss is HR, Finance, etc. who then do you go to? You speak up you’ll be blacklisted” explains the third participant. She does believe however that there is an awareness since #MeToo, producers are cautious on how they deal with personnel on set, being careful to not come across as a ‘Harvey Weinstein’. The third participant believes that things were not like that in the SAFT industry before #MeToo. Harassment and abuse of power was a norm according to her. She has become more aware that actresses are now speaking up, and

producers are less crass and blatant when engaging talent. Though women are speaking up more, and dressing as freely as they please, she believes some women are taking it ‘too far’ and are dressing ‘provocatively’. The third participant does not believe that the casting agents have done much since #MeToo, neither have broadcasters. She details an incident of an actress who dressed ‘provocatively’ (participants words), and the male casting coordinator was ‘salivating’ over the actress, and this was in 2018 during the siren of #MeToo in South Africa. The participant claims that she called the male casting coordinator to order.

The third participant believes a code of conduct meeting should be mandatory before a shoot begins, with cast and crew alike. Sexual harassment should be highlighted and its consequences, says the third participant. She explains that this was done when she worked in corporate, but she has never experienced it in the SAFT industry. She also believes no man is exempt from being a potential harasser on set. It can even be a security guard on set, she claims she has seen it with her own eyes. The third participant believes that silencing and earmarking is definitely in existence.

The third participant shares her knowledge of a producer on an SABC production (who has been mentioned over four times in the data collection of this research) who only casts his ‘girlfriends’ and women who have sexual relations with him. She also mentions how the said producer only gives sexual and raunchy scenes for an audition. She also shares her knowledge of an E-tv production she was working on, and the E-tv executive insisted on a particular actress to be casted, it was later found that the actress and the E-tv executive were having sexual relations. She has also observed how actresses ‘throw themselves’ at producers, and the producer telling production that the actress will be cast in season two of that production. The third participant believes it is not right that the actress always gets frowned on for having sexual relations with a producer, she believes that sometimes women felt ‘forced’ to do it, to keep and secure their jobs. Third participant has never seen a sexual harassment clause prior and post #MeToo on her contract. She is also unaware or seen the code of good practice by SWIFT and SAGA, the reporting guide by SAGA, SWIFT’s SCO program or any of the dialogues held by industry bodies in relation to sexual harassment.

The third participant does not feel safe on set, but if every personnel is professional, she does. Her major fear and concern is that women are not protected with regards to sexual harassment in

the SAFT industry. The third participant only remembered during her interview when asked about her response to #MeToo, that she had actually gone to social media to say '#MeToo'. She explains how warmly embraced she was by other women and felt supported. She noticed how everyone was supporting one another and was startled that it had happened to so many people. When asked about the male response in the SAFT industry, she claims it was defensive and men never took any responsibility. She highly praises the presence and impact of social media and thanks God for it, she believes through social media, women from around the world could share their experiences and be in solidarity with one another.

She recalls a time when videos and pictures were circulated on social media, women denouncing sexual predators and harassment globally. The third participant does not feel she has the same opportunity as men, she believes that there are initiatives that enable women, and consider them first but feels the SAFT industry is pro men, and that men are made excuses for. She is unsure if women in the SAFT industry are united, though she states that her doors have always been opened by women. According to the participant, all her working opportunities in the SAFT industry were given by women. Had it not been women who gave her a chance or an opportunity, she wouldn't be working in the SAFT industry.

The third participant shares that there's only but one male producer she's worked with who has never made sexual advances on her, all the others have. The third participant has in the past observed an actress being harassed on a set, she avoided the situation because she feels one sacrifices themselves for the greater good of the production. She had a very intense dispute with a producer who harassed her once, a producer had crossed the line with her before and she explains that it got awkward.

The fourth participant is a seasoned producer, writer, broadcast executive and director. She has credible and sound experience in the SAFT industry. She believes #MeToo did not impact her personally, but her testimony impacted many women. She was triggered and remembered her experience when the movement emerged. She details how a journalist friend of hers contacted her and offered to assist her speak up. The unintended impact was the various citations she received by her testimony. For her, it was important for justice to be served for women who had suffered in "his hands and penis" (referring to her perpetrator). She shares how eight women approached her for solidarity, before she publicly opened up about her perpetrator, a famous film

and television producer/director. Her open testimony went viral and sparked outrage and conversation around sexual predators in South Africa, and the African continent at large. The incident traumatized her, and had to deal with questions from her family who wondered why she decided to come out now? She also details how she had to deal with industry colleagues who downplayed it to just “that thing”. She is adamant that #MeToo on its own was impactful and held weight. The participant explains how her feminism (ideals she stands by as a woman) was questioned, and she had to remind herself that she didn’t do anything- He did (her perpetrator). She shares Shailja Patel’s view on how a woman’s body is her first home;

“When a man invades a woman’s body space without her invitation, touches, grabs and gropes her without her consent, he violates her sovereignty of person. He evicts her from her own body. Our bodies are first home, if we are not safe in our bodies, we are always homeless”³⁸⁹

The fourth participant exclaims, “Something did happen to me! I was violated”. The fourth participant claims that normalization of harassment is what makes it seem like it’s nothing. She details her experience of reporting her harassment claim at Norwood police station in Johannesburg. Upon her arrival, she was served by a female police officer who took her into a private room, according to the participant, the female police officer only looked interested in getting a quick dose of gossip before knocking off. After the participant finished detailing her traumatic experience, the disinterested female police officer referred her to Rosebank police station in Johannesburg. Upon her arrival at Rosebank police station, she had to begin her testimony again. She was being assisted by a male police officer who dismissed her claim by saying nothing happened. She had to make examples about the police officer, for him to fully understand her violation and trauma.

Sir let’s say a man twice your size. Grabs you, forces his tongue in your mouth and kisses you, without your consent- how would you feel?

It was only then that the police officer understood her trauma and violation. She wonders why she had to personalize it for him to take harassment seriously. She was more offended by women claiming to be feminists downplaying her experience. She makes an example of an experiment that was once done, where men and women were given boards to write when last they felt unsafe, men had nothing written on their boards, and women continued writing until the

³⁸⁹S Patel, <https://thu-ja.tumblr.com/post/119388768252/when-a-man-invades-a-womans-body-space-without>, accessed:26/05/2022

allocated time lapsed. This she says, shows us what a crisis women are in on a daily. She details how growing up in South Africa as a woman, you are aware that men are made excuses for and should a man violate you, the general response will be, “what were you doing there in the first place?”.

The fourth participant lauds SWIFT for attempting to curb sexual harassment against women in the SAFT industry, but states that there’s only so much they can do. She details there were many petitions and attempts at the time, and wonders where all those have disappeared to. She is adamant that nobody is going to call men to order, one can attempt in contract clauses but that still will not be impactful according to the fourth participant. The participant strongly believes that it shouldn’t be a woman’s job to call a man to order, men should call themselves to order. One saving grace for the fourth participant was that she was a director on set, and nobody would harass a director in her view. Most of these sexual harassment incidents do not happen in broad day light, they happen in secret and after hours, hence the legacy of harassment continues according to the participant.

The fourth participant claims broadcasters have done nothing post #MeToo to change the status quo, she shares she has friends at the SABC, who too feel nothing has changed. She shares that many industries did sign pledges and petitions, but most she feels only signed because they knew her, and not because they wanted to see change. She also finds the IBFC’s statement denouncing harassment as ‘problematic’, as she believes many people supported and stood with her perpetrator before. When asked about what policies can be adapted or put in practice to deal with sexual harassment in the SAFT industry, she asks “what does policy do? It didn’t change white people’s treatment of black people. But you’d need plenty signatures, men won’t call each other out. Men won’t allow that. Patriarchy doesn’t do that. Policy vs patriarchy does not balance”.

The fourth participant also believes that any man on set is capable of harassment, it is not just limited to directors or producers. She believes even the driver to set is capable of harassing a female practitioner. The participant believes that silencing and earmarking exist in the SAFT industry. She believes that there are violent consequences when women speak up. A woman bears the risk of physical harm, a slap and intimidation. She believes getting a male fired on a set will brew angry and violent male personnel. The conundrum is that a woman will be violated for

speaking up, and not for remaining silent and bearing the pain. The fourth participant believes speaking to the perpetrator to refrain from their advances will almost certainly bear no fruit.

Sexual relations for jobs is real according to the participant, and its mainly initiated by men familiar to them as female practitioners, it is not a stranger or an unknown colleague, but rather those they've interacted with many times. Once again, the same male SABC television producer is mentioned as being a perpetrator of sexual harassment. Another SABC television producer, who has and continues to produce stellar television programs is also fingered to be a perpetrator by the fourth participant. She claims she has never seen a sexual harassment violation clause in any of her contracts. With regards to SWIFT and SAGA's code of good practice, SWIFTs SCO program, SAGA's reporting guide, dialogues and talks on sexual harassment, she claims she is aware of them, but only because SWIFT has said on paper they exist, she has never physically seen or experienced the initiatives.

The fourth participant says the only time she feels safe on set is when the camera is rolling, other than that, she feels unsafe on set. She further explains that the issue was not only on set, it is a societal issue, even walking to your car at night makes a woman unsafe. When the hashtag broke out, she was proud of the brave American actresses who had courage to speak up, she was concerned about how the US media had marginalized and excluded Tarana Burkes, the founder of #MeToo however. She also wondered when South African women would garner the courage to speak up and denounce harassment in the industry. She claims that she was not thinking about her own experience at the time the hashtag arrived. She also wondered when these known male predators in the SAFT industry would be exposed. The participant names them and the popular television programs they produce, and claims that they are predators who have been taking advantage of female talent for years. The male response in her view, had men reach out to her and 'broke rank' by going against the usual solidarity men have when protecting each other. Some, she claims reached out to her but was disappointed in an Egyptian female director who she looked up to, who supported her perpetrator. The female director claimed that the allegations against her perpetrator were denting to his image, this startled the participant. The participant claims that she ended many friendships since she spoke up, especially with enablers.

The fourth participant lauds social media for its role in promoting #MeToo, and women coming forward to speak up. She references a woman who came forward to speak up about an alleged

sexual predator in the SAFT industry. The predator raped the woman twice and still had to endure more harassment. She also believes that women do not have the same opportunities as men in the SAFT industry. According to her, women producers hire men more than women in many instances. She calls the SAFT industry a 'boys club'. The participant believes women are not united, and thinks it is unfortunate that women need to have sexual relations with men to succeed. She mentions two production houses that were mentioned over five times by participants in the data collection of this research. These production houses are alleged to be dominant in harassing women sexually. Both the owners of these production houses are black men, one in his seventies and the other in his mid-thirties.

Over fifty percent of women interviewed in this research have mentioned how they are aware of people close to them who have knowledge of their continuing sexual predating. The fourth participant shared of her knowledge of commissioning editors asking producers for sexual favors before commissioning them with thirteen-part episodes.

The participant also shares that she could never do that, "It never would make sense to me. So, I would have to get myself raped before I get commissioned?" The fourth participant claims she has observed harassment on set but it is always covered with jokes, 'khawenze' (come on) is usually the phrase she hears from male crew personnel to female personnel or actresses. This phrase is usually sexually suggestive and is followed by hand demeanors and facial expressions suggesting sex. Most of the harassment on set is camouflaged in jokes, enabling the unacceptable behavior. The participant feels that sexual harassment is a societal issue infiltrating itself on set. She claims it happens everywhere, even churches.

The fifth participant is an actress who has graced many successful television and film productions. She has vast experience and has worked with many formidable film/television producers and directors. She believes #MeToo has changed so much and brought awareness. Though it broke out in Hollywood it infiltrated to SAFT and believes it brings about accountability. She believes misogyny is real in the world, now the world has awareness of it. The fifth participant feels there is now a safety net even for men. She believes #MeToo is one sided, men are also harassed and further explains that men who would speak up would be questioned about their sexuality. The fifth participant believes that South Africa is still very conservative and patriarchal. She expresses how 'Millennials' (born between 1981-1996) and

Generation Z (born between 1997-2012) are the only vocal ones with regards to #MeToo, the older generation is still conservative, and the legacy is family history in which people are not allowed to speak up. She details how women who do not form part of millennials and generation z, have a legacy of 'keeping it in the family'. In that, she means- not exposing family dark secrets, so much so that they've been accustomed to being silent about issues like sexual harassment. She believes older women in the industry are not pro speaking up.

The fifth participant makes strong mention of mental health being a major issue in the SAFT industry. She speaks to the issue of harassment and its impact leading to depression and suicide and the urgent need for industry bodies to attend to this. She attests the issues of sexual harassment to be a societal norm and issue. She makes an example of a respected community leader who may be liked or respected in the community and is alleged to be a violator, the victim is often questioned. She believes it is the same in the SAFT industry. If the perpetrator is respected or liked, the victim/survivor becomes the issue and is questioned. She believes that Post #MeToo cleaning up of wounds is taking place. She also believes South Africa has a history of sweeping things under the rug. "People cannot wait for pain to die down, so they no longer have to talk about it". The participant explains that she has never felt comfortable on set, and since getting married she's made it a priority to not lurk and linger around on set after being wrapped. That lurking and lingering may get you into situations she believes. She also made a decision early in her career to never attend wrap parties, but in one production she went against her word, and attended one. She claims that she felt it would be safe because it was an international film. She details how her drink got spiked, she does not recall how, and when it happened, she remembers passing out in the bathroom and a crew member banging on the bathroom door, she does not know how she got home nor is she certain that nothing happened to her.

She does believe post #MeToo crew and personnel are a little more cautious in how they 'joke' and now second guess anything they say. She also attests to the momentous strides the SAFT industry is making in having intimacy coaches (IC's). She herself experienced an IC on set, and says she has never felt safer, liberated, and protected. She highly praises the white producer of that white owned production for being "amazing" and making sure she was comfortable and protected. She feels some male actors do not know boundaries. She shares how her co actor and

a colleague she regards as a friend would get too 'touchy' and physical with her, and she would always brush it off. She mentions how the actor is always well behaved around her husband, and wonders what he would do if her husband were to see how touchy and physical, he can be with her. She feels he is taking advantage of his absence on set. Sets in her view have become very cautious in how they deal with talent. Men are only mic'd by men and women by women. She shares that when she first begun working in the SAFT industry, she would keep quiet, thinking things are done as they should, and now with experience she speaks up if she feels discomfort.

She is uncertain what roles broadcasters and channels have played post #MeToo, she does believe that broadcasters and channels are usually concerned with trending and relevance, she does not recall ever seeing a channel representative on set. She was impressed recently seeing a producer patrolling set and making sure everything was going well. In her view, unions are working really hard, but the problem is the passing of the Bills and that she says is where the struggle is. No matter how much they work, if government does not do anything, there won't be movement says the fifth participant.

She speaks highly of her agent who she's worked with for years and believes has always been in the habit of checking on her safety and well-being even prior to #MeToo. She believes industry bodies are working hard in implementing policies, but the execution and implementing of these policies is the problem. The fifth participant believes an actress is likely to be violated by a producer or director because they are the personnel with most power in a production. She also believes those are the two titles an actress is likely to want to impress. When she entered the industry she shares that all she wanted to was to impress. She recalls a time she was taken advantage of by a makeup crew member who sent her on an errand to the producer's office, she willingly went on the errand, thinking it's what is done. The producer was furious that an actress was sent on an errand and gave the makeup crew member a stern rebuke for not sending a production Assistant Director (AD) or a runner on an errand. She wonders how many other new actresses have been taken advantage of, and to which degree. The fifth participant shares during the research that she always strives to be politically correct, she does not tweet for the sake of tweeting, and she'd like to fully understand first, before doing so. She believes we live in a society that loves to put labels on things so as to accept it more. She believes social media and its hashtag movements possess 'cancel culture' and strongly dislikes that as she feels 'cancel

culture' makes no provision for forgiveness. She believes 'ear marking' is only applicable on women who have no influence, and a woman with influence is unlikely to be earmarked or silenced in the SAFT industry.

The fifth participant believes #MeToo was a classist movement for a certain level or league. Only high profile actresses qualified to speak up in her opinion. She believes a less known actress or extra would have unlikely made an impact. She believes #MeToo finds relevance for 'clout chasers' – Clout chasers are those who hop on a social media bandwagon for a temporal time. Game changing movements are not temporal but eternal according to the fifth participant. She shares how she was part of a presenter search competition, and a particular contestant was sexually intimate with the host of the presenter search and won. She believes that sexual relations with the influential and powerful men in the industry have opened door for many in the SAFT industry. The participant doesn't mind this, as long as it is consensual. She is of the view however that having sexual relations with powerful men as an actress will catch up with you. She justifies the women who have had sexual relations with high profile men in the SAFT industry to having 'worked' too and should not be frowned upon as if the men were innocent in the equation. She shares how she has been offered sexual favors by powerful men in the SAFT industry but has always declined them.

The fifth participant is not fully convinced if she's seen a sexual harassment clause on her contract, but thinks she has. She details her experience on an international set recently and says South Africa has a long way to go in how they handle sexual harassment. She explains how the international film industry (United States) take sexual harassment seriously. The set was very sexual harassment cautious and intolerant. She attests this to the United States tabloid culture, and how productions are cautious about not being labelled badly. According to her, tabloid culture in South Africa is not as dominant. She is unaware of SWIFT and SAGA's code of good practice, SWIFT's safety contact officers but is aware of SAGA's talks and dialogues on sexual harassment. She claims she is always receiving invites by SAGA to these talks. She can also attest to the introduction of ICs in South Africa. She also feels a lot safer on set recently, and if she does not, she will leave.

She expresses that her silence on #MeToo on social media was not sinister but it gave her time to process her own experience of sexual violation. She's also cognizant of not wanting to be

portrayed as ‘weak’ and as a victim. She also wanted to safeguard and protect her loved ones who would be affected by her confession. She shares her admiration for women who have spoken up and finds them strong. But, she shares that exposing people on social media may have detrimental effects on their loved ones, who were unaware. She shares how she is not in the business of explaining her sexual violation as she fears that she will be questioned, as if it wasn’t enough that she went through it, now she’ll find herself having to explain it- when it happened to her and did nothing wrong. The participant claims she is comfortable in her silence but is often haunted by the thought of her silence being an enabler. She wonders what if her perpetrator does it to somebody else. She once again emphasizes the need for mediation and forgiveness before cancel culture in which she feels #MeToo is guilty of.

The fifth participant believes the male response brought about fear. Men have become scared to do anything that will implicate them, says the participant. She also shares that there are men who claim “not all men rape” which she emphasizes is not the point and the type of conversation that is needed. She also believes that women must check on men regularly, in her view men are broken and act out in negative ways because of no role models. She believes women are not paying attention to men and believes the lack of mentors amongst men is problematic. She emphasizes that men are broken and have inherent pain that was merely passed down and infused from generation to generation caused by apartheid. The fifth participant believes those that jumped on the #MeToo bandwagon for the limelight, are invalidating those who truly went through it. Some she believes only cried ‘#MeToo’ to be relevant.

She praises social media for its impact because without it, there would not have been a #MeToo. She does not feel as if she has the same opportunities as men but does see women stories being told and things are changing. She still does not feel she is equal with a white male actor, however. A series she recently worked on only had white female leads. The participant feels women in the SAFT industry are only united with women they like and get along with. The rejection of the industry and not getting a particular role becomes sweeter when a friend of yours gets it, she says. Though the participant was harassed, it was never in the SAFT industry. She has never experienced or physically observed it in the SAFT industry and would not be happy if it occurred on a set she was on. If it did happen, she believes it was behind closed doors and never witnessed it.

The sixth participant is a film graduate, actress and filmmaker. She has graced various television productions and has worked with formidable actors and actresses, as well as directors and producers. She believes #MeToo did make an impact. She further explains that it's through #MeToo that she broke into a male dominated sphere of SAFT, and that is Assistant Directing. She also shares that she's received far less advances from men on set, since #MeToo emerged. The participant believes that #MeToo shook a lot of people in power as it's usually them that abuse and harass actresses. She does believe however that though impactful, #MeToo came and left, and feels organizations like SWIFT were there once and then 'disappeared'.

Though the harassment has lessened according to the sixth participant, she shares how an actress is merely cast based on her looks. She shares how directors send some of her light skinned actress friends Direct Messages (DM's) on Instagram that possess a sexual suggestive nature. She emphasizes that harassment is still taking place, but perpetrators are doing it with composure. The sixth participant feels that prior to #MeToo the sexual scenes were not treated with dignity. She explains how crew members (male) would make sexual comments and noises when it was a day to shoot sexual scenes. The participant believes this has occurred on more than one production she has been in. She shares how sets are now more dignified, crew members consult with an actress and ask for consent before mic'ing them or 'coming into their space'. Though snub comments of a sexual nature are still made, it has lessened. She shares how a male crew member recently remarked, "When I saw you from afar, I knew it was you" and makes hand gestures suggesting he knew it was her based on her buttocks.

The sixth participant believes that casting agencies took #MeToo 'very seriously' and stood by any actress who alleged was harassed on set. She also states that agents have been less involved due to COVID-19 and the emergence of self-tapes as the common way of auditioning. She attests that SAGA is holding regular workshops on harassment, it's just the actresses who are not forthcoming and attending. The participant shares how call sheets are emphasizing respect and consent on set. She mentions a production house she recently worked with that held a briefing session on what harassment is, and what will not be tolerated on set as far as harassment is concerned. The same production house has been mentioned by over three participants during data collection to being the most dominant in sexually harassing actresses. When asked about

policies, she believes they could be enforced, she strongly reverts with “Equity!” She believes gender equity must be made mandatory; the dismantling of pet names uttered by crew to talent as well as gender constructs. She believes the dismantling of gender constructs will dismantle patriarchy in the SAFT industry.

The sixth participant believes an actress is likely to be violated by a producer if he is always present on set, a director and a sound crew member as she feels they come too close sometimes when mic'ing an actress and makes sexually suggestive remarks. She believes silencing and earmarking exists in the SAFT industry and gets emotional during the interview when explaining how disgusting it is to blacklist and silence an actress who merely spoke up when it was the male predator who was wrong. She speaks of the colorism that exists in the SAFT industry. She shares how predators are after light skinned actresses, she believes they have become a target and believes it needs to stop. She is also aware of couch casting; she believes many directors approach actresses and promise them a role in exchange for sex. She is troubled by males in power in the SAFT industry who take advantage of gullible actresses, abusing their power.

The sixth participant attests that she is seeing more sexual harassment clauses on her contracts, especially after the year 2020. She has no knowledge of SWIFT and SAGA’s code of good practice and SWIFT’s SCO initiative and finds it sad that productions are not making use of them. She shares how she feels safe on the current set she’s working on and is grateful that there have not been scenes that compromise her safety. When #MeToo emerged she felt overwhelmed, she remembered how she was violated and sexually harassed on set before and had a yearning that the perpetrators be brought to book. All the things she swept under the carpet suddenly reemerged. She had convinced herself that she had dealt with it and was fine but realized she had not when #MeToo emerged. She felt validated that she was not overreacting, what was done to her was wrong and it should not have been done. “He was harassing me, and it was wrong!” She believes that #MeToo gave her experience a name, for years she battled to give it a definition.

The sixth participant claims that men did not take #MeToo serious in the SAFT industry and would casually ‘joke’ amongst each other on not being on the ‘list’ as if there was a witch hunt to place men on some ‘list’ for harassment. Men in her social circles all acted shocked but no one wanted to take accountability or admit to having been a perpetrator. But, she believes one sees that impact of #MeToo on men in how they behave courteous on set since the hashtag. She

believes men are careful on what they say and how they say it. The participant claims that social media amplifies attention on a cause, no one wants to be cancelled and no one wants to be on the bad side of social media. She believes social media exposes the under the carpet, and believes social media worked and was powerful in relation to #MeToo.

When asked if she believes women have the same opportunities as men in the SAFT industry, the sixth participant exclaims with, “Hell no!!” and further quotes South African actress, Masasa Mbangeni who lamented that women in the SAFT industry are not allowed to grow up. She believes if women age or gain weight they risk chances of not being cast, yet men can age and gain as much weight as they please and will still be cast. The sixth participant believes there is absolutely no unity amongst women in the SAFT industry according to her. Women are more concerned on how they look for a man. They are not slightly concerned for being there for each other. They merely seek a man’s approval and validation.

The sixth participant shares how a director once expected her to go beyond what the script expected. The director kept commenting that the scene could be more “sexual” this comment he made during the filming of the scene, and not prior. She was fixated in giving the director what he wanted but was very uncomfortable. The director proceeded to call the participant to the side and explain in private how ‘sexual’ he would like her to portray the scene to prove he knew his demand was unacceptable. At that time, she saw nothing to it, though she felt discomfort. She only realized post #MeToo that was a violation, and this she believes is the power of #MeToo.

The seventh participant is a creative producer, producer and director. She is the brains behind some of South Africa’s thriving telenovela’s and began her career as a continuity crew member. She has vast SAFT experience and believes #MeToo was not impactful, it merely made a noise and was only impactful overseas. She believes that even post #MeToo things are the same, and references Uyinene’s death and how social media made a noise and then kept quiet, “It’s the same with Uyinene, it made a noise and then silence. We’re still getting harassed and still getting raped”. The participant shares how she would feel sexual stares from male crew members when she would enter a set, being a female director she shares that it can be daunting. She further explains at the back of her mind, she’d keep wishing and hoping the male crew members would stop staring at her. This is why she shares that she adapted an aura and facial demeanor as a coping mechanism and ‘scaring’ men away, so much that they called her, “Hectic”. She further

shares how directors are mostly men, especially during her time as a continuity crew member, which allowed her to sit closely with the directors. She shares how she kept feeling, “Andifuni uncwaswa (I don’t want to be desired)”.

The seventh participant believes sexual harassment on set is done very subtly; “you can’t even report it- though it is very much there”. She shares how exhausting it is to be ‘looked at’ and dealing with the sexual innuendos on a daily. She shares her experience of growing up in the township and connotations associated with women who are built like her, “hairy and a big bum, there’s a sexualized connotation with women like us in the township”. She shares how that transcended to set life, male crew members often had no boundaries and would brush the hairs on her arm. She further states that reporting such acts would be difficult because one cannot put it in words, but it is sexual and is harassment. She is cognizant of men who take advantage of women on set and believes women are lied to by male crew members, who promise them heaven and earth, only so they can have sexual relations with them. She feels extras mostly fall victim to this, as many are untrained actresses and are merely doing it for exposure and to build a profile.

Most male crew members she shares will approach gullible young female extras who do not know the title hierarchy and will fall for empty promises in exchange for sex. She also shares that the biggest sexual harassment acts on set are the things ‘unsaid’. It’s innuendos, gestures and facial expressions. The participant believes men do not have role models, they do not know any better, “We are fighting people who do not know any better”, we’re empowering our girls on how to protect themselves, and not the perpetrator on how to keep his zip up”.

The seventh participant believes that when #MeToo broke out in the SAFT industry, there was a scare and SWIFT was very prominent. She shares how she was often called the ‘SWIFT lady’ by male crew members who would warn each other to stay clear of her. She also shares that there was a ‘joke’ going around, shared by men amongst each other, “I will SWIFT you”. She shares that the noise has now died down. She is grateful for the noise, but it has done nothing according to her. The participant shares that prior to #MeToo, in her view harassment on set was 100% and now 85%. She believes the harassment is now in eye contact and gestures, rather than words and forthcoming physical actions. As someone who works closely with broadcast executives, she shares that broadcasters are not concerned with harassment, they are concerned with the final finished product. In her view, broadcasters just want producers to take care of their sets and to

make producers pretend like “their house is in order, and when things happen, they will react publicly, and comment privately, saying to producers- ‘get your house in order’.

The seventh participant shares the example of a male crew member, making empty promises to an extra and having sex with them, though the sex was ‘consensual’ it is still harassment. She makes another example, a male director invites an actress out for dinner and promises her a role, thereafter he makes a condition that if the actress has a sexual evening with him, he will get her a role. Though the sexual encounter would be ‘consensual’ it is still harassment. She further explains that it is harassment because it is an abuse of power. The participant shares that there are many very beautiful women on our SAFT screens who cannot act and shares how she and industry colleagues already know she (the actress) is sexually involved with a man in power in the SAFT industry. Another point she raised during the interview was the lack of Human Resources (HR) in SAFT sets. She attests this to be problematic in the SAFT industry as there is no regulation and direction, hence men abuse women as they please.

The seventh participant believes HR is needed on set to detail and explain what harassment is, and must be mandatory on every SAFT set, HR she believes must be a requirement on set. She believes that a set is an unconventional office and should be treated as such. She shares how a male actor she worked with recently shared that a ‘compliment’ can also be harassment, and she believes men have crossed that line many times. When asked about which male crew department is likely to violate a female practitioner on set, she exclaims almost immediately with, “Every man!” The participant shares how she’s surprised she’s even working, vocal women such as herself don’t work, she says. She lauds her work ethic as a probable reason as to why she is still employed, but is also quick to reason that there are women who have impeccable work ethic and are still silenced. She believes her saving grace has been to deliver, and not compromise on her work. She believes she was almost scarred by a previous experience when she spoke up about harassment and nothing was done about it.

The participant shares how her initial dream of being an actress was shattered right in front of her eyes, when during her second audition, a director said if she can do sexual favors for a role, she’ll get cast. She further shares that when talent is not matching good acting, one always knows that the actress is having sexual relations with the powers that be. She also shares that when the treatment displays favoritism on certain actresses, it almost confirms to her that a

sexual transaction is occurring with talent and the producer/director. Too many hungry females and greedy males are the reason harassment still happening and won't go away anytime soon, according to the seventh participant.

The seventh participant shares how since 2020, she has observed a sexual harassment clause on her contracts, but she feels it just a form, it makes no change. "We had signed a form on sexual harassment on a particular production, and the director was still harassing us!" She claims to never have seen any SCOs from SWIFT, never seen or heard of the code of good practice by SWIFT and SAGA, nor is she aware of any dialogue and talks held by both bodies. She strongly believes the codes adapted by SWIFT and SAGA are toolkits to protect the broadcaster.

When asked if she feels safe on a SAFT set, she takes a long pause before responding by saying she only trusts herself, her capabilities and strengths, those she shares give her security. She wonders if she'd feel as safe if she were to be working at midnight on set, surrounded by male crew members and male directors. She expands her response by saying she has worked with male directors so many times before, she knows them and how subtly they harass women on set. She shares her experience on a new set she's working on, how free women are and dress as they please with no fear or intimidation. She shares how a male actor she knows personally for being a 'serial harasser', is very well behaved on the set. When #MeToo broke out in South Africa she said nothing and explains that she felt, "Here we go, let's see where this one goes" as she'd lost all hopes in getting sets in order with regards to sexual harassment. She feels if men don't see the wrong, they're doing, then what is the point? She further states that the statistics are all the proof one needs to see there is a problem with relation to sexual violence against women in South Africa. Once again, the participant cites Uyinene's death as an example, saying it was women who were vocal, the ones who were being violated, but majority men remained silent. This perplexes the participant because it should be the men speaking, women are being violated by them- no woman harasses/abuses herself. The participant believes the same thing occurred with #MeToo in South Africa, men remained silent.

The seventh participant believes social media only helps with the noise but does not assist with action, and that she feels is what took place with #MeToo. Social media raised a siren, but not much changed. Unlike most participants, the seventh participant feels she believes women have equal opportunities, but have to work ten times harder than a man, and if one is lucky, she'll get

them. She strongly feels women are not united and uses an IsiXhosa phrase of “Ukuthelakiswa” which means women are being used by men to fight each other. She says this results in women backstabbing each other, and this she says is not men’s fault, but rather women who allow men to do this. She shares that female producers sabotage many women and are guilty of treating white actresses better than a black actress on set. She feels black actresses are talented but are seen to have no value.

The seventh participant shares that she was harassed a lot when she was still doing continuity, not so much as a creative producer because she is the boss on set and no one wants to get into the boss’s bad books. But she shares how she was continuously harassed as a continuity crew member, she claims she would speak up and report it but nothing was done about it. This is when she shares how she developed an “armor”. She continues to be loud and vocal when she sees extra’s being harassed by male crew predators.

The eighth and ninth participant are two good friends, when they realized this research had requested both their participation, they requested to have their interview conducted jointly. The eighth participant is a formally trained theatre actress, turned television and film actress. She has vast experience in the SAFT industry, gracing the small and big screen alike. The ninth participant is an award-winning theater maker, an award nominated television and film actress. She has vast and credible experience and is respected in the sector.

Both participants unanimously believe that #MeToo was not impactful, with the eight-participant elaborating that there was no transformation for the better, for her and the industry as a whole. “It’s a movement that took place on social media and did not transcend in the physical, it did nothing for me personally”. The ninth participant feels there’s an inherited violence of directors who sleep with talent, and they are “saviors” who help people get out poverty to have sexual relations with them. In her view, it’s become a norm. She believes there are directors she’s worked with (males) who feel “it is okay to sleep with young talent”. She cites a convicted lecturer from Wits, she speaks of male directors who are violent with their spouses at home. According to the ninth participant, there are allies in the industry, women enablers. She strongly emphasizes that there was no change. She also believes that SAFT practitioners need to find their own hashtag, she concludes by saying, Tarana Burkes was an African American woman, and it was white actresses who hijacked the hashtag.

The ninth participant makes mention of lead male actors who are also predators, according to her- it's not only male producers and directors, lead male actors harass younger and junior actresses too. She adds that though the sex may be consensual, but is consent enough when there are power dynamics involved? The eighth participant interjects with "Exactly!" and further explains that there is a male director who recently announced in a gathering full of artists that he is not scared of social media expose's, adding he is not scared of #MeToo in particular. The eighth participant is startled that he purposefully mentioned #MeToo, and questions the impact of the movement.

We merely hijacked a hashtag and we didn't have the conversation in a film maker setup, why on social media? And not the spaces of filmmakers? That is odd, when you do speak in a film maker space they show no care. Which means they don't care.

For the eighth participant the hashtag should have been "Exploitation", she believes that is the foundation of all the issues in the SAFT industry. The ninth participant joins in and chuckles as she expands on the eighth participant's response, "That's a big one. This Instagram casting, they don't have agents who negotiate with them and its exploitation. They'll give them lower rates and you're exploiting talent that is already is existent. Open up the industry doesn't mean we don't have trained personnel". The eighth participant details her traumas working in the SAFT industry, how in her first big television job the director requested the auditions to take place at a hotel, in the evening. Her second trauma was a director who in the company of other artists, publicly said he would not work with her, until he saw her breasts, and everybody laughed. She feels men are made excuses for, but also says women can be "Amamenemene" (An IsiXhosa term for a hypocrite). She feels the Theatre industry has a sisterhood among women, but not television.

The ninth participant entered the television sector having had a solid theatre background and was mature, and believes if something does not feel right, she walks away. She details how desperation for work in the SAFT sector creates desperate women who become allies to these sexual male predators with power. The result is that these women allies become enablers. She adds that she believes these behaviors are learnt, and should one want to change, they must be willing to do so. Both participants believe things are still the same in the SAFT industry, post #MeToo. In relation to the reaction of broadcasters, the ninth participant believes that by the time they react it's too late. She feels they know some of these sets are problematic and the actors

they assign too. In her view, broadcasters care more about numbers and trends. And women are afraid because they are scrutinized for speaking up, and they get backlash. According to her, it's rare for a broadcaster to go on social media and stand with a victim.

She also adds policies should be formulated by broadcasters making it mandatory for unions such as SAGA and organizations such as SWIFT to be present on set. She believes unions must have representatives on set. She adds that it is difficult for organizations such as SAGA to keep tabs on the things that occur on set, if there are no regular representatives to do routine checks. She shares how she recently was in Germany for a showcase, and during a smoke break a representative from the union approached, her to ask her how she was, and if everything was going fine during rehearsals and performances. She feels that is lacking in South Africa. The eighth participant feels agents positively embraced #MeToo and shares that they've all checked on her wellbeing and how things go on set, even prior to #MeToo.

The eighth participant adds that there's no policy that can protect you, but you must protect yourself. There are policies in her view, but not being adhered to, "It'll be there and then what? No policy can ever protect you. If actors are unpaid, or paid badly, what's policy to them? Other policy issues are the women who refuse to stop sleeping with the director". When both participants were asked which male personnel title is likely to harass a female on set, the eighth participant laughs sarcastically, with the ninth participant interjecting to say, "All of the above, and including leads. Leads have the back of the broadcaster, director and producer due to privilege". When both participants are asked about their knowledge of silencing and earmarking in the industry, the eighth participant is quick to share a conversation she had with the ninth participant on Vatiswa Ndara who in their view is a classic example of being silenced and earmarked.

In her view, her speaking up in 2019 against *Ferguson Films* and the prospects of *Igazi* Season 3 is the reason she is no longer visible on SAFT screens. She also shares how a once popular actress spoke up about being impregnated by a popular producer who is married to a popular actress, and even when warned by the couple to remain silent about the pregnancy, she allegedly continued and the couple proceeded to 'blacklist' her from the industry, she too is said to no longer be visible on screen. "The industry has shown us how brutal it can be, and nobody speaks of you again. Producers also look at association and doors close". The ninth participant believes

there's no policy that can protect vocal women who speak up, according to her, they will always be targets.

The eighth participant breaks down uncontrollably in tears when explaining the pain of being a graduate, working hard to bag every audition and get nothing because there are women who have sexual relations with producers and directors, resulting in people like her being jobless. She shares how she was told early in her career that all she had was beauty and talent, but those alone won't take her far in the industry. She says she has to work three times harder because women are taking their jobs by having sexual relations with directors. She also shares how she's lost many actress friends because of this and has resorted to making friends with male performers so that they don't see her in a sexual way. Furthermore, she shares how she had an audition with the SABC producer who has been mentioned consistently in this research as a male predator, and she was told by other actress's that she is not his type (body wise) and resorted to not going to the audition because the idea of auditioning for him made her uncomfortable.

The ninth participant poses the question of, "why is the actor getting the job?" she further explains that the criteria is unregulated hence the harassment and sex for jobs continues. She believes that those who are not leads are in much compromised situations. "Many women are doing this to secure their bags. Every step you're taking these women (ones that are having sex for jobs) drag you ten steps back". Both participants state that they have never seen a sexual harassment clause in their contracts. Both participants share that they have never seen SWIFT and SAGA's code of good practice, reporting guides, dialogues and talks, as well as SWIFT's SCO's. The ninth participant shares that she is aware of SWIFT, but never experienced any of their initiatives on any set she's worked on. The ninth participant laughs when asked if she feels safe on set, she diverts the question in sharing how she protects extras who work in some very hostile conditions, the humanitarian side of her cannot watch extra's being made to sit outside in the freezing weather and rain, she shares how she feels responsible in ensuring they are safe and taken care of. The eighth participant shares how she does not feel safe on set, nor feels safe with her contract. She shares how she can prepare, but only to a certain extent, she does not know what can come.

When both participants were asked about how they responded to #MeToo, the ninth participant shared how recently a male friend of hers was accused of rape on Facebook. She shares how she

instantly had a headache, and instantly called the CEO of an organization she and the male friend are working with. She did this because she asked herself, “If this was not my friend, what would I do” and claims this is how allies and enablers are formed, they keep quiet. She also shares that the very same headache she had is probably experienced by every other friend of a perpetrator, so she had to break the silence and cycle. The male friend was suspended as a result of the ninth participant's report to the CEO. The eighth participant shares that she wanted to hide. She claims she wanted to remove the show she worked on that was directed and produced by an alleged serial perpetrator from her profile. She got a call from former a co-star who was panicking, then called by a journalist, and she denied him. She was so scared and now regrets it. It became personal when she heard her friends' story who were violated by the said producer and director, she felt guilty because denying enables and validates what he did. She claims it's different when it's someone you know, especially when you too were there.

The conversation takes another direction when the ninth participant asks, “whose story is it to tell? if you know about a victim, is it your responsibility to share their story or not?”. The eighth participant claims that men did not care, nor were they scared of #MeToo, she mentions the male director who publicly stated that #MeToo does not scare him. The ninth participant feels that men are loyal to their counterparts. When both asked about the impact of social media with regards to #MeToo, the eighth participant shares how she finds jumping from one hashtag to the next problematic, she claims that all this does is make a noise and that is all, before jumping onto the next hashtag. The ninth participant agrees and elaborates by saying this is why men continue to harass, they know the hashtags are merely temporary, and it will all die down, “if we don't have people tracking and documenting these things, they will seep through the cracks”. She shares how a famous theatre maker known to be a serial harasser, recently put out an announcement that a show of his will be making a tour. She claims this angered her because he has been harassing women for years, and still is in her view. She also shares how an alleged perpetrator on her social media put up a tribute to women on Women's Day in 2021, this infuriated the ninth participant because she claims she knows his harassment allegations, she sent him an inbox on Facebook demanding him to take that post down or she would expose him- and he did take it down.

Both participants exclaim with a resounding, “NO! Never!” when asked if they have the same opportunities as men in the SAFT industry. When asked if there’s unity amongst women in the SAFT industry, the ninth participant asks, “How? When there’s limited slices of the pizza because men have taken all the other slices”. The eighth participant claims women are “amamenemene” and will continue to have sexual relations with these influential men in the SAFT industry even when there’s a cry of #MeToo. She is also bothered by how these women have to disclose to their predators on who else knows about their relationship, and are comforted and validated when the women who know don’t pose as a threat to them, she asks herself why are men comfortable with their sexual relationships being known by certain women, what does that man say about that woman’s conduct?

The ninth participant makes an example of a director swearing at an actress and knowing they are intimate with each other, and you can’t say anything because you’ll look jealous. She knows of plenty directors who have sex with talent. She claims that corporate entities make employees declare when people are dating, if done in secret it is preying, why hide? She asks. She further explains that it’s abuse when a director has sex with an extra. It’s abuse of power. “Umdala (you are old) even if she came and undressed you. Statuary rape is similar to power dynamics”. Furthermore, the ninth participant shares how she was producing a show and an actress alleged she was raped by an actor on the show, she explains how she and the producers let the actor go to go open a case, and the accused actor never went through that procedure, and they haven’t taken him back. She ends off by saying, “If these men say these girls lie, open a case against them!”

The eighth participant shares that she has never been sexually harassed on set, and this she gives credit to how she has made it fashion to refer to all males on set as “Bhuti” (A Nguni word for brother), and in this way she is spared from male predatory and sexual advances, men know boundaries with her when she does that. She shares that she knows women on a personal level who have no training in the SAFT field who have sex with directors and producers, she believes that is their story to tell, and not for her to do so. She profusely regrets denying the producer and director to the journalist who made contact with her in attempts to expose him. She wonders how deep the wound is with her friends who suffered harassment in the director/producer’s hands. She claims her friends go from project to project, pretending to be okay. She also alleges that the said director and producer has harassed many young girls in his career. She shares how there’s a

thin line between 'isincwaso' (A Xhosa word referring to being fancied) and harassment, she battles to distinguish which is which. The ninth participant interjects to clarify that anything after a woman says "NO" is harassment.

The tenth participant is a seasoned documentary and film producer. She has an impeccable track record in the broadcast sector and producing fraternity in South Africa. She holds prominent ranks in some of SAFT's most influential decision-making bodies. She believes #MeToo did not change anything as harassment is still taking place.

"There have been reports on women and gay men, there has been a number of sexual harassment allegations from gay men from the sector. SWIFT came in to launch a campaign called 'safe sets', the sector is now looking at ways to deal with complaints and escalate them. Ombudsmen are being set up for them to decide how to sanction perpetrators. SCO established and are available to producers according to their budget. Intimacy coaches are being regulated too".

The participant sheds light on how a number of queer men are speaking up more and more on sexual harassment on set, there's awareness on queer men being harassed by non-queer men. She details how it's not to be taken lightly how many times heterosexual men harass queer men on SAFT sets. She also shares how important the regulations of ICs are, because she received a report from an actor who played a rapist, and is emotionally devastated still. "There's so much attention on women being handled well during the shooting of sex and rape scenes, but what about men? Has anyone ever thought how emotionally scarring it is for a man to play a rapist?" She further expands on saying #MeToo gave men license to speak out, men have spoken about their vulnerability which has never happened before in her view.

Though things are still the same in the participant's view, she does mention that women are talking a lot more. "They have no legal limit as they're speaking a lot on social media. The 'casting couch' is now being exposed". She is concerned however that the alleged perpetrators (mostly men) are not pitching up for seminars on sexual harassment, it is women who are attending, and in her view, it shouldn't be the women attending as they are not the ones causing the harassment. "Men don't pitch up for behavior change seminars, and it's them who need the help. The issue has been to bring men on board". Furthermore, she states that engagements with broadcaster are taking place to infiltrate remedial systems. She cites COVID-19 being a barrier of these engagements. The tenth participant sheds light on the documentary fraternity, there's less male and more women, and yet there's less security. She claims there's a dire need for

women regulation(s) across the sector, as well as training and development. “But issues like editing rooms, what happens when female editors are in the dark editing suites alone. What happens to the sex scenes unused, they’re usually used to blackmail actors and threatened to be posted on *porn hub* (a pornographic site). #MeToo is exposing this, and conversations across the sectors are being had, from the casting couch right through to post production, these are conversations that are now happening”.

The tenth participant also cites sexism and patriarchy as the biggest issue that #MeToo has not changed. Furthermore, she states that the unformalized sector of SAFT makes it difficult to bring change. “Women didn’t know where to go to. The establishment of SWIFT was key, unless a criminal case was laid, nothing would happen”. Prior to #MeToo, the participant states that victims/survivors were often scared off, with a long reporting procedure and process when laying a sexual harassment complaint. This would more often than not silence them. She details how she receives reports of commissioning editors from broadcasters who are asking producers for sex. “They know nothing will be done, these broadcasters are fired with promotion, and they are merely reshuffled”. Broadcasters are failing in her view, she mentions how sexual harassment is rife in reality television shows, and broadcasters are now being urged to put safety measures in contracts. The tenth participant shares how the agenda item on sexual harassment is often made last in these SAFT meetings, she shares that by the time the agenda item is being dealt with, most men have already left. She has now advocated that the agenda item be made first, and for it to be made a priority.

When asked if casting agencies have embraced #MeToo she says, “Casting directors form part of the PMA and are more white-owned, they probably do adhere but it’s a huge problem with smaller castings. We have had to make sure that ‘fly by night’ casting agencies do not take advantage”. She shares how these smaller casting agencies take advantage of the unregulated industry and put open castings to lure young desperate women. “Open castings make it difficult to monitor sexual harassment and this is because broadcasters have not made it mandatory for castings to only be conducted by SAPAMA members. It has to change. Ombuds would help all these issues. There would be no need for lawyers”.

The participant believes policies in the industry must deal with safety on set, mandatory intimacy coaches and line producers must go for training on sexual harassment and know how to deal with

it. So many see and do nothing, says the participant. She believes contracts must have sexual harassment clauses with consequences. The participant believes #MeToo mostly exposes the power dynamics but is not just limited to men at the top, though most reports come about men at the top. Harassment in her view can happen everywhere, it also happens in the wardrobe department. “The contractual phase is important, it needs observing and monitoring from negotiating phase via agents, producers”.

The issue of earmarking and silencing is incredibly rife according to the participant. She mentions how an actress suffered harassment and backlash from a producer for refusing to expose her breasts, “Don’t hire her she won’t show her tits”. She details how producers speak amongst each other and blacklist actresses. Her office is changing vital codes of conduct and is rethinking issues of gender, race and orientation. Funding models she says are another major focal point, and how there can be a financial incentive for members of the sector to benefit from the ombuds (she is uncomfortable with ‘man’ in ombudsman). “There’s a funding model, conversations with broadcasters are in place, and members will not pay if you’re a fully paid member, discussions are around funding in the next 2-3 months”. The participant speaks about how rife scrutiny is on social media. Actresses are subjected to immense social media harassment.

The participant highlights that her organization has received many reports of commissioning editors of broadcasters who’ve sexually advanced on female producers. This phase (pitching) is found to be the most likely a female producer is harassed in the sector. Female producers who are in the pitching phase of broadcasters are prone to immense sexual harassment and predatory advances. Another problematic phase is the casting phase in her view. She elaborates that the scarcity for jobs in the SAFT industry makes women gullible, particularly extras who are not part of any guild, thus making them gullible to male predators. The tenth participant also believes that TV contestants in reality television are also gullible, because they are not necessarily in the SAFT industry, which compromises their safety greatly. They too have no protective measures and are not part of any guild. Furthermore, the participant emphasizes that crew members and directors do not have a guild, which is largely the problem of sexual harassment in SAFT industry.

The tenth participant shares on progress being made with regards to protective policies on women in the SAFT industry. She shares how the IPO and SAGA are finalizing contracts for actors, and there's clause on sexual harassment, as well as an attachment on contracts with the code of good practice. She shares how it will be a standardized contract for actors. The participant states that the onus and responsibility is on producers to furnish themselves with knowledge on sexual harassment and ICs. "Producers must take initiative. They must gain awareness. The problem is at drama and film schools, and the lack of teaching about contracts, as well as understanding them. They also lack the teaching of the women's body autonomy". Furthermore, she shares that when ombuds are set up, these issues will be put in light. Producers in the sector can ask for clauses and policies to tighten protective measures in the sector.

The participant also shares that SCOs began their training in 2019 until 2020, and then COVID-19 became a hindrance. "SCOs were dispatched and went in for free for big soapies. But producers don't want to pay for these things". The participant shares how strides are made for ICs to be included in SAFT budgets by broadcasters. Secondly, she shares that there not enough ICs, as there's only one trained. Additionally, she shares that it costs a quarter to half a million Rand to train just one IC. The participant urges producers to break down scripts, to see if an IC is needed. Furthermore, she adds that actors should have a conversation with co-actors, and then the directors on how to handle intimate scenes. She shares how there's now a checklist for producers to check if they are on track for smaller productions. More so, she shares how a fund will be created (hopefully) to fund ICs.

On safety, the participant believes that a female can never be 100% safe, men are still overtaking. But she believes people are speaking up, she shares how a makeup/wardrobe mistress approached one of the SAFT influential bodies to intervene on the lack of integrity given to actresses during nude scenes, and how they are not properly covered up in-between takes. She further explains that her query should have been to someone on set, but there was never anyone to complain to. The participant proposes that sets must have a meet and greet before shooting, SCOs must be there when producers are doing an introduction briefing before. For example, producers can call an SCO for 2 hours, and then a producer can elect someone on the team to act as an SCO. Furthermore, she suggests that the Department of Labor can be roped in more, in terms of regulating the SAFT industry.

She shares that a long engagement with SWIFT took place, in which the agenda was whether or not an SCO should be made mandatory on every set. “Producers think SCOs need to be there all day, but this is not the case”. She shares how SWIFT has trained SCOs about the LGBTIQ+ community, and not just female born practitioners, but there is that gap of queer SCO’s. “A young queer man was violently harassed by a director on a set. There needs to be inclusion of silenced (black, gay men) on sexual harassment”. The participant shares that there are currently three ICs being trained in South Africa. Her response to #MeToo was, “It’s about bloody time. So many women have gone through so much. Elizabeth Wurtzel’s ‘Bitch’ series shaped my awakening on how media treat female practitioners. A disciplinary process I learned in the 90s”.

Based on her awakening, the tenth participant shares how she complained whenever anything was wrong. No one else did, she says. She blames little recourse and a failing legal system which now result in women running to social media. In the participant’s view, the male response to #MeToo was a deep sense of fear, and before #MeToo it was “ ‘oh these bloody women get over it’. I don’t want to see her on set because she’ll pull the G-card (The gender card)” the participant says she knows of a male producer who said this, and women are being careful of him, women are now warning each other about potential predators, which the participant states didn’t happen prior to #MeToo. “Men see the world has changed but don’t want to be part of that change”.

The participant lauds the role of social media to have been incredible. “Black lives matter for example gave us the platform to share who we really are and represent what we stand for”. She also cites the musicians who were, *Euphonik* and *DJ Fresh* as an example, on how social media was instrumental, and how women have raised the alarm on allegations of sexual harassment. “Women can say what they want to say without it going through the lens of a man. You approach a newspaper, the editor is male and may write your story with male bias, but on social media women have the power over their own words and narrative. #MeToo and social media gave women the voice”. She does however mention that ‘Kangaroo Courts’ are a problem as everyone has rights and deserves a fair trial.

She states that men are believed far less and are unlikely to engage because all men see is a witch hunt escapade that gives no room to tell their side of the story. She makes an example, “Because of Kangaroo courts, men are afraid to engage and have their sides of the story told, what if the

man is being wrongfully accused of refusing to buy a woman a Gucci bag for example”. When asked about equity in the SAFT industry, the participant stated that women were not treated equally as men. On unity amongst women in the SAFT industry, she believes SWIFT has played a role in unity and alignment amongst women. She also believes that there are women who simply will not speak up no matter what the circumstance is, “There are many who accept patriarchy, who believe their role is not to speak up”. The tenth participant shares that she has been harassed by people in the sector, but not on set per se. “Harassment can even take place in the writing room. It takes two years to make a film, what happens in that duration (Pitching, fundraising, development, pre-production and post- production). They’re well behaved on set, not at the wrap party. What happens off set?”

The eleventh participant is a writer and director, she has been in writing rooms for some of South Africa’s most credible television and film productions, and she is a highly lauded director with an impeccable track record. She won’t say #MeToo was impactful in driving change, because she believes it was not. But it did in her view aid in women speaking up, “it opened up conversation, and trust among women and not so much in driving change. The industry is male dominated, so if you speak up you’re shooting yourself, they see you as a problem, rather than someone who wants to speak up”. Harassment in the SAFT industry is a norm according to the participant. In her view, men will advance on you and when you sternly decline they make remarks that imply that the harassed woman is too staunch and serious. She also mentions how comments like “Besidlala” (We were just playing) are loosely used by men who attempt to harass women on set. She adds how comments like “She’ll SWIFT you” are used, when men “warn” each other about a woman who speaks up. She adds that her own male friends do this.

The participant states that there good and bad days, there are men who understand the severity of harassment, but she says that’s three out of ten men. The eleventh participant believes it was “free for all” (there was no protection, anything goes) before #MeToo. She adds that silencing and discomfort was the order of the day. “At times there is unity and women are now united, and they’ll embrace #MeToo. The very people who it should affect (men), don’t care. They see it as women being overly sensitive”. In her experience with broadcasters, they are pro women led television ensembles and stories. In terms of policies and reform formulation post #MeToo, she has no knowledge. She highly lauds an organization called *Actors Spaces* which she says is very

cognizant of female personnel in the SAFT industry, particularly actresses and their safety when attending auditions.

She shares that she was doing a GBV project, and a female talent was not comfortable with how she was dressed, at first the participant was agitated with the artist and felt it was a brief and it had to be adhered to, but later corrected her thinking. Sets should be driven by humanity rather than policies, says the participant. “What if policies are not working for me?” asks the participant. She shares how a female artist friend of hers once told her, “If you’ve seen me practice my art, you’ve seen me pray”, and wondered why anyone would want to harass anyone who was praying.

The participant does not believe that harassment is only likely to be committed by one particular position on set, “It could be anyone, and there is no specific department. It’s a power dynamic to abuse, to get what they want from you”. She believes actors are manipulated with more pay from the producer, to exploit them. She believes Instagram casting is disrespectful and an insult to ‘credible’ actresses and suggests that it is a gap used by producers to take advantage of gullible actresses. She shares that she has very recently seen a clause on sexual harassment on one of her contracts, though she seems uncertain of the details. She is aware of SWIFT and SAGA’s initiatives, SWIFT’s SCO initiatives and SAGA’S reporting guide, mostly because she follows SWIFT. She’s an in and out member due to busyness. She has not seen the initiatives physically.

The eleventh participant claims she feels safe on set, but only because she’s working with the same crew for years. “There are 3 of 10 men who call other men out for inappropriate comments”. The participant believes that most men treat harassment as a joke in the SAFT industry, Men make ‘jokes’ of being “SWIFTED” and adds that the mic’ing of an actress by a male sound crew member was also made a joke, with comments made. According to the participant, men didn’t take it seriously, she does not remember a man who accepted and received it well. When #MeToo emerged, she too was saying #MeToo, and when it happened there was solidarity amongst women. Before, she shares how one felt manipulated that “it’s just you and that you are just overreacting”.

She lauds social media because social media becomes an outlet, because there is nowhere else to go. She believes not everyone knows about SWIFT. She also shares how SAPS does not take these cases seriously, even in homes- and so she asks, how much more on set? She does not

believe she has equal treatment on set. “Not at all. It starts with being a director as a female, you have to roar a certain way”. She shares how she was shooting an advert with a male DOP,

“He was so disrespectful. The first time I was working with him and a male director, he was pleasant but because I was black female- working alone this time, he was so rude and just walked off set. It’s a ripple effect, even actors latched on to this energy. Women must have thick skin, and males never have to, male directors usually have sets that are pleasant, not so much for women because of the thick skin and having to be assertive”.

She does not believe there is unity amongst women in the SAFT industry, “No I don’t think so, you have to deliberately reach out to create a network for yourself”. She shares that she reaches out to older women. She further explains how the statement, “You’re not like other women” is offensive to her, and has been told by many men in the SAFT industry, who want to have their way with her. She believes that by virtue of accepting such comments, you disregard other women and breaking unity. She now boldly denounces it. She continues to say, “Speak even if your voice shakes”. The eleventh participant shares that she has been harassed numerous times in the SAFT industry. She shares how she arrived on set wearing shorts and it was hot. A male crew member came to make sexual advances, and the other incident was a wrap party and the same happened. She shares that these are just two of many, and sometimes subtle and some loud. She has reported harassment before to female authority on set, “and it’s like get over it, especially if it’s a man they like, nobody is going to take you back and you run the risk of not being hired again. Producers speak to each other, and blacklist too- and be on some, ‘Don’t even hire her’.

In light of the above responses, the data analysis phase can conclude the following findings; couch casting is very much prevalent in the SAFT industry, this has a historical nuance and has been carried from generation to generation in the SAFT industry. It has become an ‘inherent’ legacy. There are mainly three production houses largely contracted by the SABC, Multichoice and E-TV that are alleged by participants to possess predator producers, who have sexual relations with artists (females). They make sexual harassment advances and possess sexual predatory behavior. It is revealed in this research that most of the broadcasters are aware of these allegations, and no steps seem to be taken against them. Instead, they are re-awarded with more television programs to produce. The research has discovered that broadcasters are alleged to be some of the biggest ‘enablers’ and colluders of harassment.

This is done by either protecting the producer, or “reshuffling” personnel from the broadcaster (mostly commissioning editors - who are accused of sexual harassment towards talent and producers). Commissioning editors and broadcast executives have also been named to display sexual predatory behavior, another inherent historical legacy of the SAFT industry.

Commissioning editors are also revealed to have a final say on who is cast, with no particular reason or merit. Invasive broadcast executives are alleged to be ‘meddling’ in the casting process, often demanding certain actresses to be cast, largely because the said actresses are sexually involved with the broadcast personnel. The research has also revealed that certain broadcasters are not serious about sexual harassment allegations, and allegations against their preferred talent are merely dismissed.

Furthermore, this research has found that a particular male producer, who is respected, and behind some of South Africa’s biggest television productions- has been sexually harassing actresses for over two decades. His name was revealed by almost half of the participants, some having shared their own personal experiences with him. Some were either directly harassed by the producer or know someone close to them who was. There are two other producers, who too have been alleged to be sexual predators, with one of the two using Instagram as way to lure young actresses. One male director is implicated twice in sexual harassment allegations by participants in this research. He directs a major telenovela of one of South Africa’s most popular television productions.

The research has also revealed that sexual harassment barely takes place on set. Set harassment is usually in comments and sexual innuendos. The physical/sexual harassment usually takes place at wrap parties and “over dinner”. Furthermore, men in the SAFT industry are said to have displayed nonchalant behavior towards sexual harassment in the sector, with many boycotting sexual harassment meetings, forums and meeting agendas.

Finally, the lack of unity amongst women in the SAFT industry is cited to be one of the major reason behind sexual harassment in the sector, men have seen this as a gap to take advantage of women, as there is very little ‘sisterhood’ or unity amongst women. Organizations such as SWIFT have become an inconvenience for harassers, hence their frequent ridicule of the organization. Women on the ground who were interviewed during the data collection of this research have mostly all mentioned SWIFT, even before being asked about them. This gives the

impression that the existence of the organization is known, but not felt. Many women were confused if SWIFT was still in operation, with almost all their initiatives being unknown by participants. The presence of SAGA is largely dismissed by most participants of this research, reflecting a dissatisfactory impact through testimonies of actresses. The casting process has been revealed to being the rifest, and probable time for most harassment to take place. The entire casting process- from broadcaster involvement to directors/producers conducting the casting, has been revealed to be problematic, leaving many gaps for harassment to continue in the SAFT industry.

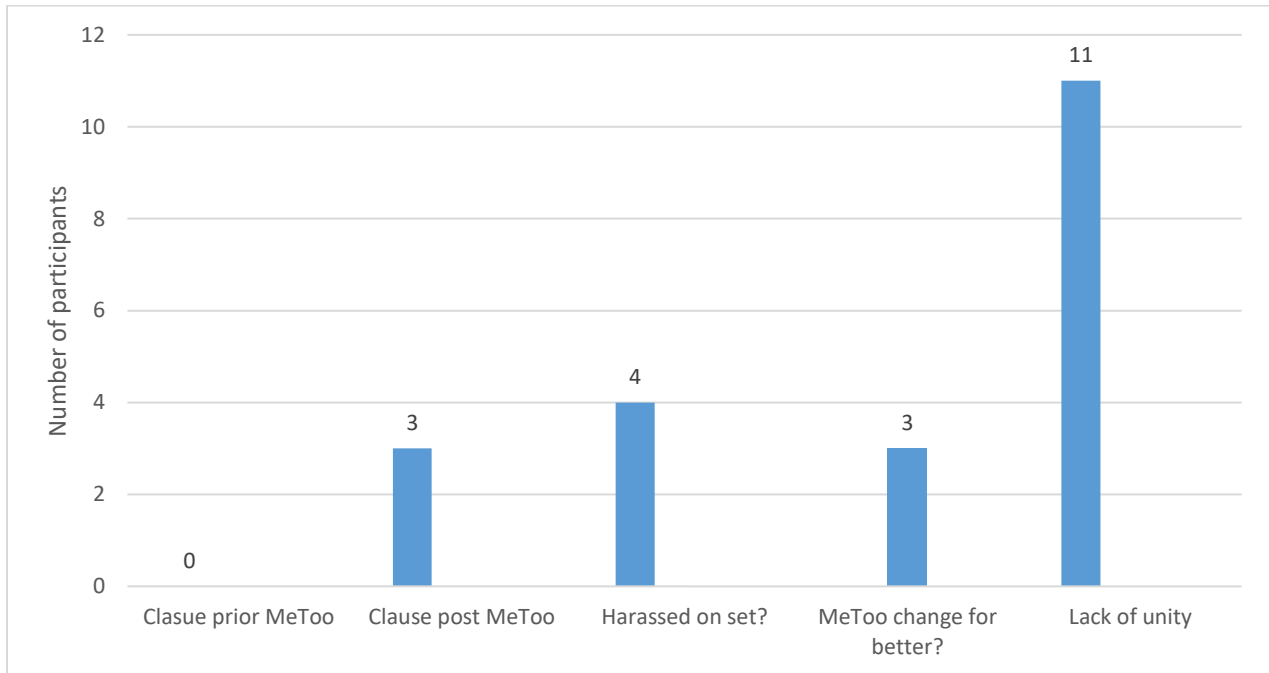
An alarmingly low, (not even half of women interviewed) have seen a clause on sexual harassment in a contract, some not even sure. Those who have, only saw it after the year 2020. Only one of the eleven participants has experienced an intimacy coach on a SAFT set, with all participants imploring that more needed to be deployed. A majority of the participants in this study had opened cases with police (SAPS), and all incidents were badly handled. There is an emphasis on the lack of safety, security and protective guilds in the SAFT industry. Unity amongst women has been revealed to be clique based and not generic. Social media and its impact on #MeToo is highly lauded, but kangaroo court enabling. Yet women feel there is no other way, as South Africa's justice system is flawed according to participants. The research has revealed that harassment has lessened, but it is still taking place in the SAFT industry.

Participants have revealed that they are getting subtle advances from mostly directors (who are have no existing guild) through social media Direct Messages (DM's). About three of the participants have linked the root of sexual harassment to be the lack of mentors amongst men, they have suggested that men do not know any better, as there have been no male figures embodying nobility and ethics amongst men. Most of the participants have cited the lack of HR to be the reason sexual harassment thrives on SAFT sets. Many of the participants have called upon the need to have HR on every SAFT set. Some of the critical findings of the study can be summarized in the table (Table 1) below and graph (Graph 1)

TABLE 1

Number of participants who have seen a sexual harassment clause in their contracts, prior to #MeToo?	0 of 11
Number of participants who have seen a sexual harassment clause in their contracts, post to #MeToo?	3 of 11
Number of participants who have been harassed on SAFT sets	4 of 11
Number of participants who feel the lack of unity amongst women is the reason for their harassment	11 of 11
Number of participants who felt #MeToo changed things for the better	3 of 11

GRAPH 1



The safety concerns are not only limited to SAFT sets, but also with drivers who drive female personnel on set. An overwhelming discovery that unanimously came from all participants, was that the extras were unregulated. There are currently no protective guilds or body for them, making them prone to unwanted sexual advances and statutory rape. Most of the participants felt that the more experienced and respected actresses were, the less likely they'd be violated and harassed. It was the extras that were in more trouble. Two of the eleven participants felt that the veteran actresses were being silent, various factors such as fear, age and shame were cited as possible reasons. The two participants were adamant that it was not only the younger actresses that were harassed, but veterans have too in the early years of their careers. Additionally, the two participants felt these silent veterans were being selfish for hoarding information that could assist in naming and shaming these predators, who still continue to work in the SAFT industry.

Some participants felt that it was eyebrow raising that COVID-19 came only in 2020 in South Africa, and most sets now have a COVID office, but no office for sexual harassment, when it has been a historic legacy in the SAFT industry, and a norm. Some of the changes on the sets is that female crew is assigned for female talent, and male crew is responsible for male talent. This goes

in terms of being dressed and mic'ed. The issue of colorism was raised by three participants, who felt black actresses were cast based on their skin tones. They felt the light skinned black actresses were prone to more sexual advances, and some gladly entertained them. Dark skinned actresses felt prejudiced and undervalued. One participant felt that white actresses were treated far better than black actresses, stating that the value of black actresses was compromised on SAFT sets.

Was #MeToo was impactful? Considering that one participant lauded its impact but only remembered during the interview that she once tweeted about it? Mental health was a huge topic that was consistent in the interviews, many if not all mentioned how dire mental health is in the SAFT industry, and how the sector has to put measures in place to ensure it is dealt with amongst artists. The research also discovered that many of the women know these perpetrators, and opt to remain silent to avoid silencing and ear marking, which leads to blacklisting. It was also revealed how there are female enablers in the SAFT industry, who collude with perpetrators in attempts to protect themselves, and sell-out the other women.

Ntozakhe Shange, a famous playwright and poet states in her play, *For Colored Girls who have considered suicide/ When the Rainbow is Enuf*, “We are raped by men who know us”, and in her poem *With no immediate cause* she details how women’s bodies are vandalized, hurt, molested, violated and beaten by the hands of men they know. It was the same revelation in this research, all the strong survivors who first have to survive being a woman in South Africa, then have to survive the rife and brutal business of ‘showbiz’ and then be women in ‘showbiz’ have revealed how they are violated by men they know in the industry. These men still roam, harass and work in the SAFT industry and very little, if anything is done about it at all. The startling finding was how these participants all agreed that sexual harassment can be ‘consensual’ at times. This seems bogus at first, but is it really? If a man who possesses power can liberate your burdens by “offering” you stability, in exchange to harass you, many women in desperate positions willingly consent to this kind of harassment, many in this study have expressed this. Though “consensual” it is still harassment. But moreover anything, the research raised the question, is making a noise an impact? If that noise does very little to nothing to aid change.

CONCLUSION: WAS #METOO IMPACTFUL IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN FILM AND TELEVISION INDUSTRY?

This study was formulated on the gap that exists in historic literature that fully traces the social media phenomenon, #MeToo in the South African film and television industry. It has based the basis of its findings in the report findings of SWIFT (Sisters working in Film and Television) that found that sexual violations are a norm in the South African film and television industry, and crisis. It based its supporting literature on protest and resistance academic work, in doing so, it tracked how female actors and practitioners were affected, how they began to react and what it did for them and the television and film industry at large. This study also relied on feministic work that has also exposed the way in which women are depicted, often in a meek and hopeless, particularly black women who the study has found to be aggrieved at how their struggles are often hijacked, making them feel redundant. This historic study was concerned with how protests emerge, the patterns they take and how people react to them. The introductory chapter gave a concise genealogy of the emergence of #MeToo, and how the hashtag was hijacked from its original founder, Tarana Burke. It also looked at resistance literature, depicting women led formations and a brief, yet impactful overview on the nature of South African protests. It also makes the revelation of how colonialism led to patriarchy and has manifested to GBV, a scourge that South Africa faces. It also revealed cases of rape and how South Africa became the infamous ‘rape capital’ of the world. It also has looked into ‘rape culture’, an unfortunate culture that has become eminent in South African society.

It looked at how rape cases have been badly handled, from former President Jacob Zuma’s rape trial in 2006, the negative commentary from the likes of former ANC Youth League president and now EFF commander in chief, Julius Malema. His comments on rape and women’s bodies were highlighted, citing his comments on Zuma’s alleged rape victim/survivor and that of former DA leader, Helen Zille’s on her male appointment cabinet of MEC’s in the Western Cape provincial government, during her tenure.

The chapter looked at issues of normativity, defining it academically and placing it within SWIFT's report findings of sexual harassment being a norm in the SAFT industry. The chapter gave a concise literature review of feministic literature, exposing the lack of sexual harassment policies in many South African political formations until very recently (2018).

The first chapter historicized female formations in South Africa, giving a concise genealogy of strong and capable female leaders who led the fight against colonial rule and apartheid in South Africa. The chapter had an in-depth analysis of one of South Africa's most historic marches, the women led March on August 9th, 1956. It looked at profiles of women such as Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph and Sophia Williams-De Bruyn who are just some of the names behind the historic march. De-Bruyn's sentiments are revealed in the chapter on the mistruth of the ANC women's league being the organizers of the march, De Bruyn also revealed how patriarchy almost became a stumbling block for the progress of the march, and how some of the ANC's male stalwarts were anti the march and its safety thereof. Patriarchy was an exposed theme and revealed to be eminent in attempts to silence the various cited formations in the chapter, much like #MeToo.

The chapter lauds women such Charlotte Maxeke, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and the women behind the BCM movement, who are unsung heroes, outshone by male political martyrs such as Steve Biko. The arguments made is that women have more often than not been made to move aside, allowing men to shine and take center stage due to patriarchy. Men in the 'fallist' era were largely resistant of #MeToo, due to feeling excluded by women. More so, men felt they were made to be the negative subject, and not heroes. The position of females taking agency over their bodies, was revealed to be a sheer inconvenience to the male ego in the 'fallist' era. The theme of women reclaiming their bodies and occupying space is strongly revealed during the #FeesMustFall era, a pattern the hashtag movements have all taken. The transition from hegemon movements which saw men represent the hegemony, to that of digital movements, that see women taking control of such movements, is seamlessly introduced in the chapter. This is done by reiterating the central argument of this study, which is- the 21st century and the emergence of digital activism/feminism discourse is beginning to challenge common hegemonic and patriarchal historical representations, which often present women as lacking initiative and as playing supportive rather than dominant roles in human rights struggles. The chapter reflects women strength, their leadership and competence in mobilizing themselves.

Furthermore, the central argument of this study argues that hegemony as a construct/discourse of telling history (with men representing hegemony) is slowly being discomfited by growing hashtag feminism and activism. It secretes this argument based on Pablo Reneses views as a theory in which he argues,

“Existing research on networked masculinities suggests that while most men subvert to traditional gender roles online, their digital interactions can also reshape their characteristics and values of hegemonic masculinity, as well as enable new spaces for alternative forms of masculinity to thrive [...] social media as surveillance practice of heteronormative and hegemonic masculinity, is pressuring heterosexual men to adapt their self-presentation online”³⁹⁰.

The study then revealed in its second chapter, the impact of social media formations, by historicizing digital feminism as a mode of mass mobilization, globally and the African continent at large. The main focus is on #MeToo and its emergence and development. It looked at the emergence of #MeToo in South Africa and compared it historically with how women movements in the broader international arenas, and in other parts of Africa emerged, and how they mobilized women in the era of digital social media. The chapter cited some challenges faced, such as backlash received by women on social media and the unwanted harassment, they often face for speaking up and exposing truth to power. It revealed the various ‘waves’ of feminism that finally led to digital feminism/social media activism. The chapter concludes with the embrace or rejection of #MeToo in the African film and television industry, and how South Africa introduced intimacy coaches in response to #MeToo on SAFT sets.

The chapter makes the strong argument that Africa has become complacent and dependent on Western countries and their hashtags, and not their own. Citing the #BlackLivesMatter movement, and its embrace in South Africa and Africa at large, yet South Africa went rather silent in comparison to #BlackLivesMatter when Collins Khoza, a South African man who was gunned down by soldiers during the early days of the government-imposed lockdown in 2020. The chapter concludes by suggesting the lack of news and media coverage of #MeToo in South Africa. Furthermore, it attests the lack of South African media coverage as reason the hashtag wasn’t as big as it was in the United States of America, and other developed countries.

³⁹⁰ P Reneses, ‘From #MenAreTrash to #MensConference: Networked masculinities in South African Twitter’, University of Cape Town, 2021, p31

The third chapter explored the heart of sexual harassment in the SAFT industry, inequality. It historicizes the inequality of television inception in South Africa, exposing the patriarchal nuances in the SAFT industry to also having been displayed in how stories were written, making women subordinates and supporters of a man's patriarchal world. It exposes sexual harassment as having been a legacy of the SAFT industry since the emergence of the sector, and how some of the industry pioneers are revealed to having had unwanted sexual relations with female talent. The chapter explored the lack of safety experienced by female personnel and talent, and how there has been a lack of security and protective measures to ensure safety on set. This has led to the most gullible, female extra's being in a huge risk of receiving unwanted sexual advances and harassment from male members of crew.

The chapter goes in-depth, exposing the disorder on sets due to the lack of implementing policies and security. The chapter also does a critical analysis of the SABC sexual harassment commission, using the SABC as the benchmark of comparison because of its relevance as the national broadcaster. The commission revealed that no reports of sexual harassment came from television, but rather mostly radio. Nonetheless, the broadcaster was not exempt of sexual harassment culture that revealed that the HR department is in dire need of training on matters pertaining to sexual harassment.

Furthermore, the commission ruled that SABC HR and senior management colluded in cover-ups of sexual harassment. It also revealed that, HR was at times unaware when appointments were made, this gave alleged predators/perpetrators a gap to employ staff for sexual favors. The commission revealed that the SABC is "like a brothel run by prostitutes". The chapter also revealed that over two years since the commission took place, the sexual harassment report is still under review. The final part of the chapter revealed that the SAFT industry had been proactive before #MeToo emerged, and had begun having conversations about sexual harassment months before the hashtag broke out, however the overwhelming response of #MeToo internationally, was what overshadowed what the SAFT industry had already begun. This has proven to be the case once again that South Africa is not confident in pushing their own movements, and would rather rally behind an international hashtag. The chapter revealed the strides made by SWIFT, SAGA and the entire SASFED body. The strides range from the formulation of Safety Contact Officers, the code of good practice and introduction of Intimacy

coaches. Yet these strides have been revealed in the fourth chapter as being unknown by most female practitioners. The purpose of the third chapter is in two folds, hence the need to break it down into two parts. The first, is to historicise inequality in the SAFT industry, which is the seed of harassment and patriarchy, and then to investigate what has been done to dismantle patriarchy that leads to the norm of sexual harassment. The research visited SWIFT chairperson, Zanele Mthembu to track the work the organization has been doing, and where they are in achieving it. The second part uses the SABC sexual harassment commission as a case study in that the SABC is the national broadcaster and is the leading broadcaster in South Africa- which employs a bulk of personnel in the SAFT industry.

The fourth chapter was the women's response to #MeToo in the SAFT industry. The purpose of the study was to ascertain the impacts of the movement with women who are on the ground, working consistently in the SAFT industry. It was to also investigate the work of SASFED and its organization's impact, i.e. SWIFT's policies and initiatives, SAGA and the IPO. The latter found most women had not a single clue of these strides and initiatives, and most denouncing the hashtag entirely. Of those who rejected the hashtag, they all agreed that #MeToo began a conversation on social media, which is something that never happened before.

One wonders how far an impact goes, is a conversation that never happened before enough to be an impact? The chapter is concerned with finding this answer. The participants in the study unanimously agreed that the power of social media was the driving force behind the hashtag receiving the response it did. One participant was concerned that there is no one who is documenting the phenomenon's that take place on social media, this is where this study comes in. Part of this study's motive is concerned with the new emerging history, that has transcended from hegemonic formations, to the digital way of telling history. It is also concerned in bridging the said participants concerns, in documenting history that emerges at the tip of a finger on social media.

Most of the participants in the study unanimously agreed that the South African justice system is failing survivors, which is why women run to social media and hashtags emerge. Deputy Chief Justice Maya made a startling revelation at the judicial interviews for South Africa's next chief justice, in early 2022, in which she stated that the South African judiciary does not have a sexual harassment policy. One wonders if the very sector that is responsible for the adherence of our

constitution, lacks such a potent policy, will South Africa ever overcome and conquer the scourge of sexual violence and GBV? Deputy Chief Justice Maya was mentioned in the introductory chapter in comments she made at the Presidents GBV summit in 2018, in which she alluded to the closure of the sexual offences court as one of the many reasons GBV is a scourge in South Africa.

She also mentioned the SAPS's inability to deal with sexual offence cases as the reason rape is still on a high in South Africa. In 2019, South African rugby player, Khwezi Mafu was arrested for allegedly raping a minor in 2017. His defense lawyer, Danie Gouws made startling comments in his arguments in attempts to protect Mafu, "The complainant was not even emotional. She did not even cry and she did not scream for help during the rape"³⁹¹. This is perplexing, an official of the law in South Africa, believes for a rape to be legitimate, a survivor ought to scream, if this is not done, it invalidates the rape. Furthermore in May 2022, the daughter of former EFF secretary general, Godrich Gardee was murdered. Upon the arrival of the party commander in chief, Julius Malema, he told media that "They messed with the wrong one this time"³⁹². Social media went abuzz in the statements uttered by Malema. One wonders who is the right one to be murdered? What qualifies a woman to be right or wrong for violation?

RECOMMENDATIONS

In early 2022, a question and answer session was held in the National Assembly (South African parliament) in which the Minister of Women, the youth and people living with disabilities, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane answered questions from opposition parties on the work of her department. Opposition parties called the minister "out of depth". The silence of the minister and her department in a time where South Africa has been hit with multiple GBV cases is alarming. It has become a norm for the minister to remain silent and remain unseen during the most potent moments of GBV in South Africa. The minister's brief appearance at the home of slain University of Fort Hare final year law student, Nosiselo Mtebeni who was murdered by her boyfriend, who cut her body parts into many pieces and placed her remains in a suitcase was one

³⁹¹ <https://www.news24.com/amp/citypress/news/rape-victims-should-scream-rape-rugby-players-lawyer-20180206>, accessed: 19/05/2022

³⁹² J Malema, <https://www.power987.co.za/featured/hilary-gardee-murder-they-messed-with-the-wrong-one-malema/>, accessed: 19/05/2022

of the very few appearances of the minister. In a time where South Africa needs to take action against the repetitive female abductions and killings, a passive and nonresponsive minister is not what is needed. The gaping wound of GBV must be attended with proactivity and urgency. What was clear from this research is that, the issue of harassment was not only a SAFT issue, but a national issue in South Africa. The lack of training from SAPS in dealing with sexual violence and rape cases is also alarming and needs urgent attention. During the data collection phase of this research, the issue raised by DAC (that the SAFT industry is disorganized) came up, this seemingly has created reluctance from DAC to intervene, in some of the issues the SAFT sector experiences. Furthermore, the Department of Labor could come as a solution to this 'disorganization' by establishing more regulations to protect artists and personnel in the SAFT industry. There is only one labor act that protects SAFT practitioners presently.

A participant revealed how there was an actress who was allegedly violated by a SAFT predator, and the alleged perpetrator allegedly colluded with a top political organization who allegedly influenced the National Prosecution Authority (NPA) to discard the case. Another participant alleges that another survivor was sent from pillar to post when she lodged a complaint with a SAFT predator at the South African Gender Commission. The said survivor was made to re tell her testimony, and go through a strenuous process of application, only to be made to do it again because the commission would claim they lost it. This allegedly occurred several times.

The fourth chapter revealed that the sexual harassment on SAFT sets is usually through sexual language and innuendos. The physical acts of sexual abuse are often at wrap parties or after hours. This research has exposed how technical one has to be to prove that they were violated. The onus of the rape or violation is solely on the victim/survivor. Professor Tiffany Willoughby Herard believes that writing is a shrine. This she believes happens when a violated person tells us about their own history of oppression. This is indeed what took place when the women who were violated were brave enough to recount their history of oppression during #MeToo. The act itself was sacred and serene. One ought to treat it as such. The South African justice system should be more proactive and of assistance to those who have encountered abuse.

It has been alleged by participants of this research, that broadcasters in the SAFT industry are the biggest enablers of sexual harassment in the sector, protecting their favorite personalities and employees. Broadcasters must account to the pending ombudsman in the sector on strict

directives to act sternly on perpetrators and employees, i.e. HR and commissioning editors, as these two offices have been alleged by SAFT stakeholders to be the biggest role-players in harassment on SAFT sets. They commission productions with their preferred producers and have a final say on the casting. The casting process is a very delicate process which often leaves room for many violations, and is often not monitored and possesses no supervision or criteria. The ombudsman must establish a strict transparency and monitoring delegations, in association with PMA to make sure this process goes seamlessly with no violations or corruption incurred. Furthermore, this research has established that SAFT directors and crew personnel are unregulated and thus have no body to keep them accountable, such a body is pivotal in aims to combat sexual harassment in the sector. The SAFT industry has a legacy and history of injustice, exploitation and harassment, the role of the pending ombudsman must be in operation as a matter of urgency. The pending ombudsman in the SAFT industry will assist in industry regulation, and should upon its introduction be responsible for conducting checks on artists, as well as their history of GBV and harassment. Furthermore, broadcasters in South Africa should rise to the challenge of being frontrunners in combating any form of GBV. Producers and directors have developed an ‘untouchable’ demeanor, broadcasters are the only bodies they report to, and quite frankly ‘fear’. Broadcasters should be more involved in monitoring compliance as far as safety and harassment on sets.

The efforts of SWIFT cannot be denied, yet there is a gaping wound on many survivors who feel the organization failed them, particularly the establishing management of the organization. SWIFT and Rosie Motene were at loggerheads in the media and resolved their dispute through a mediation process facilitated by *the Commission for Gender Equality*. A formal correspondence of the resolution of the mediation process was sent to SWIFT members and the two parties agreed to never speak about each other on public platforms. One of the visible points of pain from survivors to SWIFT was SWIFT’s inability and capacity or expertise to offer legal and psychological support to members. This many survivors felt SWIFT could have been more forthcoming and honest from the onset on its abilities, many felt that SWIFT had made promises they did not live up to, in terms of assisting survivors with psychological and legal ‘remedies’. This has made many (according to the research) feel confused as to what SWIFT’s role is, and this may have caused a reluctance from members to join or renew their membership. Many

female practitioners were unaware of the SCO initiative, which in principle is a brilliant initiative but the execution continues to be concerning. According to this research, many participants wondered if SWIFT was still in existence, and were shocked to find they were. This is because they have allegedly been quiet and not as visible since the emergence of #MeToo. SWIFT can be lauded for being pioneers of what was unheard of in the SAFT industry, a network of support for female practitioners denouncing patriarchy and sexual harassment. Their continued strides are laudable but an enforcement of them thereof leave room for improvement. The SCO initiative could develop more presence and be dispatched in other provinces, other than Gauteng. There is a gap that has been identified in terms of the SCOs reach, a marginalized community of gender non-conforming, gender non-binary and queer men who identify with SWIFT, who are revealed to be largely harassed and silenced in the SAFT industry. A specific mandate must be made to ensure there are SCOs dispatched for their aid.

According to SWIFT's research there are women who are unaccounted for, who "disappeared" from the SAFT industry- due to no justice for them amidst the sexual transgressions against them. There needs to be a desk to deal with tracking and tracing these women, and justice to be served. A particular participant in this research gave up her dream of being an actress and became a director, because of a male director who sexually harassed her in an audition. This scarred her and left her traumatized, and as such she gave up her dream of being an actress. This study has also identified female extras as being the most gullible. There must be an organization or guild that protects extra talent on SAFT sets, there are many undocumented incidents of statutory rape and harassment on SAFT sets towards extras.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Finally, this research can conclude that, though #MeToo was instrumental in women speaking up, which is something that never occurred on SAFT sets as history has shown, it is not the reason SWIFT began its work, in fact, SWIFT began its work a few months before the international hashtag broke. SWIFT had identified the problem long before #MeToo reemerged in a hashtag from Hollywood. The only hindrance to SWIFT's identification to the problem was platform, reach and audience. Secondly, while it is revolutionary that #MeToo was able to begin conversations, it seems it is the only thing it did. Is it fair to compare the strides the sector has

made in terms of working on a code of good practice document, introduction of SCO's and the pending establishment of an ombudsman to #MeToo? When the decision stemmed at the Durban Film Festival in 2016, on denouncing patriarchy and sexual harassment. This was months, close to a year before #MeToo emerged.

With this in mind, SWIFT cannot be used as a case study to ascertain the impact of #MeToo on SAFT sets. But rather, the conversations from South African female practitioners are the only liable sources as a point of reference. Though a form of #MeToo found a landing in South Africa, it was far less audible than Hollywood, and the noise it did make only remained in hashtags and social media posts. Post the noise there has been somewhat a reaction from broadcasters such as the SABC when talent speak up on social media, but there still is injustice and lack of recourse for survivors. The establishment of the sexual harassment inquiry at the SABC came just after the noise of #MeToo, and can safely be the point of reference for analysis. Though this may be the case, three of the eleven participants of this research have alleged sexual harassment is still taking place at the SABC.

The unregulated SAFT industry has its pros and cons, but the negativity of it heeds the underwhelming results. One wonders if an impact can only be limited to just a social media conversation, though important, should an impact not hold long-lasting changes? Which the SAFT industry has not seen much according to this research's findings. One participant even forgot she spoke up on social media, and only realized during the interview. One wonders how much weight these online testimonies hold. Two participants in this research, shared how they've had to 'survive' or 'navigate' through harassment. They have done this by befriending men and adapting the 'one of the boys' nature, which usually makes them safe from unwanted sexual attention.

This study is guided by resistance theories and literature, as well as feministic studies. Through these scholarly pieces of work, the study was able to have a structure, as historic work on this subject matter was little to none in South Africa. This study has aimed to bridge this gap. In the beginning of the study, the aim was to portray women as strong and capable beings, who were not 'damsels in distress' but rather powerful, dynamic and competent individuals who too had a stance and used their voices to portray it. Literature from the west has often been accused of portraying African women as voiceless and meek. Though this study has attempted to change

this, the data analysis phase has revealed that though women have the power of social media to emulate their voice, they felt disempowered by not only patriarchy and men in the industry, but by each other.

The study makes mention of the PHD (Pull Her Down) syndrome in the introductory chapter, which refers to men pulling women down. The data analysis phase has revealed that it is women who are delaying their own emancipation, by allowing men to bring them apart. They do this by either colluding with male perpetrators or being their enablers, as well as being their biggest validations to continue harassing and preying on women. Though this opinion may bare unpopular reception, the women who have been enablers of harassment have been seen to possess power which lies in their bodies and the giving of it to prominent men in the industry. Colluders have identified that their bodies can work for them ‘positively’ by giving them comfort and stability, which in itself is power.

The study has also revealed how patriarchy, hegemony and harassment are the giants that don’t want to die. However, digital activism/feminism is now giving these constructs challenges on social media, and very gradually there is discomfort to these constructs, no matter how little. This study has revealed how women are the biggest survivors as they bear the brunt of being historically and presently harassed, cat-called and sexualized every day of their lives, this strength is unmatched, not even the very men responsible for these would survive their own advances. As far as impact is concerned, was there an impact with #MeToo in the South African Television and Film industry? Cecily Wallman-Stokes et al argues in the *School of Social Policy & Practice* document in association with an organization, *Women Moving Millions* that “impact definitions are not abstract, objective truths. They are product of decisions made by people and organizations, and they often aim to change behaviors or situations for those on the receiving of an intervention”³⁹³.

#MeToo can undoubtedly be recognized that it aimed to bring change, it can also be unanimously concluded by the eleven participants that it did exist, no matter the temporary nature of the movement and its hashtag. Furthermore, women did speak and awareness was made. However, its strides were not enough according to the participants, as harassment still

³⁹³ C W. Wallman-Stokes et al, ‘what are we talking about when we talk impact’, University of Pennsylvania, 2013, p1

continues, though subtly. One can argue that there's greater danger in it being subtle, as it makes it difficult to call out, the legal system has a list of prescripts to follow before it can be proven to be harassment. It is difficult for the harassed to report or speak out if evidence is of a subtle nature. This research was also concerned with how the female practitioners responded, the response shows that the majority of the eleven women did respond by hash tagging, some even bared the brunt of this action by being ear marked as problematic. This research can conclude that #MeToo was not impactful as even the policies, clauses and documents by various stakeholders in the sector such as SWIFT and SAGA are unknown by the female practitioners, nor are many of their initiatives, with very few participants being aware of them. Though the hashtag did exist in South Africa, the women believe the movement was as temporary as the hashtag, yielding very few positive results. This in turn contributes to a repetition of a historic legacy of harassment in the SAFT industry, which stubbornly refuses to go away.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

“ [#MeToo](#)

*Stand Up Against Sexual Harassment and
Assault!!— #BLACKDIAMOND*
(@LungiNaidoo) [October 16, 2017](#) ”

APPENDIX B

[#metoo](#) Everyday catcalls and street harassment. The boss who propositioned me. The friend who assaulted me.

— Lauren Beukes (@laurenbeukes)
October 16, 2017

APPENDIX C



munchkin
@Feiawesomeol



The complicity of so many to keep sexual assault, abuse and harassment buried needs to end. You're not saving face. Just stop.

[#MeToo](#)

6:34 AM · Oct 16, 2017 · Twitter for iPhone

1 Retweet 2 Likes

APPENDIX D



#ntombebruised
@iamzathemum



When khalo Matabane raped me, they said it was a lie, soon he will rape and kill#our rapistsarewalkingfree#we not safe

[#shutdownsouthafrica](#)

14:37 · 2019/09/03 · [Twitter Web App](#)

APPENDIX E



APPENDIX F



APPENDIX G



IG/TikTok: @ramic...  · 2020/02/26 ...

1. What @RosieMotene is asking is: where were we when the others were where they were. If only Rosie knew that this was not a competition on who got abused when & how, then spoke up when & how. There are no ribbons for speaking out. In fact you support in anyway you can


 16  27  186 

APPENDIX H



IG/TikTok: @ramichuene   ...
@ramichuene

Replying to @ramichuene @FloMasebe and @RosieMotene

2. Rosie is not the #metoo  movement's posterchild and we are responding to something that is topical, relevant and necessary. It will always be as long as victims who are afraid to speak out. Did Rosie maybe want an article in the paper? I don't remember doing an interview

19:06 · 2020/02/26 · [Twitter for iPhone](#)

9 Retweets 1 Quote Tweet 45 Likes

APPENDIX I



IG/TikTok: @ramichuene   ...
@ramichuene

Replying to @ramichuene @FloMasebe and @RosieMotene

4. This is not about publicity nor about who did it first. Just because I was sexually assaulted at 11 and someone else at 20 cos they needed a job, doesn't make my plight more horrific. We're in the same boat and now addressing Rosie's ego instead of helping others

19:13 · 2020/02/26 · [Twitter for iPhone](#)

13 Retweets 45 Likes

APPENDIX J



IG/TikTok: @ramichuene   ...
@ramichuene

Replying to @ramichuene @FloMasebe and @RosieMotene

5. I wrote a book about my abuse in 2015. And then what? What Rosie has done or doing is to minimize something that could have a lot of people in the industry. Is Rosie's ego that big? I'm not even going to get into how we supported her when she got assaulted.

19:16 · 2020/02/26 · [Twitter for iPhone](#)

5 Retweets 32 Likes

APPENDIX K



IG/TikTok: @ramichuene 🌈🔒
@ramichuene

Replying to @ramichuene @FloMasebe and @RosieMotene

6. Please tell Rosie that the #metoo 🙋 movement is bigger than her, bigger than me, bigger than you, bigger than all of us. I'm sure we all appreciate her efforts & encourage her to never stop. We will not stop either. Just put that ego aside and stand together with all of us

19:19 · 2020/02/26 · Twitter for iPhone

6 Retweets 26 Likes

APPENDIX L



IG/TikTok: @ramichuene 🌈🔒
@ramichuene

Replying to @ramichuene @FloMasebe and @RosieMotene

7. No one is sprinting for 1st prize, oh wait, Rosie already took it. BUT for everyone else, we are walking this journey- slowly but surely- through counseling, praying, supporting each other so there will be healing, restoration and hopefully, another zest for life

19:24 · 2020/02/26 · Twitter for iPhone

APPENDIX M



IG/TikTok: @ramichuene 🌈🇳🇬🇰🇪
@ramichuene

Replying to @ramichuene @FloMasebe and @RosieMotene

8. In conclusion: now that Rosie got her medal for 1st prize, can she kindly sit down. No one has time for conceited, self serving, egotistical hogwash hidden behind activism. There's too much work to be done. I thank you.

19:26 · 2020/02/26 · Twitter for iPhone

10 Retweets 2 Quote Tweets 41 Likes

APPENDIX N



Rosie Motene- Pan African feminis...
@RosieMotene

So @FloMasebe and @ramichuene you can hurl insults and carry on, I will not reply. We will continue the fight, it's never been a competition as we have all suffered as survivors working at lifting up victims!

21:46 · 2020/02/26 · Twitter for iPhone

21 Retweets 10 Quote Tweets 54 Likes

APPENDIX O

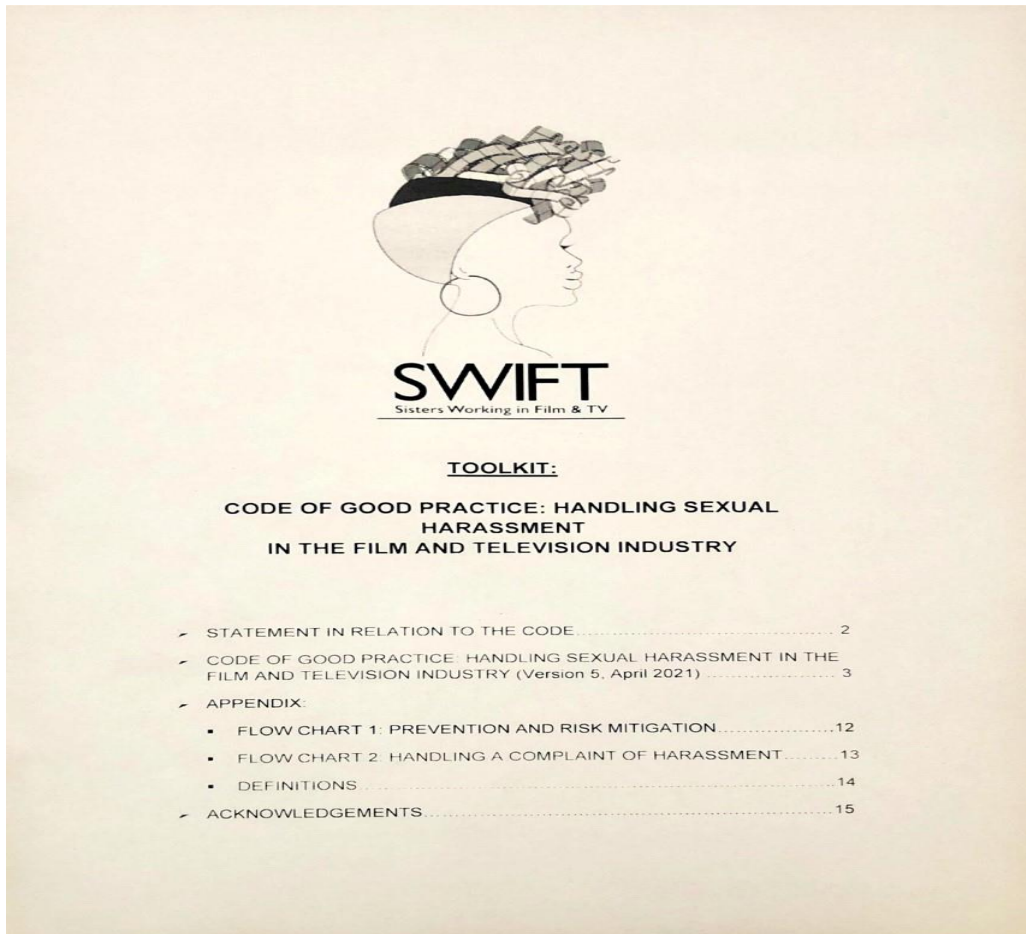


@LumkoJohnson



It's really common. Crew and cast take their chances with extras. Worked on a set where an actor had sex with an extra on one of the studio beds - it was an open secret no one addressed.

APPENDIX P



STATEMENT IN RELATION TO THE CODE OF GOOD PRACTICE

SWIFT has developed this Code of Good Practice: Handling Sexual Harassment in the Film and Television Industry ("the Code"), which is based on the Code of Good Practice on the Handling of Sexual Harassment Cases in the Workplace in the Employment Equity Act.

The Code explains what sexual harassment is and outlines the role and responsibility of the production company and employers in the audiovisual industry to provide a safe, respectful and inclusive workplace, and what should happen in the event of a complaint.

The Code provides protection against sexual harassment for all workers, independent contractors, clients and service providers, suppliers and therefore covers freelancers as well as employees – as long as the Code is adopted and included with all contracts.

SWIFT invites all production companies and employers to formally adopt the Code and include with every contract signed.

SWIFT further strongly urges all broadcasters and funders require every company they commission or fund, has a sexual harassment code.

Why sign a Code of Good Practice?

Because presently, if you are a producer, freelancer or employee on a production, it is your best protection in the event of any sexual harassment.

By signing the Code both the employer and everyone in the production workspace acknowledges that each understands what sexual harassment is, and what the process will be if there is a complaint.

Some employers may already have a policy on sexual harassment, and if it is a comprehensive and sensible policy, there is no need for them to adopt this Code as well. Where employers do not have a policy in relation to sexual harassment, they are welcome to adopt the Code as is, or adapt it for their specific workplace.

Where employers have several policies that employees and independent contractors are subject to when they accept employment or a contract at that workplace, e.g. internet use policy, vehicle and transport policy, communications policy, etc., employees/contractees do not have to sign each policy separately, but there is usually a clause in their contract that states, "The employee/contractee accepts to be subject to all the policies of the company and the employee/contractee acknowledges that he/she is familiar with all such policies."

If, however, the employer wants to highlight the sexual harassment policy each employer and employee/contractee can at the commencement of their contract, or when the employer adopts a sexual harassment policy, both sign the Code or a similar document.

SWIFT intends to ensure that the Code is generally distributed and made available, to empower employees, freelancers, and suppliers to ask of their employers whether the company has such a Code; and if not, encourage the Company to adopt one.

**CODE OF GOOD PRACTICE:
HANDLING SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE FILM AND TELEVISION INDUSTRY
(Version 5, April 2021)**

PREAMBLE

This Code of Good Practice: Handling Sexual Harassment in the Film and Television Industry ("The Code") promotes workplaces that are free of sexual harassment, where persons respect one another's integrity and dignity, privacy, and right to equality.

All production companies and employers in the Film and Television Industry are encouraged to adopt the Code and enforce it through inclusion thereof in all contracts with employees, independent contractors, clients, suppliers, contractors and other third parties who they do business with.

1. APPLICATION OF THE CODE

- 1.1. The South African film, television and audio-visual industry ("**the industry**") use both employment and contracts to resource the industry. The employment relationships are governed by the suite of labour legislation in South Africa, and specifically the *Labour Relations Act* and the *Employment Equity Act*. However, where persons are contracted, no such protections exist, other than the *Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act*. This Code provides a consistent approach for all persons who work in the industry, no matter whether they are contracted through an employment contract or an independent contract.
- 1.2. Therefore, the Code is applicable to all forms of employment and contractual relationships where included in the relevant contract, including:
 - 1.2.1. employers,
 - 1.2.2. production companies;
 - 1.2.3. full-time, part time, permanent and temporary employment relationships;
 - 1.2.4. interns and job applicants,
 - 1.2.5. independent contractors; and
 - 1.2.6. clients, suppliers, contractors and other third parties who deal with the business ("non-employees").
- 1.3. The list provided for in 1.2. is collectively referred herein as "Industry Parties".
- 1.4. A person who is a recipient of alleged sexual harassment, may lodge a grievance with the employer or the production company of the alleged harasser or the person responsible for the appointment of the alleged harasser, where the alleged harassment has taken place in the workplace or on the set of a production, or in the course and scope of the alleged harasser's employment or appointment.
- 1.5. A production company and an employer may provide a contact safety officer to assist with sexual harassment complaints, alternatively provide other means to address

such complaints.

- 1.6. This Code does not confer any authority or obligation on employers to take any disciplinary action against persons who are not their employees.

2. DEFINITION OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

- 2.1. Sexual harassment is unwanted conduct of a sexual nature violating the dignity and rights of an individual and creating impediments to true equity in the working environment. The unwanted nature of sexual harassment distinguishes it from behavior that is welcome and mutual.
- 2.2. Sexual attention becomes sexual harassment when:
 - 2.2.1. The conduct is unwelcome, whether it constitutes a single incident or persistent occurrences;
 - 2.2.2. The recipient indicates their discomfort through verbal or non-verbal cues such as walking away or not responding;
 - 2.2.3. The recipient has made it clear that the behaviour is considered offensive; and/or
 - 2.2.4. The conduct was previously welcome but becomes unwelcome at any stage.

3. FORMS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

- 3.1. Sexual harassment may include unwelcome physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct, including, but not limited to the following:
 - 3.1.1. Physical conduct of a sexual nature e.g. all unwanted physical contact, ranging from touching to sexual assault and rape, and includes a strip search by or in the presence of the opposite sex.
 - 3.1.2. Verbal forms of sexual harassment e.g. unwelcome innuendoes, suggestions and hints, sexual advances, comments with sexual overtones, sex-related jokes or insults or unwelcome graphic comments about a person's body made in their presence or directed toward them, unwelcome and inappropriate enquiries about a person's sex life, and unwelcome whistling directed at a person or group of persons.
 - 3.1.3. Non-verbal forms of sexual harassment e.g. unwelcome gestures, indecent exposure including by electronic means, and the unwelcome display of sexually explicit pictures and objects.

- 3.1.4. Quid pro quo harassment occurs where an owner, employer, supervisor, member of management or co-employee, undertakes or attempts to influence the process of employment, promotion, training, discipline, dismissal, salary increment or other benefit of an employee or non-employee, in exchange for sexual favours;
- 3.1.5. Sexual favouritism, where a person who is in a position of authority rewards only those who respond to his/her sexual advances, whilst others who are deserving who do not submit themselves to any sexual advances are denied bonuses, promotions, merit ratings, salary increases and/or other forms of monetary or other reward for work performance; and
- 3.1.6. Victimization occurs where an employee or non-employee is victimized or intimidated for failing to submit to the sexual advances of the harasser.

4. GUIDING PRINCIPLES

- 4.1. All Industry Parties must create and maintain a working environment where the dignity of all is respected as well as a climate that promotes reporting of incidents of sexual harassment free from victimisation, trivialisation, ignoring of grievances or fear of reprisals.
- 4.2. All Industry Parties must:
 - 4.2.1. not commit any act of sexual harassment.
 - 4.2.2. contribute towards creating and maintaining a working environment free of sexual harassment. All should ensure that their standards of conduct do not cause offence and they should discourage unacceptable behaviour on the part of others.
 - 4.2.3. prevent sexual harassment.
 - 4.2.4. take appropriate action in accordance with the Code, when instances of sexual harassment complaints are brought to their attention.
- 4.3. Disciplinary steps will be taken against any person involved in the production who breaches the guidelines of the Code or commits an act of sexual harassment.

5. IMPLEMENTATION

- 5.1. As a first step in addressing sexual harassment, a production company must ensure:
 - 5.1.1. All parties involved in a production must be treated with dignity.
 - 5.1.2. Sexual harassment is not permitted or condoned.

- 5.1.3. Persons who have allegedly been subjected to sexual harassment in the workplace have a right to raise a grievance and have appropriate action taken in terms of the Code. Allegations of sexual harassment will be dealt with seriously, expeditiously, sensitively and confidentially by an appropriately qualified person
 - 5.1.4. All Industry Parties are protected against victimisation, retaliation for lodging grievances and from false accusations.
 - 5.1.5. There is a positive duty to implement the Code and take action against an Industry Party who does not comply with the Code.
- 5.2. This Code should be communicated to all Industry Parties including:
- 5.2.1. new employees and contractors at an induction, briefing and/or incorporated as an annexure to their contract; and
 - 5.2.2. contractors, service providers, suppliers and other third parties who are involved with the production and a copy hereof should be annexed to their contract, binding the third party to this Code.

6. SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE

- 6.1. Sexual harassment is a sensitive issue, and a recipient of such conduct may feel unable to approach the perpetrator, lodge a formal grievance or turn to colleagues for support.
- 6.2. As far as is practicable the production company should designate a person who alleged victims, concerned persons and/or persons who need information may approach for confidential advice. Such a person:
 - 6.2.1. May include persons employed by the company to perform such a function, a co-employee, independent contractor or outside professional.
 - 6.2.2. Should have the appropriate skills and experience or be properly trained and be given adequate resources.
 - 6.2.3. Could be required to have counselling and/or relevant labour relations skills and be able to provide support and advice on a confidential basis.
- 6.3. A production company and an employer must address any reports of sexual harassment with confidentiality and sensitivity ensuring that all relevant parties are consulted, all necessary and reasonable steps required to address the complaint are taken in accordance with this Code and that necessary and reasonable steps are taken to eliminate the sexual harassment.

- 6.4. A production company and an employer are required to advise a complainant of the different procedures that may be followed in resolving the complaint as well as the workplace procedures invoked to resolve such complaints and to offer counselling or advice to the victim of the sexual harassment.

7. INVESTIGATION AND DISCIPLINARY ACTION

- 7.1. Care should be taken during any investigation of a grievance of sexual harassment that the aggrieved person is not disadvantaged, and that the position of other parties is not prejudiced if the grievance is found to be unwarranted.
- 7.2. Persistent harassment, serious incidents of sexual harassment, continued harassment after warnings, or single incidents of serious misconduct, may result in the dismissal of an employee or the cancellation of a contract.
- 7.3. It is an offence in terms of this Code to victimise or retaliate against a complainant who in good faith lodges a grievance of sexual harassment.
- 7.4. It is an offence in terms of this Code to report a complaint of sexual harassment which the complainant knows is not true.

8. PROCEDURE FOR REPORTING AND INVESTIGATING SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND DISCIPLINARY ACTION

- 8.1. Allegations of sexual harassment must be dealt with seriously, expeditiously, sensitively and confidentially by the production company
- 8.2. An allegation of sexual harassment must be reported to the production company shall as soon as reasonably possible after the incident.
- 8.3. All Industry Parties must be protected against victimization, retaliation for lodging grievances and from false accusations.
- 8.4. An Industry Party who either experiences or witnesses an act of sexual harassment or a breach of this Code, are accordingly required to immediately approach the appointed safety officer assigned to the production to report and discuss any incidents.
- 8.5. Once an incident has been reported to the production company or employer, there are two courses in which the incident can be dealt with, either through an informal procedure or through a formal procedure. The person reporting the incident is under no obligation to follow either one of these options.

9. Informal Procedure

- 9.1.1. The person concerned may decide that it is sufficient to, with the assistance of the safety officer, to explain to the person engaging in the unwanted conduct that the behaviour in question is not welcome, that it offends them or makes them uncomfortable, and that it interferes with their work.
- 9.1.2. The person concerned may choose to remain anonymous and have the safety officer explain that the conduct complained of is unwanted.
- 9.1.3. If the informal approach has not provided a satisfactory outcome, or if the case is severe or if the conduct continues, it may be more appropriate to embark upon a formal procedure. Severe cases may include but are not limited to sexual assault, a strip search and quid pro quo harassment.

10. Formal Procedure

- 10.1.1. Where formal procedure has been elected by the complainant, the formal procedure for resolving the grievance will include the following:
 - 10.1.1.1. Immediately report the incident to an appointed safety officer ("SCO") on set or a relevant authorized person;
 - 10.1.1.2. Should medical attention be required, request the safety officer or relevant authorized person to accompany you to the nearest medical facility;
 - 10.1.1.3. Should a person be a complainant, such person has a right to press separate criminal and/or civil charges against an alleged perpetrator. The complainant may approach the safety contact officer or the head-of-department to accompany them to the police station in order to lay a charge;
 - 10.1.1.4. Within 2 (two) days of the non-resolution of the dispute following an informal approach, the complainant/SCO shall notify the relevant department head of the production that a formal approach has been requested providing the full details of the incident and all parties involved, except where a complainant has chosen to remain anonymous.
 - 10.1.1.5. Once a written complaint of sexual harassment has been received by the production company, a formal investigation by way of an independent investigation, enquiry or arbitration, must be conducted by the production company.
 - 10.1.1.6. The outcome of the investigation, enquiry, or arbitration must be communicated to the complainant and alleged perpetrator within

14 (fourteen) days of the referral of the complaint

- 10.1.2. Should a complaint of sexual harassment not be satisfactorily resolved by the internal procedures set out above, a complainant who is an employee, may refer a dispute within 30 (thirty) days of receipt of the outcome of the investigation, to the CCMA for conciliation in accordance with the provisions of Section 135 of the Labour Relations Act ("the Act"). Should the dispute remain unresolved, either party may refer the dispute to the Labour Court within 30 (thirty) days of receipt of the certificate issued by the commissioner in terms of Section 135(5) of the Act.
- 10.1.3. Where the complainant is not an employee, the production company or the complainant may approach the safety contact officer for assistance with referring the matter for appropriate intervention and referral to a private dispute resolution agency. The safety contact officer will notify the production company of the request should it be received directly from the complainant before or shortly after referral of a dispute to a private dispute resolution agency.
- 10.1.4. The alleged perpetrator named in the complaint shall be notified of the referral of the complaint to a private dispute resolution agency by the production company and may approach the safety contact officer with any questions regarding the process that will unfold.

Disciplinary Action:

- 10.1.5. The possible sanctions to be imposed should an alleged perpetrator be found guilty of sexual harassment by the production company, may include:
- 10.1.5.1. Suspension of the contracts of any parties involved in the production, pending an investigation into any allegation of sexual harassment against that party or an employee of that party;
 - 10.1.5.2. Warnings for minor instances of sexual harassment;
 - 10.1.5.3. Dismissal for continued minor instances after warnings given, as well as for serious instances of sexual harassment;
 - 10.1.5.4. Transfer of the perpetrator to another position in the production where appropriate; or
 - 10.1.5.5. Termination of the contract of an independent contractor where the outcome of the investigation of the production company has concluded that the independent contractor, or an employee of the independent contractor, has committed an act of sexual harassment.

- 10.1.6. In the case of a person simply visiting the set, an investigation must be launched and, in this regard, all rights of the production company are reserved. The complainant may approach the safety contact officer on set with any questions on the options available to filing a complaint against the individual.
- 10.1.7. Should the aggrieved person not elect the formal procedure, an employer is still required to assess the potential risk posed to others in the working environment. Factors to be considered include the severity of the conduct and whether there is a history of sexual harassment by the perpetrator.
- 10.1.8. None of the above will in any way prohibit or prevent the complainant from enforcing their rights to lay separate criminal and/or civil charges against an alleged perpetrator, and the legal rights of the complainant are in no way limited by the Code.

11. CONFIDENTIALITY

- 11.1. Industry Parties must ensure that grievances about sexual harassment are investigated and handled in a manner that ensures that the identities of the persons involved are kept confidential.
- 11.2. The disciplinary enquiry, where applicable, will also be conducted confidentially. Only appropriate and relevant representatives of the production company as well as the aggrieved person, their representative, alleged perpetrator, witnesses and an interpreter if required, must be present in the disciplinary enquiry.
- 11.3. The production company is required to disclose to either party or to their representatives, such information as may be reasonably necessary to enable the parties to prepare for any proceedings in terms of this Code or the law.
- 11.4. Where applicable, the relevant provisions of Section 16 of the Act will apply to the disclosure of information in terms of this Code.

12. ADDITIONAL SICK LEAVE

- 12.1. Where an employee's existing sick leave entitlement has been exhausted, the employer should give due consideration to the granting of additional sick leave in cases of serious sexual harassment where the employee on medical advice requires trauma counselling.

13. INFORMATION AND TRAINING

- 13.1. It is incumbent upon the production company to ensure that Industry Parties are aware of this Code and the appropriate behaviours required within the working

environment. Consideration must be given to incorporating it as part of all contractual arrangements with third parties.

13.2. Further training and/or information sessions should be conducted by the production company to ensure all staff are well versed with this Code and the relevant protections and sanctions imposed for sexual harassment.

By signing below, I accept that I have read and understood the Code and that I agree to adhere thereto. I understand that by signing it, I pledge not to perpetrate any form of discrimination, including but not limited to sexual harassment or harassment. I also pledge to report if I do witness any of the above mentioned happening whilst on the production.

Signed at _____ on _____ 20 ____

Company Representative

Signature:

Name:

Individual

Signature:

Name:

APPENDIX

FLOW CHART 1: PREVENTION AND RISK MITIGATION:

Productions may find value in the implementation of the Code as it assists in ensuring the environments worked in promote the following practices and principles: –

- sexual harassment will not be condoned nor tolerated,
- everyone is treated with dignity,
- anyone subjected to sexual harassment has the right to complain and expect the complaint to be handled fairly, quickly and confidentially
- ensure no victimisation nor retaliation for reporting an incident of sexual harassment

The below steps may assist in creating an environment of awareness wherein sexual harassment is understood and the consequences of the actions are presented to all in the workplace and/or set. This allows for an awareness of sexual harassment to mitigate incidents from occurring.

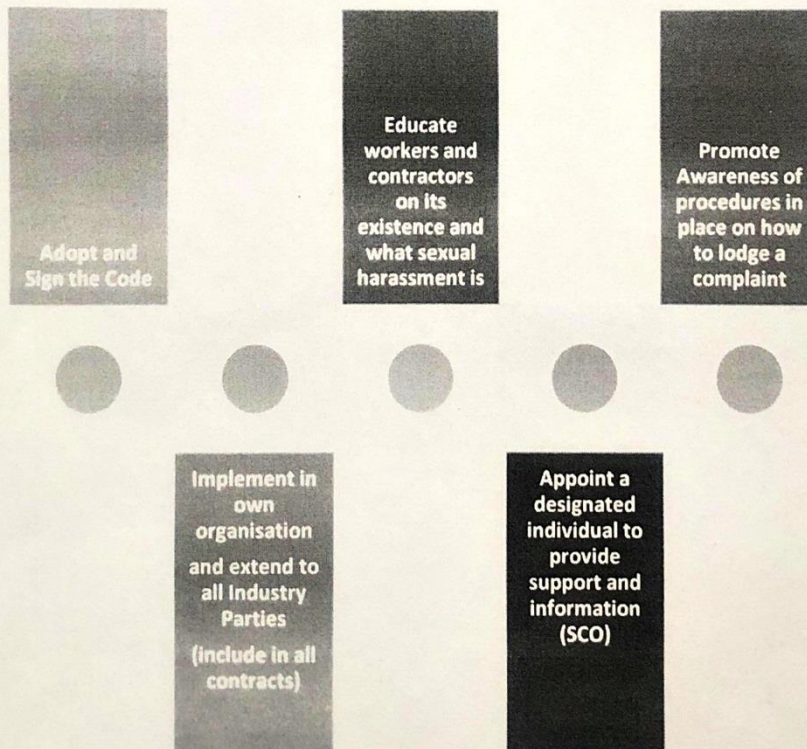


Figure 1: Diagram on steps for Prevention and Mitigation of Sexual Harassment

FLOW CHART 2: HANDLING A COMPLAINT OF HARASSMENT

Where a complaint of sexual harassment is brought forward to the production company, producer or employer, there is a duty to handle the complaint in a manner that is fair, timeous, and confidential.

A formal process flow for managing complaints of sexual harassment may assist in creating certainty for all parties involved. The complainant is aware of the channels available to receiving the complaint and the alleged perpetrator and witnesses are aware of the possible processes that may unfold.

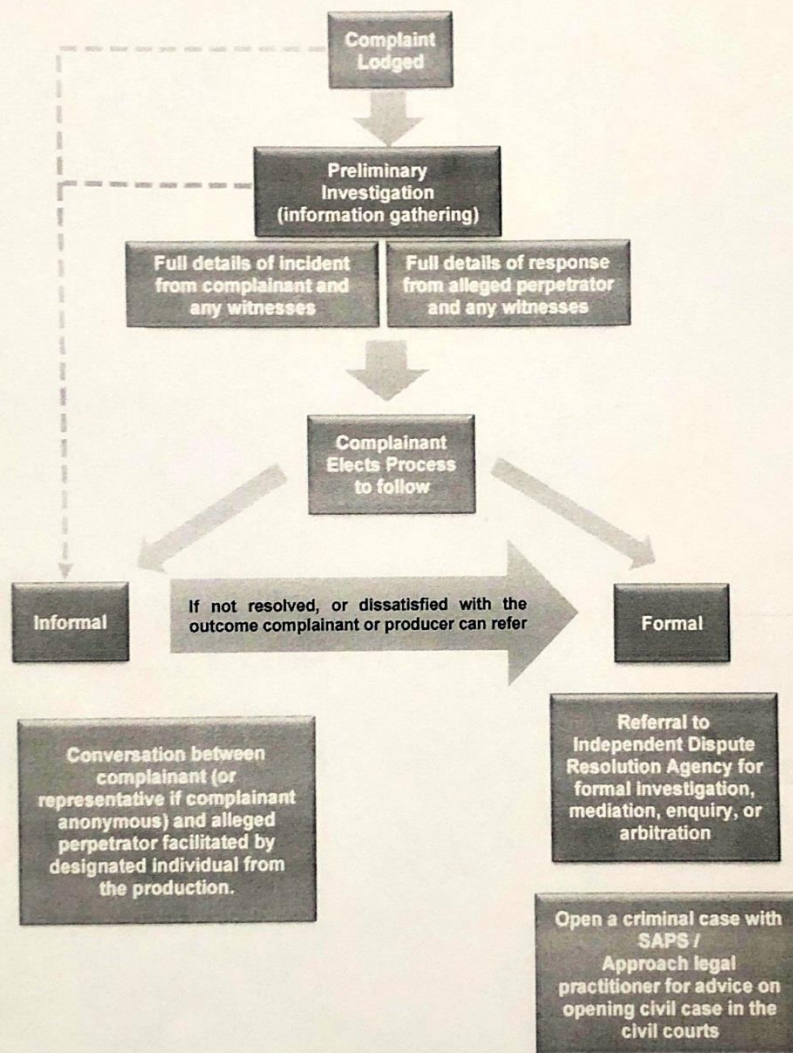


Figure 2: Flow chart of Handling Sexual Harassment Complaints

DEFINITIONS:

Allegation: an assertion of facts that one intends to prove through an investigation procedure, hearing or trial

Alleged perpetrator: a person alleged to have committed an act of sexual harassment

Complaint: the specific grievance of anyone who has been negatively affected by the actions of an individual, group or organisation

Complainant: the person making the allegation of conduct that violates the provisions of the workplace policy on sexual harassment, including the alleged victim of the sexual harassment or abuse, or another person who became aware of the wrongdoing

Confidentiality: the ethical principle that restricts access to and dissemination of information in a case of sexual harassment or abuse for instance. This requires that the information will only be available to a limited number of authorised people for the purposes of conducting the investigation

Consent: occurs when someone unambiguously and voluntarily agrees to do something without coercion and fully understands the consequences of this decision

Coercion: The use of force or threats to make someone do something they are unwilling to do

Rape: non-consensual penetration, however slight, of the vagina, anus or mouth by a penis or any other body part or object

Sexual abuse: actual or threatened sexual violence, including but not limited to rape, sexual assault and sexual harassment

Sexual assault: when person A sexually violates person B without person B's consent

Sexual favoritism: where a person who is in a position of authority rewards only those who respond to his/her sexual advances, whilst others who are deserving, and who do not submit themselves to any sexual advances are denied bonuses, promotions, merit ratings, salary increases and/or other forms of monetary or other reward for work performance.

Sexual Harassment: sexual harassment is unwanted conduct of a sexual nature violating the dignity and rights of an individual and creating impediments to true equity in the working environment. The unwanted nature of sexual harassment distinguishes it from behavior that is welcome and mutual

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Code of Good Practice Toolkit has been made possible with the generous support of the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture (DSAC) and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit/German Cooperation(GIZ)

Also with generous input from Farren van Niekerk of Irish Macleod inc and Tokiso.



SPORTS, ARTS & CULTURE
Department
Sport, Arts and Culture
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA



german
cooperation
DEUTSCHE ZUSAMMENARBEIT



TOKISO

APPENDIX Q

SWIFT Presents the Safety Contact Officer (SCO) Programme

Tired of the on-going uncomfortable workspace for womxn and vulnerable individuals in the industry?

You all have a responsibility to stop sexual harassment in its tracks!

Now take the next step.

Producers: Hire a SCO for your production to help guide you through a safe working environment for all.

Has someone reported a case of sexual harassment to you, and you need help with the next steps? The SCO programme provides an impartial, professional and confidential service to the industry.

What is sexual harassment? (Maybe this could be a bubble)

Any physical, verbal, or non-verbal sexual advances which are unwanted and uncomfortable for the recipient. The lines should be clear: if it's unwanted, then it's harassment.

Have you been sexually harassed, victimized or criticized for speaking up? Contact an SCO now to inform you about your rights and what processes are available to you

Who are the SCO's:

- Custodians of information and education about sexual harassment
- Preventative risk-management focused
- Trained to deal with sexual harassment investigations
- Trained in understanding the legal framework

What they do:

- Educate: about the process of reporting
- Refer: to the appropriate escalation forums
- Support: complainants throughout the process
- Document and monitor for appropriate interventions

Why contact an SCO?

- To educate all employees, freelancers, and suppliers about proper behaviour with co-workers
- To prevent instances of sexual harassment, by providing all with an information toolkit
- To mitigate risk of fallout in the event that an incident does occur
- To help make the work environment safer for all

Who should contact an SCO?

- Anyone who wants to prevent or report any incident of sexual harassment
- Producers have the responsibility to ensure that productions are free from harassment
- Complainants who need a confidential place to report

How to contact an SCO

SMS **34101** or email sco@swiftsa.org.za

APPENDIX R



(2) Sexual favouritism exists where a person who is in a position of authority rewards only those who respond to his/her sexual advances, whilst other deserving employees who do not submit themselves to any sexual advances are denied promotions, merit rating or salary increases.

Background

Sexual harassment in the performance industry is demonstrated in word and conduct in various forms on a daily basis. While this behavior is often direct and overt, most forms of sexual harassment remain subtle, but are no less offensive.

While the industry has been slow to establish and implement codes of conduct that identify sexual harassment in its various guises, significant strides have been made in recent months to highlight this scourge. However, the onus of identifying and reporting inappropriate behavior still falls on the individual as victim or as witness.

Reporting cases of sexual harassment comes with its own pitfalls, and many victims choose not to report incidents out of fear of victimization, loss of work and being accused of overreacting to an 'innocent' remark or gesture. There is always a real fear that the victim of sexual harassment can become a victim twice over; once as the unwilling object of sexual advances and again as a whistle-blower who authorities choose to ignore.

The culture of silence around sexual harassment cannot continue. Perpetrators continue their predatory behavior for as long as their conduct remains the secret shame of the victim. We need to change this culture of silence to a culture of reporting and exposing perpetrators. Ultimately, all forms of sexual harassment must stop.

SAGA offers a helpful, practical guide in the responsible reporting of sexual harassment that places the onus on authorities to take positive and immediate action to protect victims and witnesses, while turning a spotlight on to the conduct of the perpetrator.

Reporting an Incident of Sexual Harassment

The burden of proof in sexual harassment cases is on the party who alleges the harassment. A complaint of sexual harassment must be made in as much detail as possible in order for the incident to be fully investigated and dealt with appropriately. A personal account the victim or witness that details, in their own words, all the relevant facts and details of the incident should be given. If the complaint is not made in writing, it will be recorded and thereafter reduced to writing. The written complaint will be used as the basis of any further action that follows including, the escalation, if any, to a criminal charge.

Guidelines to keep in mind when making a complaint

You may use the following questions below to help you include necessary facts into your complaint:

- Who was the perpetrator? What was the date, time and place? Is it a recurring event or was it just once off?
- What did the perpetrator do exactly, and what was said?
- How did you react? Were there witnesses? What are their names and designations? Did they say or do anything to assist or intervene?
- Was there any physical evidence of the event? Bruises or marks on your body, stains, damage to property, video footage?
- How would you like this to be remedied?



SAGA Guide to Reporting Sexual Harassment

Disclaimer: The following document has been drafted through intense research and investigation, with legal opinions and changes included in this final draft. The South African Guild of Actors, SWIFT or The PMA in no way, wishes to trigger any further traumatic events from the experience of sexual harassment through any graphic description. This letter serves to help inform victims of the correct procedures in order to report sexual harassment. The South African Guild of Actors further wishes to assist its members where possible and can advise members of support lines and institutions.

Definition of Sexual Harassment

(1) Unwanted conduct of a sexual nature. The unwanted nature of sexual harassment distinguishes it from behaviour that is welcome and mutual.

(2) Sexual attention becomes sexual harassment if:

(a) The behaviour is persisted in, although a single incident of harassment can constitute sexual harassment; and/or

(b) The recipient has made it clear that the behaviour is considered offensive; and/or

(c) The perpetrator should have known that the behaviour is regarded as unacceptable.

Forms of Sexual Harassment

(1) Sexual harassment may include unwelcome physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct, but is not limited to the examples listed as follows:

(a) Physical conduct of a sexual nature includes all unwanted physical contact, ranging from touching to sexual assault and rape, and includes a strip search by or in the presence of the opposite sex.

(b) Verbal forms of sexual harassment include unwelcome innuendoes, suggestions and hints, sexual advances, comments with sexual overtones, sex-related jokes or insults or unwelcome graphic comments about a person's body made in their presence or directed toward them; unwelcome and inappropriate enquiries about a person's sex life, and unwelcome whistling directed at a person or group of persons.

(c) Non-verbal forms of sexual harassment include unwelcome gestures, indecent exposure, and the unwelcome display of sexually explicit pictures and objects.

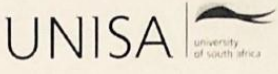
(d) Quid pro quo harassment occurs where an owner, employer, supervisor, member of management or co-employee, undertakes or attempts to influence the process of employment, promotion, training, discipline, dismissal, salary increment or other benefit of an employee or job applicant, in exchange for sexual favours.



Important Additional Notes

- It is important to make a complaint of sexual harassment or write down your notes and recollections as soon as possible. This may be difficult and often traumatic as you relive the details of the incident, but a fresh recollection of the facts will help you set out your complaint..
- Remember that the process of investigation can take several weeks or months. Reporting the incident is just the start of a process. SAGA will follow the process with you and support you every step of the way. You may be represented by a fellow colleague including being represented by your agent..
- Production and theatre companies may have their own guidelines for dealing with incidents of sexual harassment, and the decision on how to deal with the perpetrator rests with that company. The severity of the consequences would depend on the circumstances and the seriousness of the offence. Their action may be *corrective* and not always *punitive*. This means that depending on the circumstances, bear in mind that the perpetrator may not be summarily dismissed or fined, but may be sent for behaviour counselling.
- The company must always inform you of the results of their investigation and the nature of any action taken against the perpetrator. If you are dissatisfied with the results of the investigation, you have a right to express it.
- During the course of the investigation, if you are agreeable to continue working with the perpetrator, you have a right to demand that any interactions) are strictly supervised. Do not engage in discussions with the perpetrator on the incident while investigations are on-going.
- Social media is an incredibly powerful tool but it may place you in a compromised position. Be aware of the risks of posts which may be defamatory, harmful or hateful. Social media posts is one of those tools available to you – use it wisely
- If the incident warrants it, you have every right to open a criminal charge.

APPENDIX S

**UNISA**
university of south africa

COLLEGE OF HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

23 March 2021

Dear Mr Ntsika Majiba

NHREC Registration # :
Rec-240816-052
CREC Reference # :
69992002_CREC_CHS_2021

Decision:
Ethics Approval from 23 March
2021 to 23 March 2024

Principal Researcher: Mr Ntsika Majiba **(69992002@mylife.unisa.ac.za)**
Supervisor/s: Dr Sipokazi Madida **(0124296126 / 0728225850)**

Title: *The impact of #MeToo in the South African film and television industry, within a historical framework*


Purpose: Masters

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Unisa College of Human Science Ethics Committee. Ethics approval is granted for three years.

The **medium risk application** was **reviewed on the 23 March 2021** by College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee, in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment.

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that:

1. The researcher(s) will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.
2. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the College Ethics Review Committee.
3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.
4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing, accompanied by a progress report.



Open Rubric

University of South Africa
Water Street, Mucklenee & Ridge, City of Johannesburg
793 Box 94, Unisa 2000, South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
WWW.UNISA.AC.ZA

5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013, Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.
6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data require additional ethics clearance.
7. No fieldwork activities may continue after the expiry date (**23 March 2024**). Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.

Note:

*The reference number **69992002_CREC_CHS_2021** should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.*

Yours sincerely,

Signature :

Prof. Ilse Ferns
CHS Ethics Chairperson
Email: fernsi@unisa.ac.za
Tel: (012) 429 8210

Signature : PP

Prof K. Masemola
Exécutive Dean : CHS
E-mail: masemk@unisa.ac.za
Tel: (012) 429 2298



APPENDIX T



50 Richmond Avenue, Auckland Park, Johannesburg, 2092
<http://www.swiftsa.org.za>
admin@swiftsa.org.za

NPO 186-039 PRO 930057255

30th March 2021

Dear Ntsika,

Re: "The Impact of #MeToo in the South African film and television industry, within a historical framework"

SWIFT is glad to give you permission to conduct research on the advocacy work done by our organisation and to access our archive and records available for public use.

SWIFT is very proud of the local #ThatsNotOK #ThatsHarassment campaign, and the Advocacy sub-committee will be a useful resource for your study, particularly SWIFT Chair Ms Zanele Mthembu, who has been heading the Safety Contact Officer programme.

If you have any queries, please contact advocacy@swiftsa.org.za as well as admin@swiftsa.org.za.

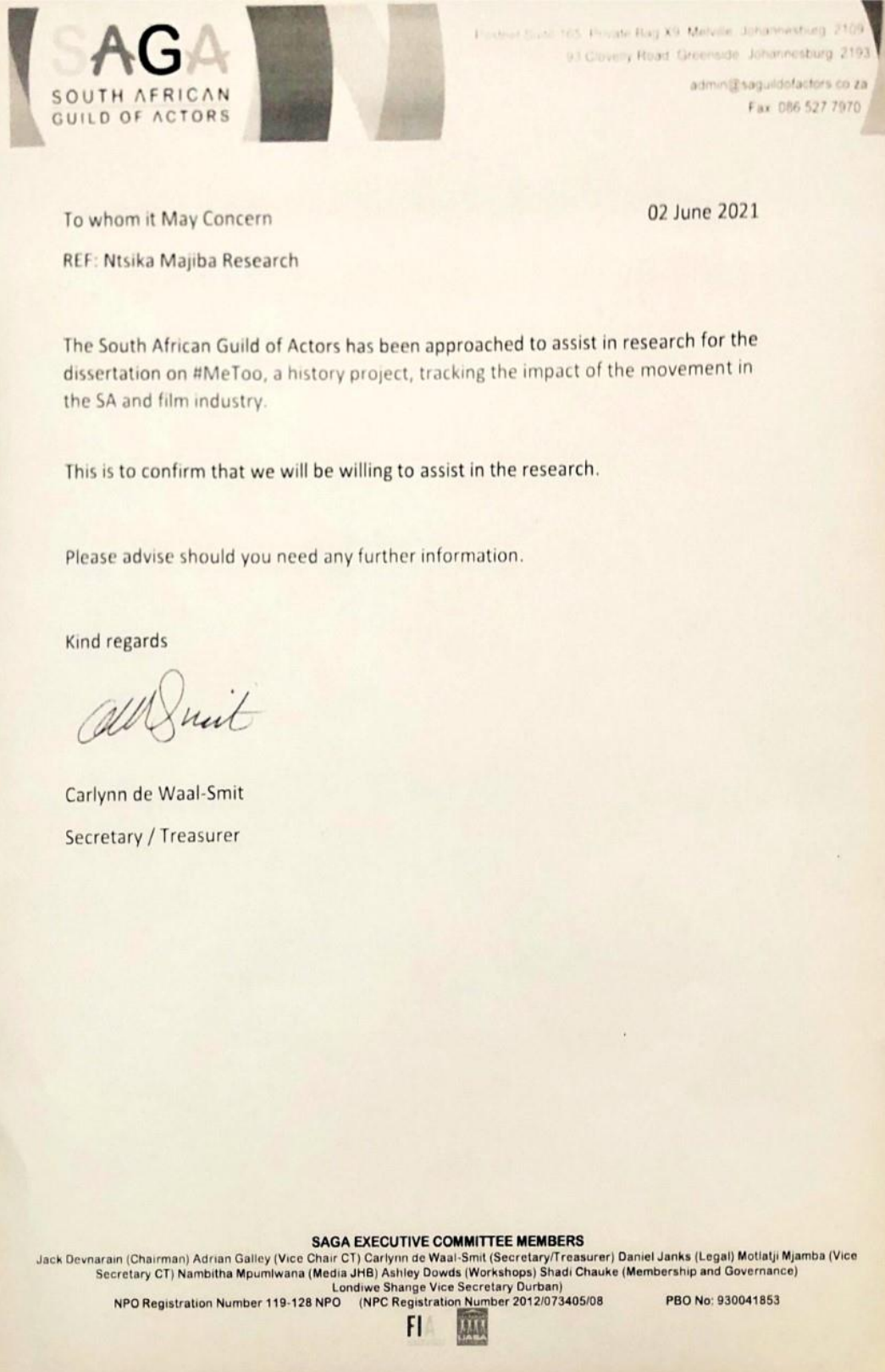
Kind regards

Tracy Clayton

SWIFT Operations Manager

SWIFT BOARD: Zanele Mthembu (Chair), Jacintha de Notrege (Vice-Chair), Pearl Munonde (Treasurer),
Magarithhe Pillay, Jessica Singh, Sara Chitambo, Caroline Kganvago-Rulefeta, Rea Moezi

APPENDIX U



APPENDIX V

With No Immediate Cause

by *Ntozake Shange*

every 3 minutes a woman is beaten
every five minutes a
woman is raped/every ten minutes
a little girl is molested
yet I rode the subway today

I sat next to an old man who
may have beaten his old wife
3 minutes ago or 3 days/30 years ago
he might have sodomized his
daughter but I sat there
cuz the men on the train
might beat some young women
later in the day or tomorrow

I might not shut my door fast
enough push hard enough
every 3 minutes it happens
some woman's innocence
rushes to her cheeks/pours from her mouth
like the betsy wetsy dolls have been torn
apart/their mouths
menses red split/every
three minutes a shoulder
is jammed through plaster and the oven door/
chairs push thru the rib cage/hot water or
boiling sperm decorate her body

I rode the subway today
and bought a paper from an
east Indian man who might
have held his old lady onto
a hot pressing iron/I didn't know
maybe he catches little girls in the
parks and rips open their behinds
with steel rods/I can not decide
what he might have done I only
know every 3 minutes
every 5 minutes every 10 minutes
I bought the paper

looking for the announcement
there has to be an announcement
of the women's bodies found
yesterday the missing little girl

I sat in a restaurant with my
paper looking for the announcement
a young man served me coffee

I wondered did he pour the boiling
coffee on the woman because she was stupid
did he put the infant girl in
the coffee pot because she cried too much
what exactly did he do with coffee

I looked for the announcement
the discovery of the dismembered
woman's body
victims have not all been
identified today they are
naked and dead/some refuse to
testify one girl out of 10's not
coherent/ I took the coffee
and spit it up I found an
announcement/not the woman's
bloated body in the river floating
not the child bleeding in the
59th street corridor/not the baby
broken on the floor
"there is some concern
that alleged battered women
might start to murder their
husbands and lovers with no
immediate cause"

I spit up I vomit I am screaming
we all have immediate cause
every 3 minutes
every 5 minutes
every 10 minutes
every day
women's bodies are found
in alleys and bedrooms/at the top of the stairs
before I ride the subway/buy a paper or drink
coffee from your hands I must know
have you hurt a woman today

did you beat a woman today
throw a child across a room are the little girl's pants in your pocket
did you hurt a woman today
I have to ask these obscene questions
I must know you see
the authorities require us to
establish
immediate cause
every three minutes
every five minutes
every ten minutes
every day.

Ntozake Shange, Nappy Edges. St. Martin's Press, 1972.