Representations of gender and sexuality in The Voice newspaper's 'Conversations from a Combi' cartoon column and readers' Facebook comments

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted in part or whole for the award of another degree at this or any other university.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Abednico Phili, for being the rock in my life. The long video calls kept me sane and gave me renewed energy to forge ahead in difficult times. To my son, Keith Ndulamo Phili, I thank you for stepping up to some responsibilities in the household and still be able to attain your degree. To my daughter, Unami Naomi Phili, the tearful farewells at the airport have remained the most painful memories of my stay in the UK. Seeing you in tears stregthened my resolve to throw everything at my studies so that those tears would not be invain. I hope in the end we will be able to rejoice in the knowledge that this journey was worth taking.

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Abstract

Despite the ubiquity of satirical cartoons in newspapers, little scholarly attention has been paid to this genre, especially in Botswana. A literature survey found just one recent study on political cartoons by Akpabio (2021), which comes almost a decade after another one interesting research (Akpabio 2008) on a particularly controversial political cartoon of a female politician in *Mmegi* newspaper of 28 May 2007. This cartoon attracted significant attention in the media and gender and women organisations but very little academic attention, as besides Akpabio (2008), only one other study Rapoo (2013) was found. By carrying out a relatively large-scale study of non-political cartoons, this study unmasks gender and sexuality ideologies articulated in The Voice cartoon column 'Conversations from a combi' and readers' Facebook posts.

Informed by critical discourse studies (Fairclough, 2010), feminist critical discourse analysis (Lazar, 2005) and feminist poststructural discourse analysis (Baxter, 2008), I firstly examine how gender and sexuality are represented in The Voice newspaper's 'Conversations from a combi' cartoon column using a combination of the social actor representation framework (SAR) (van Leeuwen, 2008), systemic functional grammar (SFG) (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014) and social semiotics (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Secondly, I explore how social actors are evaluated in the column by drawing on Martin and White's appraisal framework (2005), Economou's (2006, 2009) visual appraisal model and Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) social semiotics framework. The third objective is to analyse the readers' comments on these cartoons using the social actor representation, systemic functional grammar and appraisal analytical methods. Lastly, I identify the ideologies referenced by the cartoon column and audience and explain them in relation to the larger social context of Botswana. The project covers cartoons published in the period 2013-2017.

The analysis shows that the column not only represents the interests of men in general but specifically speaks for young, working-class Batswana men. Foreign evangelical men and middle-class men are cast as sexual predators, while young, working-class men are characterised as being lured into sex by immodestly dressed girls. Visual depictions of the abused women and girls also portray them as willing participants rather than victims. Female professionals are identified as women first before they are professionals, e.g. 'female doctor'.

Concerning how social actors are appraised in the column, women, foreign evangelical men and men with political influence mostly attract negative value judgements of propriety and veracity, while working-class men are evaluated for their lack of social and financial power. While men in general are evaluated as competent in their jobs, female professionals are represented as ineffectual.

The results for how readers react to the cartoons show that the dominant subject position of the newspaper is adopted for 4 out of the 5 texts analysed for comments. Readers align with the encoded subject positions that denigrate professional women, foreign evangelical men and unskilled men. However, in the case of child sexual abuse, more readers reject the position of the newspaper that blame girls for being raped. The results reveal that the blame-victim frame is questioned and subverted by dehumanising male rapists as dogs. Notably though, in all the five texts, both comments that reject xenophobic and patriarchal-heteronormative ideologies and those that affirm them converge in objectifying women and girls as food, animals and vehicles, which reproduces negative stereotypes and perpetuates their subordination.

The findings suggest that representations in the cartoon column and the readers' comments are underpinned by patriarchy and heteronormativity, which intersect with xenophobia, ageism and classism. Interestingly, racist colonial ideologies of black men's sexuality are drawn on in classist representations of working-class men's sexuality in readers' comments. Although resistance is not entirely framed outside patriarchal-heteronormative ideologies, there is evidence that some female readers reject women's marginalisation by referencing their own educational and professional achievements, suggesting education offers alternative world-views.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the study

This chapter begins by giving a brief synopsis of the methods of analysis employed in this study and the theories that inform it, followed by a background about gender and sexuality in present-day Botswana. After the background, I give motivations for carrying out the study, present the research questions and conclude by giving an outline of the thesis.

1.1 Introduction

This study uses linguistic analytical methods to investigate gender and sexuality ideologies articulated in The Voice newspaper's 'Conversations from a Combi' cartoon column. Informed by critical discourse studies theories such as critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2010) and its feminist variants such as feminist critical discourse analysis (Lazar, 2005) and feminist poststructural discourse analysis (Baxter, 2008), I analyse how the characters in the cartoon column are represented as social actors, using van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor representation model. To find out the types of social actions they are represented as engaging in, I analyse transitivity (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014), which I complement with semantic agency to measure the degree to which, and the contexts in which, social actors are given agency. For images, I use Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) social semiotics framework to analyse visual transitivity, which itself is modelled on Halliday's language as social semiotic approach. I also adopt appraisal methods by Martin and White (2005) to analyse the verbal data and Economou's (2009) visual appraisal to analyse the cartoons. A detailed discussion of how these methods were adapted to my data can be found in chapter 4. Having given a general sense of what this thesis is about, the methods used to analyse the data and theoretical frameworks that underpin it, I now provide an overview of the context of this study in the next section.

1.2 Defining gender and sexuality

I begin by defining the terms gender and sexuality and how they are used in this research. I view gender as a social construction and not directly linked to biological sex. I also believe that gender is performed and people may show certain elements of their gender in one context and not in another. In this study, however, I adopt a gender binary of boy/s, man/men as equivalent to male, and girl/s and woman/women to refer to female sex. I am cognisant that by using the identities 'male' and 'female', and 'men' and 'women', I reproduce gender

binaries that do not reflect the diverse gender identities that people experience in Botswana. However, gender binary is the core ideology of the carton column I analyse, and to a very large extent, the binary is also reflected by the readers' comments. I now turn to the second key term, sexuality. Following Cameron and Kulick's (2003a), I view sexuality as more than identity, which is a conscious alignment with a particular culturally recognised subject position such as gay, bisexual, heterosexual, lesbian or transgender. These scholars argue that to equate sexuality with identity limits how subjects position themselves in different contexts as in certain social contexts, people may perform their sexuality differently and identify as anything other than the sexual 'identity' ascribed to them by others. Cameron and Kulick find it problematic that identity and desire are conflated. Yet, according to them, sexual desire is continually being disassembled or re-assembled in that different kinds of relations produce desire, falsify it, and/or shut it off or exhaust it. For example, referring to some sexual groups as "men who sleep with other men" shows such men, who may in other contexts identify as heterosexual also find men sexually desirable or they could sleep with other men for money. Baker (2008) argues that sexual identities cannot be ignored in sexuality studies as people self-identify and are labelled as gay, lesbian, transgender or bisexual by other people. "These labels exist within discourse, shaping the minds, bodies and lives of many people" (p.194). Both arguments by Cameron and Kulick (2003a) and Baker (2008) are pivotal in my definition of sexuality, which encompasses both the passive eroticised body, the active desiring mind and sexual practices/acts.

1.3 Gender and sexuality in Botswana

Botswana is believed to be a patriarchal society. In Schapera's anthropological work among the Tswana[1] in the 20th century, Schapera (1955; 1994) shows that men maintained social and economic control over women, who played supportive roles. Some Setswana words point to beliefs about leadership roles being reserved for men, e.g. *'Tautona'*, which means 'the powerful one' or 'the lion king', is a title given to a president, all of whom have been men since 1966, at independence. The first lady is usually referred to in relational terms as *'mmaarona'* (our mother or the nation's mother). Female partners of other leaders such as a

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[1] Tswana is a term used by researchers in the colonial period to refer to people who speak Sotho-Tswana dialects. This excluded groups of people speaking other languages that are not Sotho-Tswana. In this project, I use the term to refer to all citizens of Botswana, who are also referred to as Batswana.

chief (*Kgosi*) and pastor (*moruti*) are defined in relation to the roles of their male counterparts as *'MmaKgosi'* and *'Mmamoruti',* respectively, which translate to the 'chief's wife/madam' or the 'pastor's wife/madam' (Phili, 2011). However, there are no equivalent terms when the roles are reversed. In her book 'Breaking the glass ceiling', Nasha (2018) demonstrates the awkwardness of her colleagues referring to her as 'madam speaker, *Sir'* arguing that the position of the speaker of the national assembly has become male by default over the years.

While Atanga et al. (2013:7) assert that ''sexism in many African contexts remains far from being subtle or indirect'', Diabah (2019: 263) believes there have been shifts in sociocultural norms and expectations about appropriate gender practices in Ghana and indeed most parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, owing to education, economic independence, cosmopolitan lifestyles and globalisation. Likewise, Ellece (2007) also observes that there have been significant developments concerning Batswana[2] women's access to leadership positions in the workplace in both the public and private sector, with some being appointed to positions such as governor of the central bank (Bank of Botswana), Vice-Chancellor of the state-funded University of Botswana, while several are judges of the high court and Court of Appeal and directors of various companies. In the past two decades, we have also seen progressive legislation being passed to address gender-based violence. For example in 2021, the parliament amended the Penal Code Act to protect from sexual abuse children between 16 and 18 years, who previously were classified as adults capable of consenting to sex (Penal Code 2021, Section 147, subsection 1). Related to this, a section that criminalises (sexist) street remarks (verbal or non-verbal) that insult or intrude the privacy of other people was included (Penal Code 2021, Section 146, subsection 3), and the Marriage Act of 2004, Section 4.3 repealed the marital power clause that gave husbands power over their wives. These laws do not protect girls' and women's rights exclusively but those of all people regardless of gender. However, studies show that in Botswana, girls and women suffer more gender-based violence than boys and men (Bagai and Famau, 2021; Dingake, 2006; Dube, 2009; Exner and Thurston, 2009; Modongo, 2021; Mookodi, 2004; Ramabu, 2020). Hence, I recognise these laws as pivotal in the realisation of girls' and women's rights in Botswana.

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[2] Batswana refers to the people of Botswana/Botswana citizens. The singular form of the word is Motswana.

It is noteworthy that other changes in laws came about as a result of resistance from individual women. For example, the Unity Dow vs Attorney General case in 1991 is well documented in Botswana. Dow, who is a former high court judge and cabinet minister, took the state to court over the Citizenship Act of 1984, arguing that it barred her from passing her citizenship to her children because she was married to a foreign man. Yet, she averred, children born of Batswana men married to foreign women automatically became Batswana. She contended that the Citizenship Act violated her fundamental right to not be discriminated against. The Citizenship Act of 1984 section 4(1) held that a person ''born in Botswana shall be a citizen of Botswana by birth and descent if, (a) at the time of *his* birth *his* father was a citizen of Botswana; or (b) in the case of a person born out of wedlock, *his*[3] mother was a citizen of Botswana'' (Bojosi, 2004: 472). Thus, citizenship was determined on patrilineal lineage and marital status. Dow won the case in the High Court and the state's appeal was dismissed in the Court of Appeal (Bojosi, 2004). Another noteworthy development was the rejection of an inheritance customary law that was pervasively sexist. In 2012, the high court in Gaborone ruled in favour of the three Ramantlele sisters, who were being disinherited of their parents' home by their brother's son. The Court of Appeal held the judgement and ruled against the customary law which proscribes girls and women from inheriting from their parents based on their gender (Jonas, 2013).

Around the same period that these notable steps were being made to realise gender equality, negative attitudes about homosexuality and homosexual practices were prevalent in society. These attitudes were affirmed and reinforced by courts of law despite constitutional guarantees that no citizen would be discriminated against based on their identity. Bojosi (2004) references a case of a gay couple, a British tourist and a local man, who were charged with committing an ''unnatural offence'' and ''indecent practices between males'' in 1995 (Utjiwa Kanane vs The State). The British man pleaded guilty, paid a fine and left the country but the local man decided to fight his case on the basis that sections 164(c) and 167 of the Penal Code, which he had allegedly contravened, were incongruous with section 15(3) of the Constitution of Botswana, which holds that no one would be discriminated against based on any aspects of their identity. However, Bojosi (2004) notes that in this case, the courts based their judgement on the applicant failing to prove public opinion in Botswana had changed

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[3] My emphasis is to show the generic use of the male pronoun 'his'.

such that homosexual practices could be decriminalised. The court wanted the defendant to prove if there was ''presently a class of gay men who needed protection under section 3 of the constitution'', suggesting that it believed that there were no gay men in Botswana then (Bojosi 2004: 473). It was not until 2019 that the criminalisation of homosexual practices was challenged again. After more than 50 years of characterising homosexual practices as 'acts against the order of nature' (Botswana Penal code, Section 164(c)), in 2019 and 2021 the Gaborone High Court and Court of Appeal both ruled in favour of Letsweletse Motshidiemang, a gay man who challenged the criminalisation of same-sex intercourse. Consequently, section 164 of the Botswana Penal code was struck out as unconstitutional. What can be drawn from these cases is that homosexuality in Botswana is usually equated with gay and not with lesbians. By targeting gay men, the law viewed men, not women, as threats to the patriarchal-heteronormative ideologies.

Notwithstanding the many gains made in the country in realising the rights of women and girls, in politics, women's representation is at its lowest. Voters continue to reject women at the polls in favour of their male counterparts across political parties. For example, in the last national elections in 2019, only three women compared to fifty-four men were elected to parliament, despite women making up the largest group of voters. The Gender Links for Equality and Justice organisation assumes that several factors may be at play in politics, which include entrenched patriarchal ideologies about male leadership and female subservience, inequitable access to economic resources to support campaigns and/or lack of social support for women who juggle politics with managing their households.[4] As Maundeni (2002) argues, women who diverge from stereotypical feminine roles are chastised and punished by both men and other women. In Botswana, male political leaders hide behind the narrative that women do not vote for other women and the cliché that women hate one another and that therefore, they as leaders of political parties are limited in what they can do to support female politicians in their parties. Yet, when opportunities prevail for them to use their positions to elect women to leadership positions, they do not. For example, since independence, Botswana has neither had a female vice president nor a president, both of whom are not directly elected: the head of a political party that wins more parliamentary seats in a national

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[4] https://genderlinks.org.za/what-we-do/sadc-gender-protocol/advocacy-50-50/botswana-gender-and-elections/

election in Botswana becomes the country's president. The president then chooses the vice president, who is endorsed by parliament. Since 1966, no woman has ever been elected party president in any political organisation and no president has ever chosen a woman as a vice president.

Sexism, misogyny, and physical and sexual violence against women remain hurdles in the realisation of full human rights for girls, women and LGBTQ+ in Botswana. While violence against women is condemned nowadays, Schapera (1994: 151) writes that historically, it was tolerated[5] if not done excessively (also see Cockerton, 2009) and euphemistically referred to as 'discipline', which infantilises women (Phaladze and Tlou, 2006). Ellece (2007) observed that in '*go laya*' (marriage counselling for the newly wed) ceremonies, the men acknowledged domestic violence in heterosexual marriages and advised the groom against battering his bride, while the women maintained silence on the issue in their private sessions with the bride. In a recent study on intimate partner violence and masculinities, Modongo (2021) shows that gender-based violence is intricately linked to a performance of manhood by younger men whose control over women is threatened by women's independence and their (younger men's) diminishing role as economic providers. She reports that the younger male informants in Gaborone made euphemistic references to intimate partner violence as 'discipline' and as acceptable in Tswana patriarchal structures. However, they bemoaned that contemporary women would ''put you [man] in prison'', i.e. will get the perpetrator arrested for ''disciplining them'' (*Ibid*, p.79), showing that while the threat of prison acts as a deterrent, the men take no accountability for their aggression. Modongo (2021) shows that these young men also articulated traditional beliefs that today's women should emulate their predecessors and stay in abusive relationships as a sign of resilience, commitment and submission. They were dismayed by the threat of divorce by financially independent and educated women, which could also act as a restraint against abuse. Thus, the researcher concludes that even though her informants attributed violence against women to feminism,

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[5] In conservative families, it is not amiss for girls to be teased about seeking their brothers' or male cousins' protection in the future when their husbands beat them. As a young bride myself, in the early 2000s, *some* female relatives, who expected me to behave conservatively, reminded me that they also had power to which I could appeal if I got beaten. This shows that wife-beating/violence against women in heterosexual relationships is expected and accepted as integral to the relationship.

modernisation, westernisation and women's financial independence rather than themselves, their views could be representative of a society in transition (see also Morna et al., 2016).

1.4 Motivations and research questions

In the period 2013-2017, I noticed that a column in The Voice newspaper was increasingly writing about and caricaturing people in heterosexual relationships. I was intrigued by the visual representation of men and women, and boys and girls in the entertainment column, especially by a consistent portrayal of the female cartoon characters as semi-nude, with voluminous backsides and accentuated body parts, in contrast to the men represented in the cartoons. Cultures in Botswana equate dress with morality and baring of certain body parts as immoral. Therefore, I found the cartoons sexist, disparaging and misrepresenting Batswana women in addition to selling them as a form of entertainment.

Despite my assessment of the column as sexist, I had not read or heard of any complaint laid against the newspaper, and the column had been running for years. The portrayal of women as objects of laughter at a time when violence against them had reached unprecedented levels and the most heinous murders were being reported by the media, made me question the newspaper's approach to gender relations in heterosexual relationships. For example, between the 1st January and 11th September 2018, crime statistics showed that eighty-seven women and only one man had been murdered by their intimate partners (The Patriot newspaper, 28th September 2018). The numbers consistently show this trend, even before the period 2013-2017: national police records reported 65 and 86 femicides in 2006 and 2007 respectively (Botswana Police Annual Reports, 2006-7). I also questioned the social responsibility of the women in the newspaper's top management: the editor in chief, and the publisher and owner, both of whom sanctioned such publications. I believed they could use their power to champion gender equality not only by ensuring female journalists thrived (*Mmegi* editorial, 21st June 2018) but by reconfiguring gender stereotypes even in content production. In part, however, this responsibility also lay with the consumers because if they raised objections, the column or even the newspaper could lose its audience. Objections may even have fuelled the newspaper's reproduction of sexism so as to thrive on a conflict between its critics and supporters. As research shows, the economics of present-day media seem to value attention more than approval (Akpabio and Mathambo, 2008), although a

certain threshold of complaints or boycotts of the paper could as well have pressured the media producers to change their approach. Better still, consumers could blacklist the companies that advertise in the newspaper in campaigns similar to the Stop Funding Hate campaign in the United Kingdom, which strives to make discrimination unprofitable in the media.

Based on this, I wanted to carry out a systematic multimodal analysis of the column to find out how the linguistic and semiotic choices made constitute gender identities and relations. I was also interested in whether readers processed the cartoon texts as 'serious' discourse with material effects or as inconsequential light-hearted representations. This study is important to carry out because of the role of discourse in circulating ideologies and skewing power relations, and the role of readers to co-construct, reproduce and perpetuate or deconstruct, resist, and possibly subvert such ideologies. To this end, this project is guided by four main objectives: firstly, it investigates how gender and sexuality are represented in the cartoon column by examining social actor representation and social action. Secondly, it endeavours to find out how the represented social actors are talked about in the cartoon column; thirdly, it investigates readers' comments on the newspaper's Facebook page through a combination of social actor representation, social action and appraisal. Finally, it links the textual analysis to the meso-level and macro-level by identifying the ideologies articulated in the cartoon column and readers' comments and explaining them in relation to the discourse production and social context in Botswana. The four objectives can be rephrased as questions as follows:

RQ1: How are the participants in the cartoon column 'Conversations from a combi' represented?

- How are they represented as social actors?
- What types of actions are they associated with?

RQ2: How are the participants evaluated in the cartoon column?

RQ3: What are the readers' reactions to the cartoons?

- How do the readers talk about the represented participants in terms of social actor and action representations?
- How are the participants evaluated in the readers' comments?

RQ4: What ideologies are communicated in the column feature and readers' comments and how do they reflect the social context in Botswana?

1.4 Outline of the thesis

After introducing the background and context of this research and presenting my research questions, I will now briefly describe the structure of this thesis. In chapter 2, I locate my study within the field of the media, gender and sexuality in sub-Saharan Africa, which is the regional location of my research. I first review the literature on gender representations in the media in general before narrowing it to cartoons. Then, I examine the literature on media audiences, with a special focus on social media.

Chapter 3 focuses on the theoretical frameworks that inform this study, which are critical discourse studies, feminist critical discourse analysis and feminist post-structural discourse analysis. I also explain how these theories influence my research. In chapter 4, I introduce the data, the context of the data, the rationale for data selection, data selection procedures and how it was processed. Following this, I discuss the analytical methods and give examples from my data to show how it is analysed.

Chapters 5-7 are the core of the thesis as they present data analysis and findings. Chapter 5 deals with how social actors in the cartoon column are represented in terms of social categories and social processes. Chapter 6 examines how these social actors are evaluated in the column, while chapter 7 explores the readers' reactions to the cartoons by analysing evaluation, social actor and action representations.

Chapter 8 relates the textual findings in chapters 5-7 to the discourse practice and social context levels. The chapter begins by giving a summary of the findings in each chapter. Then it moves to discuss the ideologies articulated in the cartoon column and the readers' comments. After that, I discuss how the findings relate to the production, distribution and reception of the media text. The chapter concludes by explaining how the identified ideologies can be related to the larger socio-cultural context of Botswana.

Chapter 9 concludes the thesis by giving implications of the findings, pointing to the contributions made by the study, limitations of this research and suggesting directions for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Studying representations of gender in the media unravels which cultural models of gender and sexual identities are taken up and promoted in the media, and which are disparaged and/or marginalised. Baker (2008: 166) posits that hegemonic discourses are almost always the ones the media reify and re-affirm because they are more ''likely to confirm rather than threaten many people's common sense of the world''. Other research shows that conservative discourses are sometimes articulated side by side with egalitarian discourse, in a strategy to gloss over views about gender equality (Lazar, 2002; 2005; Milani and Shaikjee, 2013; Benwell, 2002).

For a lack of space, the following sub-section surveys literature about the media in Sub-Saharan Africa and its representations of gender and sexuality. Although gender and sexuality are global phenomena, gender and sexual identities, as well as practices, are not only culturally contingent but also space and time-bound (Hall, 2019). Further, analysis of gender should consider its imbrications with especially sexuality, ethnicity, race, and social class as well as the influence of other issues such as tradition or modernity (Cuthbert, 2019; Hall et al., 2019). Hence, focusing on media representations in Sub-Saharan Africa does not imply a homogenous group but is suggestive of certain cultural characteristics, which still vary regionally, and from country to country, ethnically and communally. Such characteristics could include ''a concern with social hierarchy, changing family structures because of HIV/AIDS and multilingualism'' (Atanga et al., 2013: 6). Other factors are a privileged heterosexual marital status and the prevalence of criminalised same-sex practices, all of which shape gender identities and practices in accordance with hegemonic ideologies. For example, Rooney (2018) opines that owing to the criminalisation of male homosexuality, the media in Botswana barely report on LGBTQ+ groups, which means their voices are excluded from the news. Phaladze and Tlou (2006) argue that the cultural silence around homosexuality left many homosexual men exposed to HIV/Aids and sexual abuse without adequate support in the health and criminal justice systems.

2.2 Gender representations in the media in Sub-Saharan Africa

Regionally, Southern African countries have signed and adopted the SADC (Southern African Development Community) Protocol on Gender and Development, which seeks to ''empower women, eliminate discrimination and to achieve gender equality and equity through the development and implementation of gender-responsive legislation, policies, programmes and projects'' (SADC Protocol on gender and development, 2017).[6] Since the signing of the protocol, member states have moved to ensure increased representation of women in many spheres, including in politics, where societal attitudes about electing women are still negative. The role of the media in informing the public about these changes by governments as well as holding them to account for how they implement regional and global laws they have ratified is critical, especially the language they use and the ideologies they promote.

Whilst there is a plethora of research on gender, the media and language in many parts of the world, including in Africa, in Botswana, such research is still in its infancy. A decade ago, Sunderland's (2012) survey of literature found just one study at a master's degree level (Phili, 2011) that used linguistic methods to analyse gender representations. However, since then a couple of works that use critical discourse studies approaches have emerged (Bagai and Famau, 2021; Phili and Ellece, 2013; Sunderland, 2012). In addition, some studies use analytical methods such as media framing (Akpabio, 2008; Akpabio and Mathambo, 2008; Exner and Thurston, 2009; Lunga, 2002), content analysis (Mothibi, 2020; Rooney, 2018) and narrative analysis (Rapoo, 2013). This review examines gender representations in adverts, sports, news articles on intimate partner violence and other genres before narrowing it to cartoons.

In her study of adverts on sexuality, gender and HIV/Aids in Botswana, Lunga (2002) argues that two HIV/Aids billboard texts that she analyses fail to deconstruct structural inequalities embedded in heterosexual sex. She notes that as a way of bringing women's voices to discourses of HIV and Aids, women are constructed as in charge of their sexuality and capable of rejecting risky male sexual advances. Lunga (2002) opines that the adverts offer superficial solutions because the institutional voice ignores structural limits within which women would have to exercise power over their sexuality. For example, rejection of sexual advances may

result in loss of marriage prospects, which is a valued rite of passage in Botswana, social stigma and loss of financial support. In a worst-case scenario, it might result in a sexual and physical assault. Thus, she posits that the empowerment of women should be cognisant of cultural issues at play in interpersonal relationships that undermine women's positions. For example, it should place men at the centre and interrogate the dominant role they play rather than place responsibility for male sexuality and public health on women. In an unpublished paper I wrote for a critical discourse analysis course (LING 441), I analysed a newspaper advert on male circumcision and HIV/Aids in Botswana (The Global Post, 7th November 2017) and found that women were being urged to take responsibility for their partner's sexual health and by extension improve public health by encouraging men to go for circumcision (Phili, 2019). While the literature above suggests that resistance to patriarchal norms in HIV/Aids adverts in Botswana should produce real social change rather than an inclusive approach that only reproduces dominant ideologies, in Zimbabwe, Makoni (2012) shows that female sexual agency is denied in public health adverts on HIV/Aids and sexual contraceptives. She argues that the adverts draw on patriarchal-heteronormative ideologies and biomedical science to construct women as the 'other' needing to be protected and regulated by positioning them as passive beneficiaries of contraceptives and health experts. Corroborating these results, Muwonwa (2011: 463) observes that in television documentaries, Zimbabwean women are represented as ''weak and needing protection''.

In other contexts, Sunderland (2012) looks at how two adverts on sugar packets in a cafe in Botswana index gender, sexuality and ethnicity. The multi-modal texts are constituted by language and pictures of a brown and white woman on two containers containing brown and white sugar. Sunderland (2012) contends that the texts draw on heteronormative-patriarchal ideologies of women's availability and metaphorical associations of female sexuality with sugar and sweetness, while at the same time acknowledging the cultural diversity of the café. Echoing the same sentiment about the foregrounding of racial inclusion and social liberation, Milani and Shaikjee (2013) argue that adverts about the new South Africa foreground the country's multiculturalism and economic development via a complex interplay of heterosexuality, gender and race, where the men are depicted as engaged in various economic activities, while women are passive spectators and admirers. In a recent study on representations of gender in athletics, Mothibi (2020) found that the Botswana media do not

preface female athletes with gendered terms, e.g. as 'female sprinter' contrary to what Phili (2011) found a decade ago. However, she noted that female athletes' performance and skills tended to be downplayed and trivialised compared to the coverage of their male counterparts, who are described as confident and competent. This shows that gender representations in the Botswana media may have shifted from viewing women as outsiders in sports to representing them as less skilful than their male counterparts.

Intimate partner violence, the so-called 'passion killings', as they are euphemistically referred to in Botswana, have reached pandemic levels. Although intimate partner homicide had been there all along, I first became aware of this kind of violence in the early 2000s, when a female University of Botswana student was murdered in her university accommodation by another student, her male partner. Since then, these cases have become commonplace or perhaps are more reported in the media. Researchers from across disciplines have interrogated this phenomenon. For example, Exner and Thurston (2009) adopt a media framing approach to analyse how intimate partner homicide is represented in four newspapers in Botswana. They found that in 50% of the articles, the victim-blame frame was the most prevalent, where the women killed were blamed for provoking the perpetrators, e.g. by ending an already abusive relationship, for 'perceived' adulterous behaviours or overspending (see a recent study by Bagai and Faimau, 2021 for the same results). The victim-blame frame mitigates the culpability of the perpetrators and shapes social perceptions of femicide as personal and private, rather than reflecting social power struggles.

Exner and Thurston (2009) also found that social stigma around intimate partner violence is linked to values of Botswana as a peaceful nation (Van Allen, 2008). Hence, there is silence around the violence. I argue that the silence is also linked to a historical normalisation of violence against women as 'discipline' (Modongo, 2021; Phaladze and Tlou, 2006; Schapera, 1955). Euphemistic reference to violence as 'discipline' links with Tswana beliefs of women as children (Bagai and Faimau, 2021). This might explain the euphemistic reference to intimate partner homicide as 'passion killings', distinguishing it from other types of murder and suggesting the perpetrators are driven by heightened feelings of anger due to betrayal rather than a desire to dominate (Dingake, 2006). This review anticipates findings of readers' comments, where lust is also minimised by conflating it with love (see section 7.1.2) and adult women are represented as disobedient children. Morna et al. (2012) argue that patriarchal

attitudes are a driving force in the incidence of gender-based violence (GBV) in Botswana. Yet despite the prevalence of GBV, Rooney (2018) found only 5 percent of news articles covered it, and in these, perpetrators were three times more likely to be heard than survivors. A study by Akpabio and Mathambo (2008) concludes that The Voice newspaper is implicated in how it reports gender-based violence in contrast to The Guardian, a quality newspaper. They found the former not only sensationalised domestic violence but included bold headlines and pictures of perpetrators and victims as well as graphic details of the violent acts.

There seem to be changes in social perceptions around issues of sexual consent and rape in Botswana. Whereas research across Sub-Saharan Africa shows patriarchal structures in the region guard and regulate female dress codes, which they link to female sexuality (Diabah, 2013; Disele et al., 2011; Makoni, 2011; Morrison, 1996), recently Morna et. al. (2016) found that only 34% women and 38% men in Botswana linked rape of women/girls with wearing a short skirt/dress (see chapter 7, section 7.2, where only 39% of readers express the same views). The authors reported that 50% of each gender believed that a woman has a right to not consent to sex with her husband contrary to traditional ideologies that expect married women to be sexually available (Morna et. al., 2016: 24-27). Additionally, 45 percent of women and 37 percent of men said they were uncomfortable with sexual images of women being used in news, while 42 percent of women and 38 percent of men said they found the use of sexual images of women in the news "insulting". Only 4 percent of women and 12 percent of men said they found such images "entertaining" (Morna et. al., 2005: 59). Morna et al. (2005; 2016) conclude that the results are suggestive of society slowly transitioning to gender awareness and sensitivity. This conclusion resonates with the context of my study, The Voice newspaper which has the largest audience in the country (see chapter 4, section 4.2). because it is the only newspaper that features scantily dressed younger women as Page 3 girls. Thus, its popularity might be indicative of a readership that still holds conservative views about women as sex objects but also ''values [women's] beauty over intellect and opinion'' (Morna et. al., 2010: 53).

Taking the view that women are not uniformly represented as a disadvantaged group across all contexts, Diabah (2019) argues in her study on representations of Ghanaian women in radio adverts that sometimes women are represented using traditional stereotypes as sources of power to challenge other stereotypes. For example, in an advert about the birth

control pill, a stereotypically feminine task such as cooking is used to challenge the stereotype that women exhibit cooperative behaviour and play supportive roles to men (*Ibid*, p.275). In the advert, a female participant insists her male partner cannot have a taste of the food she has cooked until it is ready in an allusion to her decision to not stop using the contraceptive pill until they both are confident to start a family. This assertiveness by the woman contradicts traditional beliefs that expect women to leave all decisions about their sexuality to their male partners (Adomako Ampofo, 2004; Adomako Ampofo and Boateng, 2011). Yet, as Diabah observes, the woman's power to decide to get pregnant or not may well not be exercised for fear of divorce or the man getting another woman pregnant. Diabah's results anticipate the findings in chapter 7, where some female readers not only affirm stereotypes of women as gossips but use them to position men who do the same as unmanly and as being at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Diabah (2019) also found that in only three out of the thirteen themes she identified in the study, women were represented as career-conscious, assertive, and innovative (p. 279). She concludes that the producers of the adverts may have wanted to ''highlight these stereotypes and traditional values in order to reinforce a belief that what defines an ideal Ghanaian or African woman are the traditional values, rather than wanting to challenge those values'' (*ibid*, p.279). Thus, these representations complicate modern women's roles by representing them in new roles but not letting go of the 'fixed' stereotypes of femininity, making women carry the burden of work in both the private and public spaces.

In concluding this section, it has been shown that the media in Sub-Saharan Africa largely reproduce and reinforce patriarchal and heteronormative ideologies which perpetuate harmful practices against women and girls. While a decade ago representations of women in Botswana showed explicit sexism and a limited acknowledgement of their changing social status (Morna and Ndlovu, 2007; Phili, 2011; Phili and Ellece, 2013), recent studies seem to suggest there is a shift from explicit to implicit sexism (Mothibi, 2020), which needs to be uncovered and brought to the media's attention. Rooney (2018) observes that print media advertising may be more gender-sensitive while adverts on state-owned television (Botswana Television) still draw on stereotypes of femininity and masculinity to emphasise women's domesticity as opposed to men's professionalism.

In the next section, I review research on gender representations in cartoons.

2.3 Satirical cartoon genre

Satire is a genre of humour that ''holds up the imperfections, shortcomings, stupidities, or abuses of individuals, organisations, governments or even society for mockery, ideally to shame or embarrass the subjects into some kind of amendment or improvement'' (Royce, 2015: 724). Its greater purpose is to effect social change by criticism, rather than to amuse, although there can always be an element of irony or surprise (El Refaie et al., 2010). Yet, in other instances, it may be used to resist social change. Cartoons can be classified into metaphorical and literal categories, and political cartoons, in particular, are usually rendered metaphorically.

Political cartoons are a common feature of newspaper editorials and constitute an important genre for framing social issues, specifically providing a political commentary by critiquing situations and attacking those presumed to be responsible (Chikaipa, 2019: 14). These cartoons usually relate to the main news story, which they represent visually through caricature to simplify complex and subtle underlying issues. They are typically contained within a single panel and include verbal elements in the form of labels, captions and/or balloons (El Refaie et al., 2010). Most political cartoons use a fictional world to represent real-life events or people (El Refaie, 2009). These imaginary characters may bear little or no resemblance to the represented people or objects. For example, Curticapean's (2008) study of Bulgaria's accession to the European Union uses a combination of metonymy and iconic resemblance in having a random man representing Bulgaria running towards the European Union metonymically represented by stars, which are real symbols on its flag. One can argue that a random man rather than a woman, conceptualises Bulgaria and its politics and therefore encapsulates the personification metaphor 'Bulgaria is a man'. However, Curticapean (2011: 140) also shows how in other cases male politicians are emasculated by representing them as women exercising authority over children. One can also argue from a feminist perspective, as Omanga (2011) does (see below), that represented this way, women are seen as symbols of discipline and authority.

Some of the few studies on literal cartoons are Al-Mahadin (2003) and Morrison (1996). Al-Mahadin focuses on gender, religion, and race in Jordan. The cartoons she analyses are concerned with how gender identities and relations in Jordan are shaped by Islam and race

(see 2.3.1 below). In a small part of his work, Morrison (1996) also analyses gender, sexuality and race in cartoons that appeared in Zimbabwe's state-controlled newspapers, namely the Sunday Mail, People's Voice, and Herald. His analysis shows that patriarchal and racial ideologies frame women's sexuality. The newspapers published articles about three black women allegedly paid by a white man to commit an act of bestiality. In response to the news article, readers and editors established a discourse that disparaged and discriminated not only against the three women, but also Zimbabwean women in general. Women's organisations that protested against these constructions by mostly male writers were denied space to counter the narrative and the women in those protests were repeatedly caricatured as prostitutes. Thus, he argues that the women bore the brunt of abuse because first, they had transgressed patriarchal ideologies of female sexual morality and secondly, they had allegedly perpetuated a white man's power over black people. Morrison argues that the politics of Zimbabwe and its struggle for independence and racial equality form part of the social context for decoding the cartoons.

2.3.1 Gender representations in cartoons

Representations in politics

Studies on cartoons and their representation of women have mainly been done from a political perspective, e.g. on the women suffragist movement (Perry, 1994); the World Conference on Women (Gilmartin and Brunn, 1998); the role of the first lady (Templin, 1999; Edwards and Chen, 2000) and presidential candidates (Gilmartin, 2001; Edwards and McDonald, 2010). Spanning 16 years, these studies show a persistent framing of women and their activities from a dominant patriarchal viewpoint. For example, women suffragists are portrayed as chaotic and disruptive (Perry, 1994); Gilmartin and Brunn (1998) show that women at the world conference in Beijing were trivialised and silenced, while Edwards and Chen (2000) posit that American first ladies are stereotypically represented as mothers and wives whose public roles centre on childcare and reproductive health. These studies serve as a window through which cartoon representations of women in Sub-Saharan Africa can be studied.

Except for Rapoo (2013) and Akpabio (2008), who examine the same cartoon that appeared in *Mmegi* newspaper on 28 May 2007, there is no other research on cartoons in Botswana.

Both Akpabio (2008) and Rapoo (2013) analyse a cartoonist's impression of Kathleen Letshabo, a female opposition party candidate who had run for the presidency and lost to the then male incumbent, Otsweletse Moupo. Following her defeat, a cartoon appeared in *Mmegi* newspaper depicting her as a battered, bleeding and wailing bull being castrated outside the kraal (see Chapter 4, where the cartoon is used to explain provoked attitude in visual appraisal; section 4.4.4.2, Figure 4.9). Critics of the cartoon included some men working in the media such as Rampholo Molefhe and Dan Moabi (Akpabio, 2008). Dan Moabi wrote an article arguing the cartoon gave the press a bad name.[7] Women organisations posited that the cartoon connotatively suggested that women who dared to challenge men for political office would be punished for transgressive behaviour. By challenging a man for the highest post in the organisation, Letshabo had redefined herself as a 'bull', hence her defeat is constructed as emasculation rather than just an ordinary loss. Other research merely refers to cartoons in passing and does not analyse them, e.g. on Botswana's 50th independence anniversary, Makgala and Chebanne (2016) reproduce a cartoon impression of the country by a British newspaper *'The Punch'* to contradict its assumption that by seeking independence, Botswana was not only going to be one of the poorest nations but would be threatened by racist regimes in South Africa and what was then Rhodesia. Tutwane (2017) also reproduces a cartoon impression of the former president of Botswana, Ian Khama, which depicts him as semi-nude, to write an article on freedom of expression and the law, arguing that obscene cartoons cannot be successfully litigated because freedom of expression is enshrined in the constitution of Botswana. This shows that the genre is underexplored yet cartoons, just like other semiotic representations, are produced and interpreted within a cultural context.

Regionally, Chikaipa's (2019) analysis of cartoon impressions of Joyce Banda, Malawi's first female president, shows that she is relationally identified as a mother and a housewife, who is incompetent on national policies, controlled by international donors, and as the epitome of failing female leadership. Malawi's economic collapse, which had been present under Banda's predecessor, is ignored as cartoonists actively undermine and question the capability of Banda's political leadership. Thus, Chikaipa argues they ''produced and perpetuated the

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[7] https://www.mmegi.bw/opinionletters/that-cartoon-gives-the-press-a-bad-name/news

ideology of the 'Malawi needs a leader (man) not a woman', a slogan used by some political parties during the 2014 campaign period'' (p.26), which restored a patriarchal leadership.

The sexual objectification of women in cartoons is also a common phenomenon as demonstrated by Oamen (2019), whose analysis suggests some young Nigerian, Muslim girls are represented as passive sexual victims of powerful male politicians while women are active temptresses. However, Oamen argues that the sexual objectification of women by cartoonists also serves to deliberately shine a light on the political leadership's attitude towards women and criticises their lack of commitment to the international laws on gender equality they have signed. For instance, she notes that Nigerian president Muhammadu Buhari's response to his wife's public criticism of his political leadership was to assert that she belongs to the kitchen, the living room and the 'other' room, which encapsulates the leadership's attitude to gender equality (Oamen, 2019: 8). Similarly, Oostendorp (2015) found that cartoons of the former president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, criticised him for corruption and sexual immorality. This shows that cartoons can also subvert and resist cultural conceptions of the 'virile' man as powerful and instead champion change. Likewise, Omanga (2011) examines the use of a female character 'Wanjiku' in editorial cartoons in a Kenyan newspaper *(Daily Nation)* to represent the average Kenyan citizen and be their voice in the violence that erupted after the elections. Wanjiku is represented contradictorily as a peasant who embodies motherhood and peace but also as militant and self-assured. For example, one cartoon depicts her as a mother rebuking her children, who are represented as Kibaki and Odinga (the two male presidential candidates), making her a symbol of power in both political discourse and discourse on gender.

Representations in other contexts

Al-Mahadin (2003) presents interesting results on gender, religion, and race in which a sexist patriarchal discourse dichotomizes and fixes women's identities into the chaste 'Muslim' woman and the immoral professional woman. Yet, as Al-Mahadin (2003) shows, the chaste, home-bound woman has no value either in the patriarchal discourse as she is represented as lacking intelligence and as physically unattractive in contrast to the western professional woman. The professional woman, however, does not occupy a powerful position in the workplace, she is only valued for her sexual power over Muslim men who willingly cede their

power to her. Moloney et al.'s (2013) findings contrast with the virtuous, homebound Muslim woman image in Al-Mahadin's (2003) study. Besides being highly mobile, e.g. arriving in Australia in boats, Muslim women are also depicted as dangerous, bomb-carrying terrorists in city centres. This shows the relevance of context in the production and reception of cartoons. In Australia, racial and religious differences and fears of immigrants are cultural resources drawn upon to depict Muslims as violent terrorists, while in Jordan gender is the salient category.

In summary, the literature surveyed on gender representations in cartoons demonstrates the enduring patriarchal ideology in framing women's political activities and sexuality in the media (Chikaipa, 2019; Mararo et al., 2014). Whereas some studies show that male leaders are also criticised, such criticism targets the individual, not men as a group. For example, Jacob Zuma's sexual immorality is parodied and juxtaposed with the moral virtues of his predecessors (Oostendorp, 2015). Yet, these findings (see also Omanga, 2011) are important as they show complex and fluid gender identities in different contexts. Feminists such as Baxter (2003; 2008) argue that hegemonic structures must be seen to be destabilised if the marginalised are not to see themselves/are not seen as unified subjects who are represented the same way all the time. When disempowering stereotypes are appropriated and used to communicate other meanings that challenge and potentially subvert hegemony, then they should be reinterpreted as empowering in that context. Thus, feminist post-structural discourse analysis argues that social actors are multiply located (see chapter 3).

Having reviewed gender representations in cartoons, I now turn to how cartoons as media texts are interpreted by audiences. I begin by presenting media reception theory, which prefaces my argument that online comments are one kind of reception.

2.4 Media reception theory

This research draws upon Stuart Hall's (1973; 2006) encoding/decoding theory to analyse reader comments posted on The Voice Facebook page.

Hall's theory starts by critiquing selective perception theory (Taylor et al., 2006; Klapper, 1960), which held that audiences who diverted from the dominant preferred reading had misread or misunderstood the message of the media text. He opposed this, positing that such

readings were not simply down to individual perceptions because ''selective perception is almost never as selective, random or privatized as the concept suggests…the patterns exhibit more structuring and clustering than is normally assumed'', showing such positions were informed by subcultures (Hall, 2006: 170). Therefore, attributing oppositional reading to 'misunderstanding' the textual message failed to locate the audience' interpretations in broader social contexts and assumed media messages to be objective truths. Yet, encoding and decoding are not identical and do not necessarily correspond (*Ibid p.*210). Hall's theory incorporates Gramsci's work on hegemony and corporate ideological formations. The theory of hegemony holds that when a majority acquiesces to the ideology of a powerful group such that there seem to be no alternative viewpoints, then it becomes hegemonic (Gramsci, 1985). A powerful group's ideology is given legitimacy by other institutions such as the media, religion, and education. However, even when a social group has gained the consent of the dominated, it needs to constantly maintain its grip on power because instability provides an opportunity for subordinate groups to challenge the existing order. Taking into cognisance the ability for ideology to be hegemonic, the possibility for disintegration within the powerful group and for sub-groups to transcend their limitations, Hall proposes that audiences can take three positions in relation to media texts; dominant, negotiated, and oppositional codes.

The dominant position is the ideal-typical reader who acknowledges the message ''as transparent communication'' (*Ibid*: 211). The dominant position usually but not always echoes hegemonic world views and mainly advances the interests of powerful groups of people in society. Hall opines that media practices (selection of news, editing, transmitting channel, images, and language choices) are often set within a hegemonic social code, and reproduce hegemonic definitions, sometimes unconsciously (Hall, 1973: 17). The negotiated position accepts the hegemonic definitions at a larger social application but rejects its application at a local level. Hall gives an example of a worker who agrees that a wage cut is necessary to grow the economy but will not have his/her salary cut for that purpose. Finally, the oppositional position is adopted by a reader who deconstructs a textual message and constructs it differently, resulting in and reflecting an alternative world view.

Adopting the encoding/decoding theory will be a starting point for the analysis of reader comments because it assumes the media texts are encoded with dominant definitions, in my case, patriarchal ideologies, which they can align with, negotiate, or completely reject and

provide alternatives for. However, I also view readers as multiply located and as having various intersecting social identities which influence interpretations of a text. In other words, I do not view readers as having fixed identities that they bring to texts, rather, I believe that identities are constructed in discourse. Thus, my approach is both informed by the idea that social actors are preceded by ideology but also that our interpretations are contingent on local conditions, not just the larger social context.

Recent research on online comments suggests that some positions adopted by readers and viewers are not necessarily predetermined by larger socio-cultural ideologies (Pinto-Coelho et al., 2019). Each person is subjectively located and depending on their subject positioning, certain readings and interpretative repertoires are employed. Hence, it is possible that in reading a text, a reader may pick an event, a social actor in the news, the author of news, the news institution, or a position because of personal investment or for being of public interest. Such specifics of reader comments account for differences regarding their content and subjectivities and provide a balanced range and tone of opinions (McCluskey and Hmielowski, 2012; Ziegele, 2019).

2.4.1 Online commenting

Audience feedback has long been a fixture in news media, e.g. print media have space for letters to the editor while broadcasting media allow phone-in calls by listeners or have studio participants. However, critics of traditional methods of audience feedback in print media opine that participation is heavily managed by journalists, who edit and publish only a few select letters (McCluskey et al., 2012; Reader, 2012). Such gatekeeping practices result in views that not only reflect the media's perspective but also come at the cost of egalitarianism, as such letters tend to be from educated, wealthy men (Santana, 2014; Reader et al., 2004). With the advent of digital media, audience feedback has become dynamic and expansive, offering readers immediate and interactive ways to engage with media texts, producers, and other consumers through online commenting (Ziegele, 2019; Santana, 2014; Knox, 2007), if subject to curation depending on context or algorithmic selection. Much research has been generated on different aspects of online commenting; for example, some researchers have focused on incivility induced by anonymity on news websites (Hardaker, 2010; Reader, 2012; Santana, 2014). These scholars argue that a downside to online commenting is that it increases disinhibition in users who gain protection from non-face to face and anonymous

interactions. This may be changing because Facebook insists users of its platform should register with their real names. However, I found that some users sought ways to circumvent this by deliberately misspelling their names, e.g. I could register as 'Chi Poh' rather than 'Chipo', others registered with names of deceased famous musicians or used characters that are not typically combined in Setswana and other local languages (also see Kuhler et al., 2022). Researchers opine that non-anonymity on Facebook and the threat of being harassed, verbally abused and isolated could result in users with unpopular views withholding participation. However, Chaudhry and Gruzd (2019) found covert racist and xenophobic sentiments on the CBC News Facebook page which they interpreted as 'othering'. For example, criticism of minority groups framed them as threatening the security of the dominant group rather than as just being different. In addition to non-anonymity, Ben-David and Matamoros-Fernandez (2016) posit that moderation of comments on Facebook plays a key role in disguising hateful content, giving a wrong perception about online interactions. Thus, some scholars advocate for anonymity online as it democratises news by allowing marginalised and deviating voices, which are usually silenced when anonymity is removed to be heard (Ruiz et al., 2011). This position is shared by Hille and Bakker (2013; 2014), who found that news media that outsourced commenting to Facebook attracted fewer comments and less audience interaction.

Regarding media practitioners and audience perceptions about the value of online commenting, research shows that journalists have ambivalent views about online commenting. On the one hand, they equate the volumes of comments below their story with success, but on the other hand, they are frustrated by the high share of uncivil, abusive comments (Larsson, 2018). Hence, online commenting forums are mostly lateral communication as audiences react to media-produced content and debate it amongst themselves rather than with the producers (Domingo et al., 2008; Pantti and Bakker, 2009; Reich, 2011; Singer et al., 2011). Despite the almost non-existent interaction between journalists and audiences, Lee and Tandoc Jr. (2017) found that to a limited degree, media personnel considered comments in tailoring future articles. This is also echoed by Sabbah-Elkinge (2019), who in her interviews with Al Jazeera English (AJE) staff found that only the chief editor valued the readers' comments. This is despite some of the news reporters stating that they engage with readers on the news channel website, its official Facebook and Twitter

pages and, on their personal social media accounts. Perhaps, such engagement was only meant to keep the discussions civil rather than shape future news articles. For example, AJE's website advises users ''to avoid disrespectful language and personal attacks on other individuals and organizations among other rules'' (Sabbah-Elkinge, 2019: 27).

With regards to gender differences on mainstream media platforms, Kuhler et al. (2022) found that fewer women were commenting on politics on Facebook and, when they did, they did not engage as much as men. They put this down to the socialisation of women as private, which contradicts the public nature of politics (van Duyn et al., 2021), especially that female politicians (and, I would add, other female public figures such as journalists) receive more vitriol than their male counterparts on social media (Rheault et al., 2019). Additionally, Kuhler et al. (2022) found that men posted more uncivil comments (i.e. ruder) than women. However, women do not receive more uncivil replies than men. They found that women also resist the stereotype of meekness by posting uncivil comments and/or reacting to uncivil posts directed at them with verbal violence.

To solve problems of incivility, which is associated with anonymity, some media houses have outsourced commenting to Facebook. With 2.7 billion users by the second quarter of 2020, Facebook is one of the most visited websites in the world (Chaudhry and Gruzd, 2019). Research on Facebook comments compares them to news website comments in order to determine how the two differ qualitatively and quantitatively (Hille and Bakker, 2014) and how the media and their audiences use Facebook (Hille and Bakker, 2013). This means Facebook commenting has not been explored from an interpersonal perspective, especially about how readers evaluate media content. Therefore, in this project, I argue that commenting not only gives readers a voice but also provides an opportunity for solidarity with other readers and resistance as a group (Herring, 2004; Jabrooty and Baker, 2017). In the last sub-section of this literature review, I address ethical questions about doing social media research.

2.4.2 Ethical considerations

There are questions as to whether social media research can bring harm to participants in the same way that research that takes place in non-social media contexts might do. Page et al. (2022: 57) acknowledge that this issue is a challenge to researchers interested in the language

of social media in that ''the fundamental principles of ethical research were developed in relation to the medical sciences and to guide research that took place in offline contexts''. For example, they state that it is unlikely that language on social media may inflict the same physical harm on a participant the same way that taking part in a drug trial would. However, they note that linguistic phenomena are also social phenomena in that texts are produced by human beings, who through language and other semiotic modes construct their identities and express views on the world. Thus, an analysis of language might not just be an analysis of how one represents the self through language but an analysis of the person in that context. Page et al. (2022) posit that although harm in social media may manifest in ways that are not immediately tangible, it may be nonetheless significant. For example, participants' identities can be inadvertently exposed by verbatim quotations and thus lead to harassment online and offline and possible withdrawal from a forum by participants.

Harm may not only visit the participants but also the researcher researching online forums that are racist, misogynist or those that use language signalling extremist religious or political views. In these cases, although ethical research usually requires that researchers identify themselves to the participants and get informed consent to use their posts in the research, Page et al. (2022) show that this may not be possible as it may expose the researcher to danger. The authors use Jess Aiston's research on a sub-reddit forum as an example, showing that her research which analyses the representation of women, relationships, and feminism within one manosphere-affiliated subreddit (i.e., a community hosted on the social news site, Reddit) could harm her if she identified herself. For fear of being targeted by this community known for its misogyny, she neither sought the participants' consent to use the data nor identified herself to them. However, she intends to take steps to anonymise their posts and not give links to the posts in her analysis. Further, she notes that the posts she uses cannot be retrieved by any search engine, which protects the participants.

Social media researchers also have debates about the degree to which information online can be defined as public or private. Elm (2009) proposes that instead of seeing public and private spheres as a dichotomy, we should rather view them as a continuum. Thus, publicness or privateness should depend on how exclusive the environment is, e.g. can it be accessed without prior registration or application for membership. If there are restrictions to access to public information, then that platform may not be entirely public. Therefore, online

information can be viewed as private, semi-private, semi-public or public. I focus on the last category, which I believe my research falls under. A public environment is one that is ''open and available for everyone, that anyone with an internet connection can access, and does not require any form of membership/registration'' (Elm 2009: 75). Public online platforms include organisations' websites and online newspapers (*ibid*, 76). With a Facebook account, one can access The Voice newspaper's Facebook page, where news and entertainment posts can be viewed. Elm (2009) opines that after determining the extent to which an online environment is public or private, a researcher should consider the content and context of the study. That is, they should ascertain if the content can be considered public enough without informed consent. Public content deals with societal matters rather than individual issues. My study is concerned with social issues in the sense that it considers gender and sexuality as organising social structures firmly embedded in a patriarchal-heteronormative order in Botswana. Thus, this study analyses the language used online, identifies the gender and sexuality ideologies articulated by users and links them to the Botswana social context.

Baym and boyd (2012) argue that public information may not be meant for everyone who can access it but rather for a specific audience, which may not match the actual readers. In my research, I do not find this applicable in that a newspaper's public Facebook page does not function like a WhatsApp group with regular members. That is, when a reader comments on news, they have no idea who will respond to their comment and who will just read and not respond, unlike on a WhatsApp group, where there may be groups with similar tastes in things or having the same identities. I am cognisant of the fact that even in this scenario, commenters may have been aware of the public nature of their comments but did not anticipate that their posts could be used in a research project. Hence, my online data are screenshots of the comments only as per Facebook data collection and use policy (https://m.facebook.com/policy.php). Only the content of the threads is used for the purpose of research while the usernames and profile pictures of the posters have been redacted.[8] However, I indicate the gender of the poster in order to examine how men and women express ideas about gender and sexuality in response to representations in the cartoon column. I have only been able to retrieve these comments through The Voice Facebook page and failed to get the same results when I googled the individual comments without the

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[8] N.B: This research was given ethical approval by the Lancaster FASS/LUMS research ethics committee

cartoon column name and cartoon title. I therefore suspect that it may not be possible to retrieve the messages through other search engines.

The Association of Internet Research (AoIR) guidelines for ethical research posit that online materials can be used if they are public and not sensitive.[9] Sensitivity of information can also be construed as a cline, on which some topics may be deemed more sensitive than others. The comments I analyse are based on caricatures that are gendered and sexualised. Users make comments about social groups, e.g. girls, women, men, working-class men, foreign evangelical men and professional women and do not refer to identifiable individuals. Therefore, the posts are sensitive only to the degree to which social groups are denigrated and/or marginalised relative to others.

In the next section, I discuss the overarching theoretical framework (CDS) that informs this study as well as its (feminist) variants and their relevance to the study of gender and the media.

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[9] http://www.aoir.org/reports/ethicspdf

Chapter 3: Theoretical frameworks

3.1 Introduction

In this section of the study, I discuss the theoretical frameworks that inform this study, reflect on my position and offer a prospective critique.

3.2 Critical Discourse Studies (CDS)

Critical discourse studies (CDS henceforth) is a shared perspective encompassing a range of methodological approaches to language use. Depending on their chosen approach and the research questions they seek to answer, researchers can have varying methods of data collection and analysis. Some of the main strands of CDS are the discourse historical approach (Wodak, 2013), the socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 2001; Koller, 2014) and the dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough, 1992). CDS research tends to use analytical methods such as the social actor representation framework (van Leeuwen, 2008), corpus-linguistics (Baker, 2008) and systemic functional linguistics (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).

CDS is concerned primarily with how language and other semiotic modes are used to enact, reproduce, and resist social power abuse, dominance, and inequality. CDS begins with a social problem and sets out to de-mystify ideologies and power through systematic analyses of semiotic data (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). In this section I focus on defining 'discourse', 'ideology', 'power' and 'critique' as they will be used in the rest of the thesis.

In this study, I use 'discourse' to mean both language in use (Fairclough, 1992) and language as social practice which is organised according to particular discursive practices of production, distribution, reception and adaptation, and is instantiated in concrete texts (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Koller, 2012). Gee (2011) distinguishes between 'discourse', which means language in use or stretches of language such as a news article, and 'Discourse', which refers to ''ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity'' (p.29). This suggests 'Discourse' is an aspect of social life working together with other social elements to construct and represent the world in certain ways, to enact interpersonal relations and create identities. When discourse means socially

informed ways of knowing, then it can take a plural form, 'discourse**s**', and can be pre-modified and post-modified to show the position of the speaker in relation to the discourse, the topic, the channel of distribution as well as locality (Koller, 2014: 149). For example, we can identify a conservative discourse on gender in Tswana marriage counselling sessions. As in this example, 'conservative' connotes a particular stance that is informed by certain values, beliefs and norms to enact gendered practices and identities in marriage counselling sessions, hence performing ideological work. This implies that other people may not hold the same values and could challenge this stance with alternative world views. The discussion above shows how closely related discourse, ideology and power are. So, next, I define the term ideology.

Ideologies are grounded in social cognition as a system of "socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing and learning" (van Dijk 1993: 257). This suggests that ideologies are collectively shared and mostly believed to be a part of a collective identity, hence naturalised and often unconsciously expressed in behavioural practices. Koller (2014: 239) advances the notion of ideology ''as a (metaphorical) network of beliefs that gives rise to expectations, norms and values about events, ideas and people, enabling us to categorise and pass opinions about people we encounter based on our knowledge and beliefs''. Dominant ideologies can achieve hegemony, i.e. when most people in a society acquiesce (knowingly or unknowingly) to the values of the powerful social group and even help to maintain the status quo (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). For example, Setume et al. (2017:183) note how young, educated, urban women at a bridal shower in Botswana legitimate patriarchal ideology by advising the bride-to-be against claiming equality with her husband for the success of her marriage: because marriage is so important to a woman, she should accept her subordinate status in the system.

Hegemonic ideologies are vital for those in power to exercise it without coercion, because as Fairclough (2003: 9) puts it, ''ideology is a modality of power''. The powerful ensure that their ideologies become common sense partly through their access to, and control of, resources such as the media. Yet, there is always a possibility of contesting voices because ''ideologies are open to normative critique'' just as they are necessary to sustaining existing social relations and relations of power (Fairclough, 2015: 32). Fairclough posits that ideologies can

be inculcated in people as styles, i.e. ways of being, or can be enacted in genres. Because genres are conventionalised and relatively stable practices, their repetitive performance in situated social settings not only structure social relations but also reproduce those relations, helping to maintain institutional or social hierarchy.

Finally, I define 'critique' or 'being critical' as used in my discussion. According to Wodak (2005: 196), 'critical' means constant self-reflection by the researcher, interrogating one's position, values, and stating one's research interests clearly, as well as questioning of social phenomena and processes. Self-reflexivity is important because CDS believes that research is linked to our experiences in one way or the other, and therefore subjective. Yet the subject positioning of the researcher should give way to scientific rigour, rather than influence the outcome of the research negatively. A critical analysis also makes visible the interconnectedness of text, institutional practices, and the broader socio-cultural and political context and gives audiences or the researched a new pair of lenses with which to interact with texts.

Because CDS aims to enlighten and emancipate the dominated, critical analysis enables them to develop an attitude towards discursive practices and their social situatedness (Wodak, 2008). This research hopes to use its findings to engage with the media in Botswana, which, though blamed for being gender insensitive, may not have been presented with empirical evidence. I hope to be able to use the results of this thesis to collaborate with the media to develop guidelines of how communication on their Facebook pages could be improved, e.g. managing the use of language and ensuring that discrimination and violence do not thrive on their pages. Additionally, I could use the findings to raise awareness in the communication course I teach at university as young adults are the largest group of The Voice newspaper and, I assume, make the largest users of Facebook. I could also work with gender and women's organisations, whose scrutiny of gender representations is mainly on traditional media rather than social media, to raise awareness about sexism and xenophobia.

3.3 Feminism(s) in Africa

I begin this section by addressing the debate on feminism in Africa. Atanga (2013) discusses the notion of 'African feminists' proposed by gender scholars at the African Feminist Forum in Accra in Ghana (2006). The basis for the notion is that Africa has its own specificities,

different from other continents. Thus, women and girls in Africa experience gender differently though not in a monolithic way. For example, girls are socialised to not use taboo language while boys have leeway, which, as Thetela (2002) states, leads to inexpression in rape cases, where police officers require an explicit description of the sexual acts and sex organs. However, Atanga (2013) contends that even when Africa has its own unique issues, there is no discernible feminist school of thought that is actively African (Aktatsa-Bukachi, 2005), because ''the problems that besiege women in Africa in terms of oppression, repression and discrimination are faced by women elsewhere in the world to varying degrees depending on large-cultural context and communities of practice'' (Atanga, 2013: 302). Therefore, these scholars propose 'African feminisms' to capture the various conceptualisations of feminism in Africa. For example, my focus on representations of gender and sexuality in Sub-Saharan Africa rather than North Africa is a recognition that women in the Arabic-speaking region face different problems (see Sadiqi, 2003). Progressive critical feminists note for instance that in the post-colonial era, early African feminists put race issues before gender and tended to resist western feminism by defending African patriarchal structures that subjugated women and girls through practices such as forced child marriages, genital mutilation and polygamy. These earlier African feminists argued that western feminists misrepresented traditional African practices which served women well. For example, 'lobola' has been denigrated as 'wife-purchasing' by colonialists, although it may not be any different from the practice of engagement in western contexts, where men customarily present women with an engagement ring, rather than the other way round. Likewise, 'lobola' is believed to be a token of appreciation given to the bride's parents by the groom or his parents to formalise the marriage (Atanga et al., 2013). Early African feminists argued that most African women view this tradition as proof that their fiancé respects and takes them seriously (Atanga et al., 2013). Indeed, in Botswana, the legitimacy of marriage comes from the payment of 'lobola', while the wedding ring, the celebrations and marriage certificate are just add-ons. However, Schapera (1994) has argued that 'lobola' not only buys a woman's labour and reproductive rights but reinforces her subordinate status in the marriage. Progressive critical feminists acknowledge the role of 'lobola' in violence against married women, most of whom lose sexual autonomy upon marriage, making them vulnerable to HIV/Aids (Atanga et al., 2013; Ellece, 2011; Phaladze and Tlou, 2006). While the bride price can be a factor in violence against married women, we need to note that even unmarried women and girls experience

violence in heterosexual relations, suggesting gender-based violence is systemic (Dube, 2009).

3.4 Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA)

This research adopts feminist approaches to gender research because as previously shown in the literature review, gender is a pervasive organising structure. Unlike other social categories, gender is the point of departure from which people of all ethnicities, religions and economic classes come to understand relations of difference and hierarchy. It functions as an interpretative category, entering into and partially constituting these other social relations and activities (Lazar, 2005). As Eckert (1989) points out, ''traditional gender ideology pairs up men and women for life, whereas no cultural norm pairs up a white person and a black person or a working-class individual with a middle-class person for life'' (p.253-4). The centrality of gender as a social category is that it is premised on biological differences or asymmetric meanings of 'male' and 'female', and the consequences of being assigned to one or the other within concrete social practices (Lazar, 2005: 5). Feminist approaches to gender research acknowledge the pervasiveness of gender inequality as a social problem and endeavour to expose how gender is imbricated with hegemonic ideologies of patriarchy, power, and social injustice. Within a poststructuralist outlook, feminist approaches view discourse as social practice, and as constituted and constitutive of social life. Thus, through language use, as with other non-linguistic social practices, ideologies that (re)produce gender inequalities can be affirmed and perpetuated or resisted and destabilised.

Adopting a non-essentialist view of gender, FCDA views gender as what we do rather than what we are (Butler, 1990). Therefore, our gender identities are formed during interaction. This does not mean, however, that we come to interactions as blank slates, needing to be filled with information. Rather, it means that even when there are various gender ideologies that surround us, or as Sunderland (2007) notes, even when we subject ourselves to ideologies that precede us, we negotiate our identities in interaction, as the studies reviewed below show.

Makoni (2015) explores the interrelation between language usage and ideology by investigating the meaning of names assigned to female genitalia to establish whether such names represent gendered embodiment in Southern Africa. She found that the terms were

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inextricably linked to societal values about female sexuality, gender stereotypes and roles in accordance with patriarchal ideology. Although both male and female students provided the same labels, the female students provided different meanings to those offered by their male counterparts, hence resisting their subordinated identities. In a later study, in which Makoni (2016) focused on names given to male genitalia by male students in a South African university, she argues that the terms affirmed and reinforced colonial racist discourses that pathologized black men's sexuality as wild and aggressive. While the young women re-assign new meanings to the disempowering terms, young men do not because they understand power from a patriarchal and not a racial perspective. The students are likely to not have experienced apartheid and racial tensions that produced these stereotyped notions of black men's sexuality. Nevertheless, their appropriation and reproduction of these stereotypes and performance of a marginalised identity is a testimony of how the colonial racist ideology has lived on beyond the contexts in which it was created and how young men now reproduce it as a symbol of hegemonic masculinity.

Iyer's (2009) analysis of media constructions of businesswomen in India shows that the women are contradictorily positioned as wives and mothers whose businesses were set up with the financial support and guidance of their partners, which frames their 'new' identities within the patriarchal discourse. The women resist this positioning to some extent by focusing on themselves and recasting themselves as entrepreneurs who are still growing their businesses. The ability of women to resist marginalization and multiply position themselves is also observed in Wodak (2005) in her study on gender mainstreaming in the European Union. One of her interviewees, a Member of the European Parliament (MEP) ''is oriented to a wide range of identities; [she is] left, woman, Swedish, mother, and political outsider'' (Wodak 2005: 103). The interviewee did not see these identities as a disadvantage, instead, she re-appropriates the negative connotations associated with her gender, profession, and nationality to effectively construct herself as 'special' and her atypicality as the driver of her success. For example, she observed that the typical job for an MEP is being a lawyer, but she is a social teacher, a job that can only be found in Scandinavia, which makes her ''a special bird'' as she does not ''fit into the typical MEP'' (*Ibid*, p.104). These studies show that social constraints imposed on people at a macro-level can be contested in interaction.

3.5 Feminist Post-structural Discourse Analysis (FPDA)

Since its inception, FPDA has been applied in gender research as well as in gender's intersection with other social categories (e.g. Baxter, 2003; 2008; Castaneda-Pena, 2008; Kamada, 2005; 2008; 2009; Warhol, 2005). Baxter (2003) defines FPDA as ''a feminist approach to analysing the ways in which speakers negotiate their identities, relationships and positions in their world according to the ways in which they are located by competing yet interwoven discourses'' (p.1). At the centre of FPDA are the notions of multiplicity and heterogeneity of voices in creating texts. That is, texts are not endowed with their producers' meanings only as they are open to interpretations by other people who interact with them. FPDA conceptualises power at the text level and contends that social structures like patriarchy can be destabilised in local contexts, consequently transforming those contexts. Conceiving patriarchy as uniformly empowering men and disempowering women is to suggest it cannot be deconstructed. Although there are no recent studies that have applied FPDA in gender research, Jabrooty and Baker (2017), without explicitly mentioning FPDA, apply the principle of ''punctual power'' in their study of Iranian women's blogs. Their findings show that the bloggers use the power of online space to share their experiences of patriarchal oppression and resist it. Diabah's (2019) study is of paramount relevance here because it is not only about representations of gender in the media in an African context but also applies FPDA. She found that women have multiple identities, some of which are empowering while others are disempowering. For example, she notes that stereotypes of women as belonging to the kitchen are re-appropriated to challenge other stereotypes of women as cooperative and as having no power over their sexuality. She gives an example of a radio advert in which a woman assertively refused to stop using contraceptives as she was not ready to have children. FPDA believes a critical engagement with discourse is a form of activism that could lead to the transformation of those contexts in which some members of society just cannot have their voices heard. I am interested in the notion of punctual power in relation to reader comments and how they challenge the newspaper's position on gender and sexuality.

FCDA and FPDA share key principles such as believing in the discursive construction of subjectivity; gender being performed rather than what people are; that people's identities are diverse and multiple; that all texts are a product of other prior texts and shape future ones (intertextuality) and show traces of other discourses (interdiscursivity); and finally that

researchers should engage in continuous self-reflexivity, i.e. questioning how their own subjectivities influence the research. Despite these similarities, Baxter (2008) gives three areas that differentiate (F)CDA from FPDA. First, she locates FPDA in post-modernism while pointing out that (F)CDA has its theoretical roots in ''post-Marxism through cultural materialism to critical linguistics…'' (p.246). Whereas (F)CDA has an ideological agenda that focuses on social problems and standing with the oppressed, FPDA has an epistemological quest to do small-scale, bottom-up research to expose inequalities as well as bring to the fore silent and silenced voices in smaller contexts such as in the classroom or boardroom settings. FPDA research hopes to transform these contexts and thus, challenge dominant discourses like gender differentiation. Secondly, Baxter argues that by identifying social actors as the oppressor or the more powerful versus the oppressed or the less powerful, F(CDA) treats power as fixed rather than fluid, with social actors being positioned as either powerless or powerful. Thus, for FPDA, no person is powerful or powerless all the time. Although the overall aim of (F)CDA is to tackle larger social structures such as patriarchy and heteronormativity, which ideally locate women, girls and LGBTQI+ as less powerful, we have seen that even within FCDA research, women do not always position themselves as powerless all the time (see Iyer, 2009; Makoni, 2015; Wodak, 2005). Finally, (F)CDA believes that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures in that ''as well as being determined by social structures, discourse has effects upon social structures and contributes to the reproduction of social continuity or social change'' (Fairclough, 2015: 67). Baxter (2008) posits that FPDA is anti-materialist in that it believes speakers do not exist outside discourse and therefore the distinction between text and context, as posited in (F)CDA, is not recognised. In as much as Baxter recognises this position by FPDA is contentious, I believe the text-context distinction in (F)CDA also suggests that there are systems of knowledge that pre-exist the individual and that we negotiate our identities in any discourse within the boundaries of these systems such as patriarchy, race and ethnicity. Thus in the texts that we produce, these systems always hover, influencing the way we see the world, positioning us in relation with others and shaping our identities. These systems are therefore undeniably part of context. Baxter (2008) suggests that FPDA collapses the text-context distinction in favour of the concept of interdiscursivity, where one discourse is always negotiated, challenged, evolved and adjusted through the lens of other discourses.

3.6 Positionality

In writing this thesis, I reflect on my position as an African Motswana woman in a heterosexual partnership/marriage. I draw on my experience growing up in a conservative rural setting, my experiences at boarding secondary schools, and later at university, where I read literature by African writers. Some of those works, e.g. Tsitsi Dangarembgwa's *Nervous Conditions* explored the interface of gender, education, social class, the rural/urban divide and how these had been shaped by colonialism and Christianity. This sparked my interest in intersectional studies. I started researching gender and the media in 2011 before I could come to the United Kingdom to live and study. However, being here has enriched my view of the world concerning western feminist perspectives. For instance, some of the graphic cartoons I analyse would have prompted a series of protests in the west but in Botswana, they were never censored. My supervisor believes a cartoon, which I do not analyse but use for illustration (Figure 4.9), is graphic, as it depicts the castration of a bull with a woman's face. Unlike my supervisor though, I grew up in a culture where explicit sexism is part of patriarchal hegemony and toxic masculinity. Also, some of the experiences of my rural upbringing included looking after animals, using them as draught power and seeing them being milked, de-horned, branded and castrated; some of these activities might be viewed as animal cruelty in the west. Hence, these graphic representations of a woman/bull being castrated might not elicit the same response in me as in a western audience because of my cultural context. Euphemistic references to women and their body parts via cattle metaphors are common in Botswana.[10] For example, a groom's family may be asked if they are 'taking it (cow) with its calf' *(le itsaya le namane)* meaning would the groom take both a woman and a child she already has out of wedlock. As part of male banter, traditional older men can insult a child by reference to her mother's genitalia, euphemistically referred to as a cow's hoof. For instance, a male older relative can remark to a child '*mmaago setlhako*', which literally means 'your mother's shoe'.[11] The same cannot be said about women's banter because traditionally, it is not expected for women to joke about male genitalia. While I am not shocked by the way women and girls are represented in my data, I feel denigrated by such depictions. Thus, I carry out

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[10] Cattle farming is Botswana's second biggest revenue earner after diamonds. Traditionally, cattle were a symbol of a man's wealth and are still used to pay the bride price/lobola

[11] A woman's outer genitalia is believed to be shaped like a cow's hoof (Rapoo, 2013)

this research to show that discrimination and sexual objectification of women in any form is 'abnormal' and should be deconstructed.

3.8 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the theories that inform this study: being critical discourse analysis, feminist critical discourse analysis and feminist poststructural discourse analysis. The choice of these theories is based on the view that gender and sexuality are not neutral social categories because they are imbedded with hierarchical power relations. Critical discourse studies aim to unmask these unequal power relations via analysing language use, and draw awareness of the dominated to these social inequalities as well as advocate for egalitarianism through resistance (and possibly subversion) of dominant discourses. I noted that in critical discourse studies, power and ideology are closely related because those in power maintain the status quo by spreading their own ideologies, which when not resisted could become hegemonic. I also discussed the similarities and differences between feminist critical discourse analysis and feminist poststructural discourse analysis, showing that in principle, both believe that in patriarchal societies, women, girls and non-normative sexual identities such as LGBTQI have relatively lesser power than men, boys and heterosexual people. It is important to note that positioning in discourse is quite complex when different social categories (including race, ethnicity, age, social-class, etc.,) interact with gender and sexuality. Thus, in discourse interaction it may not always be the case that women, girls and LGBTQ+ people remain in powerless positions as people negotiate power relations in discourse all the time, with some discourses positioning them as powerful while others render them powerless.

In the next chapter, I describe the data and methods of analysis.

Chapter 4: Data and methods of analysis

Content warning: Chapters 4-7 contain sexualised, sexist, and sexually abusive caricatures. These images are not censored because they are public information and can be accessed as hard copies and online. Moreover, this thesis adopts a feminist critical discourse analysis perspective and thus aims to show that both explicit and implicit sexism can have material effects in the real world.

This chapter begins by giving the rationale for data selection, followed by a description of the context of the data, then the data collection procedures and finally the methods of analysis.

4.1 Rationale for data selection

The data for this study comprises cartoons from The Voice newspaper website (https://www.thevoicebw.com) and comments by readers from the newspaper's Facebook page (https://www.facebook.com/TheVoiceBW). The period 2013-2017 was chosen mainly because the cartoon column featured regularly then, increasingly used caricatures of women and tackled sexual relationships more than any other topic during that time. The choice of The Voice newspaper as a site of investigation is three-fold. First, it is based on newspaper consumption patterns in Botswana: as shown in section 4.2.1 below, The Voice has the highest circulation per week in the country (African Media Barometer, 2014; Lesitaoka et al., 2014; Rooney, 2012), as well as the largest following on Facebook. As the most read newspaper, it is likely that many of its readers are acquainted with the cartoon column. A Gender Links and the Media Audience survey (2007) found that 50% of the readership had tertiary education, the newspaper had a male-biased readership of 53.8% compared to 47.2% females and the largest group of readers was between the ages of 20 and 35. Reader comments as part of the data could reflect these demographics.

Secondly, tabloid newspapers are known for selling via sensational and salacious reporting (Morrison, 1996). In fact, personal relationships of a sexual nature make up most of what The Voice refers to as 'human interest topics'. This makes it a potential site for the (re)production of ideologies of gender and sexuality, especially about women, as sexuality is historically linked to the private world of women (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996).

Finally, my choice was precipitated by the genre of cartoons, which is not only under-researched in Botswana but also generally viewed as mere entertainment. Thus, cartoons are likely to pose problems for critical readers, especially on a social media platform, where those readers may be judged as too serious. Yet, cartoons could also exploit this very ambiguity by readers to publish sexist, racist or discriminatory discourse and staving off criticism with reference to humorous intent. Cartoons are therefore ideal for studying media representations of gender.

4.2 Context of the data

4.2.1. The Voice Newspaper

The Voice newspaper is a tabloid newspaper established in 1993 as the Francistown Extra by the Francistown (PTY) Ltd company. According to the newspaper's website, its mandate is to inform, entertain and educate at the same time (https://www.thevoicebw.com). The Voice posits that it prioritises ordinary members of the public by seeking out stories that reflect and affect their readers' lives and featuring them on the front page.

As a popular newspaper, The Voice claims that it targets everyone who can read because there is something for everybody in the paper. According to a GenderLinks and the Media Audience survey (2007), The Voice is read mostly by people in urban (48%) and peri-urban areas (33.3%). African Media Barometer (2014) estimated that most of the newspapers in Botswana are not widely distributed in rural areas due to high costs of distribution and lower levels of literacy. The Voice newspaper, which publishes every Friday, claims to sell 60,000 copies per edition, although Rooney (2018) opines that media houses often inflate their circulations to attract investors. The audited figures from the Audit Bureau of Circulation in South Africa for 2011 put circulation at 26,794 (Rooney, 2012). However, Lesitaoka et al.'s (2014) survey of newspaper reading preferences among people in Botswana still found that The Voice was read by 80% of the respondents.

4.2.2 The cartoon column

The cartoon column that I investigate in The Voice newspaper features stories of people on a 'Combi', a name for a minibus that carries up to 16 passengers. In Botswana, second-hand

cars from abroad have made car purchases affordable, hence most combi users would be low-income earners and students who cannot afford private transport. At the time of writing (June 2022), a one-way journey costs BWP6.00 (about 40 pence) but between 2013 and 2017, it was half the cost. The column features a story told in the form of a dialogue among the passengers, i.e. like a play, with the participants being referred to by their gender, physical characteristics, and their professional identities, e.g. 'combi driver' or 'short-haired lady'. The cartoonist, who is also a passenger on the combi, does not take part in these conversations, which he later reproduces with a cartoon illustration for the newspaper. This thesis analysed only the written language and visuals and did not carry out any interviews with the editors and writers of the column. As I note in chapter 9 (section 9.3), this is one of the thesis' limitations. Although at the conception of this study I had thought of triangulating the textual data (cartoon texts and Facebook comments) with ethnographic methods such as participant observation and in-depth interviews with the producer of the cartoon column and editors of The Voice newspaper, I later abandoned the idea as the cartoon ceased publication in 2018, a seven months before I began my research. The cartoonist, I assume found new opportunities, where he focused on political cartoons (as I would occasionally see some) in broadsheets newspapers. In my view, a chapter on interviews would have been richer when complemented with ethnographic work such as participant observation, whereby I would have travelled with the cartoonist on the Combi and observe, listen and record for myself these conversations by combi passengers. However, since I did not investigate the production process of the cartoons, I could only speculate that these conversations were either real but embellished for satirical effect or wholly fictitious or a combination of these two. Some of the conversations took place at bus stops, restaurants, and hospitals, but the name of the column feature remained 'Conversations from a combi' regardless. All the cartoons analysed are the work of a male cartoonist called Lesole Ntshole.

4.2.3 Facebook comments

Readers post comments reacting to the weekly cartoons as well as to others' posts on the newspaper's Facebook page. The comments appear below the conversations and cartoons, although some are not commented on. There is no interaction between the producers and the commenters and the comments are not mediated/moderated. The Voice has 850 000 followers on Facebook as of June 2022.

4.3 Data collection procedures

4.3.1 Cartoons data

Initially, I gathered sixty (60) cartoons from The Voice website covering the period 2013-2017. Once on the site, I copied the cartoon and conversations, pasted them into a Microsoft Word document and then saved them on my desktop. Then, I created an excel sheet on which I listed all the cartoons by their titles and dates of publication. In the next step, I read the conversations for the themes of gender and sexuality[12], which resulted in twenty-nine (29) being selected. With this number being too large to analyse, I read the texts again and chose those where gender and sexuality intersect with age, social class, profession, religion and ethnicity. The final set comprises twelve (12) texts as illustrated in Table 4.1 below.

The verbal texts are relatively short, ranging between 244 and 584 words, together adding up to 4234 words (see section 8.3 for how this links with text-interaction analysis).

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[12] Check definition of sexuality as used in this research in section 1.2

Table 4.1: Cartoons selected for analysis

	Title of cartoon	Topic and identities intersecting with gender and sexuality	Year of publication	Number of Comments
Category 1	Pastors on the prowl	Evangelism and ethnicity (foreign evangelicals)	2013	303
	Miracle money on the loose		2013	50
	Profiteering pastors		2016	3
	Touch the screen and shout 'I receive'		2017	3
Category 2	Bringing sexy back	Child sexual abuse (age and social class)	2016	99
	Talk of the town		2016	0
Category 3	Women are their own worst enemies	Professional identities	2015	193
	Musings in a doctor's waiting room (The female doctor cartoon)		2016	3
	Love, life and death (Policemen at a murder scene)		2016	0
	Corrupt cops		2017	4
Category 4	Gold diggers	Intergenerational/Interclass relationships (social class and age)	2016	29
	Women, please your men		2016	101
				Total = 788

4.3.2 Facebook comments

Once I had collected the cartoon data, I visited The Voice Facebook page and searched for the chosen cartoon titles. If I did not find a cartoon, I changed the search keywords, for example, I searched using the name of the column, name of the columnist and the title of the cartoon, e.g. *'conversations-from-a-combi-cartoon-column-Thevoicebw-lesole-ntshole-Gold diggers'*. In line with Facebook terms and conditions about data collection and use (https://m.facebook.com/policy.php), I then proceeded to make screenshots of the comments, with personal information of commenters redacted in the analyses, and recorded the number of comments per cartoon as shown in the fourth column in Table 4.1 above.

The next step was to decide what comments to analyse. I decided to analyse the cartoon texts with the most comments (e.g. a threshold of 10 posts or more) for each category because random sampling could result in texts with no comments being selected. With the thread as the unit of analysis, I focused on comments that showed interaction between commenters more than isolated contributions. As a result of these procedures, the comments data comprised of five cartoon texts (see Table 4.2 below).

Table 4.2: Selected cartoons with comments for analysis

	Title of cartoon	Topic and identities intersecting with gender and sexuality	Year of publication	Number of Comments
Category 1	Pastors on the prowl	Evangelism and nationality (foreign evangelicals)	2013	303
	Miracle money on the loose		2013	50
Category 2	Bringing sexy back	Child sexual abuse (age and social class)	2016	99
Category 3	Women are their own worst enemies	Professional identities	2015	193

Category 4	Women, please your men	Intergenerational/Interclass relationships (social class and age)	2016	101
				Total = 746

To prepare the comments for analysis, I first categorised them according to Hall's (1973; 2006) categories of dominant, negotiated, and oppositional reading so that I could have a quantitative value of the extent to which the dominant ideology was taken up or resisted. As explained in chapter 3, the dominant subject position usually but not always echoes hegemonic world views, the negotiated position may accept dominant views but reject their application in certain situations, and an oppositional reading is a resistant position that reflects alternative ideologies.

A pilot analysis showed that some comments were brief and not indicative of the commenter's stance. For example, comments like '*ija*!' (gosh) and *'uhu'* (oh) show surprise but one would not know whether they are aligned or disaligned to the dominant ideology encoded in the text. Together with advertisements and images (e.g. memes and emojis) without words, these types of comments were not processed further. As a result, the total number of comments in Table 4.3 are not the same as those in Table 4.2 above.

Table 4.3: Categorisation of comments according to subject positions

	Title of cartoon	Dominant reading	Oppositional reading	Negotiated position	Total
Category 1 (Foreign Evangelicals)	Pastors on the prowl	51 (56%)	40 (44%)	0	90 (100%)
	Miracle money on the loose	28 (68.3%)	12 (29.3%)	1 (2.4%)	41 (100%)
Category 2 (Child sexual abuse)	Bringing sexy back	31 (34.4%)	55 (61%)	4 (4.4%)	90 (100%)

Category 3 (Professionals)	Women are their own worst enemies	54 (49%)	51 (46%)	5 (5%)	110 (100%)
Category 4 (Intergenerational and interclass relations)	Women, please your men	70 (71%)	27 (28%)	1 (1%)	98 (100%)
					429 posts
					30 threads

4.3.2.1 Selecting threads for analysis

In selecting comments for analysis, I considered the three reading positions given above, and for each social category, I analysed (a) comment(s) demonstrating these positions in relation to the cartoon texts, as exemplified in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Examples of comments selected and the subject positions

Cartoon title: Bringing sexy back	Comments
The dominant subject position	Mabelete emisang go apara short skirt n dress your lil bitches the same in public. Bitches/sluts stop wearing short skirt n dress your lil bitches the same in public
The resistant subject position	law defines defilement as the act of having sex with a girl under 18, full stop. wether she is a prostitute or not . law is law .its wether u control yourself or go tojail full st

The negotiated position	Le ga o ikaparetse sentle fela stil monna ke monna o kgaolwa pelo ke dibaka.....!!! le mo a bonan hela gr mo go santse gole mamina o ikella go pholapholetsa nna a ikaparetse gole summer....!!!!Defilemnt ke defilemnt aba mo ise Zanting....wat if it was ur own kid ngwana wa gago a re
	[Even when you are modestly dressed, a man is a man, his heart is broken by anything [i.e. he gets sexually excited easily] he even desires snotty-faced girls/children. She was dressed for summer….!!!! Defilement is defilement. He should go to jail….wat if it was ur own kid

Despite being an 'entertainment' column, reading through the comments I noted that there were more heated exchanges, use of taboo and discriminatory language than light-hearted exchanges. I chose both cordial exchanges as well as tension-filled ones to highlight the difference between newspaper texts and social media language use. For example, the verbal violence directed at women and foreigners on the Facebook platform is not explicitly communicated in the newspaper texts. Since most comments are in Setswana or codeswitched between Setswana and English, I provided the English translations alongside the original posts. Those in English are reproduced without any modification, including mistakes in grammar, spelling and punctuation. Data analysis is based on the original utterance, whatever the language is; the English translation is just for reference. Throughout this thesis, I present a screenshot followed by my transcription and translation of the comments data to English, along with showing the sex/gender of the poster as follows:

[female]

Batswana ba itse thata go tlhokomela makwerekwere a tla a sotlegile ko ga bone mxm ba bo ba ipitsa baruti ba di miracle,u cum to me den u
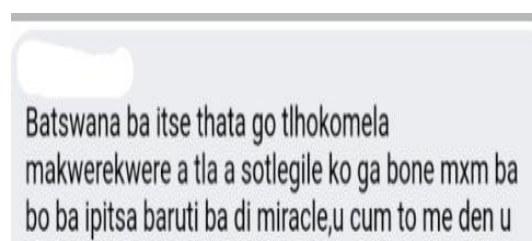
1. *Batswana ba itse thata go tlhokomela makwerekwere a tla a sotlegile ko ga bone ba bo ba ipitsa baruti ba di miracle*

[Batswana really/surely know how to care for these poor/poverty-stricken *makwerekwere* [an ethnic slur for foreigners] who now claim to be pastors of miracle]

Having described how the data were collected, I now discuss the methods used to analyse it. The cartoon and comments data were analysed using a combination of systemic functional grammar (SFG), social actor representation (SAR) and appraisal. These methods are discussed in the next section.

4.4 Methods of Analysis

4.4.1 Systemic Functional Grammar

Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG henceforth) views language as a system of networks that allows speakers to make choices at all levels, including the lexico-grammatical level, to make meaning (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). It derives its name 'systemic' from the fact that the grammar of a language is represented in the form of system networks of interrelated meaningful choices (*Ibid*, 2014: 23). SFG therefore, has a semantics approach to grammar, believing that language users make grammatical and lexical choices to make particular meanings and perform certain social functions (Halliday et al., 2014). Hence, to link meaning to grammar, SFG views language as performing three metafunctions: the ideational, interpersonal, and textual. The ideational metafunction focuses on how we express our experiences of the inner and outer world, while the interpersonal metafunction deals with how we enact personal and social relationships at the same time as we express ideas about the world. The textual metafunction organises these two functions into a cohesive and coherent message (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 29-30). These metafunctions are realised grammatically in the systems of transitivity (ideational), mood and modality (interpersonal), and theme and rheme (textual), all represented in the clause. Tied to this view of language as a network system is the context of language use, which constrains and enables language choices (Halliday, 1978). In this section, I focus on the grammar of transitivity.

Transitivity ''consists of a process unfolding through time and of participants being directly involved in this process in some way; and in addition, there may be circumstances of time, space, cause, manner'' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 170). Three semantic roles are referred to in this quotation: the participants, typically realised by a nominal group, the activities they perform, i.e. the processes, usually realised by a verbal group, and the circumstances, which are realised by an adverbial or prepositional phrase. While the circumstances are optional, the participants and processes are obligatory elements in the clause. Social actors' experiences of the world can be represented as material, mental, verbal, relational, behavioural or existential processes. The six social processes in SFG are further discussed below, with illustrations from the data. However, the behavioural and existential processes have a low frequency in my data and therefore have been excluded from the analysis chapters. As will be noted in the analyses, all finite and non-finite verb forms were considered as process types, e.g. both 'learn' and 'to differentiate' are counted as mental processes in this comment.

Jeso yo bonolo, aoh bathong, le raya gore kereke ya Christ e senyegile jaana. Let us learn to differentiate false prophet and real prophet. mathata ke rona batho, ga re itse gore re batla eng. kereke ga e na molato, mathata ke rona.

Both data sets include very few nominalised forms of verbs which I do not count as process types. This is because in my data, nominalisation is neither used to hide agency, causality or responsibility (Fairclough, 2015). For example, whenever 'defilement' is used, the 'defiler' and 'defiled' are clearly identified. It is worth noting that The Voice newspaper is a working-class paper with an estimated 50% of its audience having no tertiary education (Gender Links and Media Audience study, 2007). Additionally, for most of the readers, English would be a second or even third language. Considering these factors, there is a likelihood that few readers would have the language competencies to form nouns from verbs and adjectives (also see section 8.3 on text-interaction).

The transitivity analysis was complemented with the concept of semantic agency (Darics and Koller, 2019) to investigate the power relations between social actors. I use the term 'agency' as a semantic category that refers to the meaning expressed through language use, and

'action' as a grammatical category to refer to who or what is represented as grammatically active or passive (Darics and Koller, 2019: 218). Darics and Koller use semantic agency in the context of business communication to show how in a press release by United Airlines, which after forcibly dragging a passenger from the airline for refusing to give up his 'already' occupied seat, represented him through language as the aggressor, who "raised his voice", "refused to comply" and "declined to leave", while the airline crew is represented as passive for most of the time. When active, the crew "act apologetically" (p.215). Yet, there is no explanation of how the customer ended up with a bruised, bleeding face. Thus, language is used to apportion the highest degree of semantic agency to the customer so as to blame him for the altercation and the injuries he sustained, while the airline maintains or attempts to maintain a clean image. It is clear that the airline as an organisation has more power than the customer; they can overbook an aircraft and reserve the right to remove passengers whose flights have been paid for and confirmed. They also have access to the media which the passenger may not have. I am interested in how the concept of semantic agency is employed by the producers and/or editors of the cartoon feature to position social actors through language. That is, I want to identify the contexts and the extent to which social actors are agentive.

Social actor agency is viewed as gradable, i.e. as ranging from highly agentive to minimal agency, while activation is in binary opposition to passivation. Therefore, it is possible for agency and action to not coincide. For example, in '**Bushiri's followers** have <u>thronged</u> the national stadium and some have <u>travelled</u> as far as Maun and Kasane', Bushiri's followers are 'actors' performing the actions of 'travelling' and 'thronging' the stadium as well as being maximally agentive. However, in '**Men** <u>are</u> highly skilled at pretending', men are grammatically active but less agentive than Bushiri's followers because the meaning expressed is 'being' something, which has no material effect in the world. The next example demonstrates a passive social actor; 'Right now they have <u>abandoned</u> **him (T.B. Joshua)** for Bushiri'. The concept of semantic agency operates as a continuum as in figure 4.1 below. The degree of social actor agency is indicated alongside the process type in the transitivity analysis.

Figure 4.1 shows a cline of semantic agency by process type

Level 6 represents very high agency (material process)

Level 5-high agency (verbal process)

Level 4-moderately high agency (behavioural process)

Level 3-moderately low agency (mental process)

Level 2-low agency (relational process)

Level 1-very low agency (existential process)
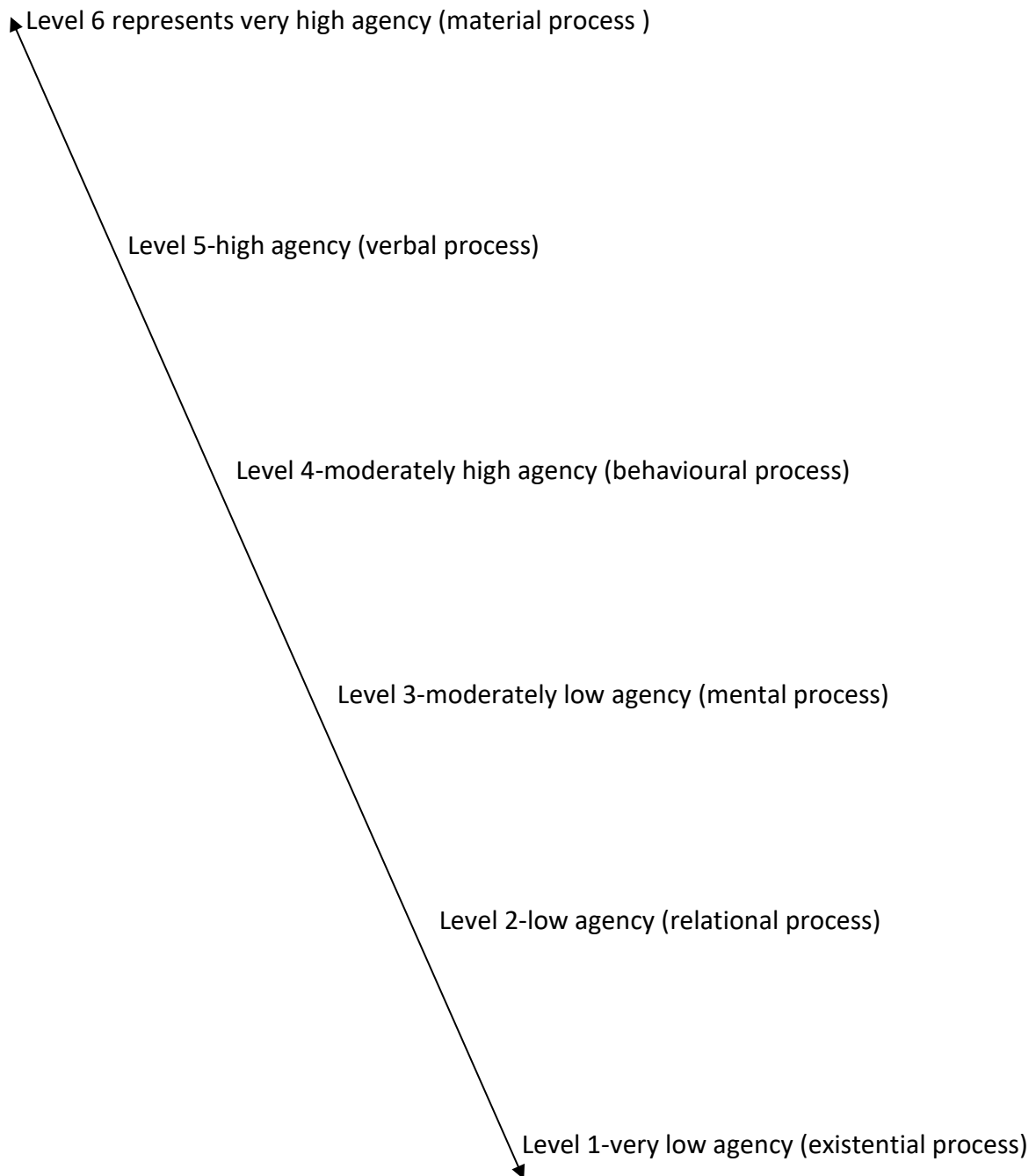
The section below discusses the four process types analysed and illustrates how semantic agency was analysed alongside transitivity in the analysis.

Material processes

Material processes are processes of doing and happening that are also observable and tangible in the real world. The *actor* is the most important participant in a material clause as they perform the action. If the process is realised by a transitive verb, then there is a second

participant affected by the process known as a subjected *goal*, or a scope, a participant involved in, but not affected by, the action. For example,

2. He overheard a conversation about a South African pastor **[actor]** that seduced and raped **[material — L6]** female members **[goal]**

A material process realised by a transitive verb may also have an indirect object, a beneficiated goal. In example 3, the beneficiated goal is part of a prepositional phrase, e.g.

3. They **[actor]** 've abandoned **[material—L6]** him (T.B.Joshua) **[goal-subjected]** for Bushiri **[goal-beneficiated].**

When analysing bilingual or comments in Setswana, I reproduced the comment as shown below before translating and coding process (here: material):

> bone barutinyana dithako tse di leletse le di sutu tsedi phatsiman thy r players ba ja kuku ka leina ga jesu(make luv 2 me in jesus name)

4. *bone barutinyana* [these tiny (i.e. fake) pastors] *dithako tse di leletse le di sutu tse di phatsiman* [with shiny shoes and sleek suits thy r players]

5. *ba* [they-**actor**] *ja* [eat-**material—L6**] *kuku* [the cake (i.e. vagina) **goal-subjected**] *ka leina ga jesu* [in Jesus's name-**circumstance**] i.e. they use the Bible to have sex with women.

It is notable that I code the original word *'ja'* (eat) in (5) above as a process and not 'have sex', which is the literal meaning.

Mental processes

Mental processes are experiences within our minds. They are categorised into the cognitive (e.g. thinking, knowing), perceptive (seeing, hearing), desiderative (wanting, wishing), and emotive (hating, loving). Mental processes have two main participants, a *senser,* the entity that knows, perceives*,* wants or feels, and a *phenomenon*, the participant being sensed. While the senser is mostly a human being, the phenomenon can be an animal, an object or even a

projected clause. In example 6, the phenomenon is not even any of these but an emotion, while in 7, it is a projected mental clause, which is further analysed in 8.

6. I [**senser**] feel [**mental—L3**] pity [**phenomenon**] for the girl child [**circumstance**].

> Jeso yo bonolo, aoh bathong, le raya gore kereke ya Christ e senyegile jaana. Let us learn to differentiate false prophet and real prophet. mathata ke rona batho, <u>ga re itse gore re batla eng</u>. kereke ga e na molato, mathata ke rona.

7. *ga* [we −**senser**] *re itse* [don't know −**mental—L3**] *gore re batla eng* [what we want −**phenomenon as projected mental clause**]

8. *gore re* [we−**senser**] *batla* [want −**mental—L3**] *eng* [what −**phenomenon**]

Relational processes

Relational processes serve to identify and classify things or people. The classifying type has two participants, namely, *carrier* and *attribute*. For example,

9. My neighbour's daughter [**carrier**] is [**relational—L2**] fond of wearing miniskirts and crop tops [**attribute**].

The identifying clause also has two participants − the *token* and the *value*. Identifying relational processes define a participant in terms of another entity, with the specific category being the *token* and the more general one being the *value*, e.g.

10. Yah *mosadi* [a woman−**token**] *ke* [is−**relational—L2**] *ngwana* [a child−**value**]

> <u>Yah mosadi ke ngwana</u> o dumela a dirisitswe,ke gone a tlaabo a go bolelela gole bothoko,o sa bolo go mmolelela ka kereke tse tsa bone.

The results showed that social actors were more often attributed certain characteristics rather than given an identity. When they were given any identity, such identities were condescending as above, derogative or cast as inauthentic.

Verbal processes

Verbal processes are realisations of inner thoughts in speech or writing. The *sayer* is the entity talking/writing and the only mandatory participant; the *receiver* is the addressee, and the *verbiage* is the message of the talk.

11. She [**sayer**] asked [**verbal—L5**] him [**receiver**] to use a condom [**verbiage as material clause**]

Example 12 can be used to demonstrate that verbal processes can have projected clauses in the form of a direct speech, which can be further analysed, as in 13.

12. to say [**verbal—L5**], "I'm inviting all men to notice that I' m now ripe." [**verbiage**]

13. ''I [**sayer**] 'm inviting [**verbal-L5**] all men [**receiver**] to notice that I'm now ripe [**verbiage with embedded relational clause**]

14. to notice [**mental—L3**] that I [**carrier**] 'm [**relational —L2**] now [**circumstance**] ripe [**attribute**]

The next section discusses the social actor representation framework.

4.4.2 Social Actor Representation

Van Leeuwen's social actor framework (1996; 2008) is set within his concept of social actor representation (SAR). The SAR framework adopts a sociosemantic approach to language analysis by focusing on social categories and their meanings, rather than on formal grammatical categories or processes. However, as van Leeuwen (2008) points out, the research question is a grammatical question about the meaning potential of language, i.e. about what *can* be said and not 'what *must* be said' (p.23). Thus, social categories are realised in lexico-grammar; for instance, nomination can be realised as a proper noun. Van Leeuwen draws from systemic functional grammar and his SAR framework when positing that we make sense of the world by allocating social categories to people that we encounter. These social categories are a network of choices in language that we draw on when using language. For example, as can be seen that in Figure 4.2 below (van Leeuwen 2008: 52), we can make choices about whether to represent social actors by activation or passivation, which is linked to grammatical action as described in section 4.4.1 above, i.e. a social actor can carry out or

undergo an activity. The language choices we make about whom we represent as an actor or a patient can be ideologically motivated. For example, in the comments data, an underage victim of sexual abuse is said to have captured the abuser's feelings, i.e. she caused his sexual arousal by wearing a crop top and mini-skirt. Thus, her rape is justified as having been caused by her actions. This shifting of blame from the aggressor to the victim not only protects the individual man but the whole patriarchal system (see section 7.3.2).

Figure 4.2: The social actor network

```
Exclusion ──2──> ┌ Suppression
                 └ Backgrounding

Inclusion ┌ ──3──> ┌ Activation
          │        └ Passivation ──5──> ┌ Subjection
          │                             └ Beneficialization
          │
          │ ──4──> ┌ Participation
          │        │ Circumstantialization
          │        └ Possessivation
          │
          │ Personalization ──10──> ┌ Determination ──13──> ...
          │ ──6──>                  └ Indetermination
          │
          │ Impersonalization

          ──11──> ┌ Association
                  └ Dissociation

          ──12──> ┌ Differentiation
                  └ Indifferentiation

          Categorization ──14──> ┌ Functionalization
                                 │ Identification ──15──> ┌ Classification
                                 │                        │ Relational identification
                                 │                        └ Physical identification
                                 └ Appraisement

          Nomination ┌ ──16──> ┌ Formalization
                      │         │ Semiformalization
                      │         └ Informalization
                      └ ──17──> ┌ Titulation ──18──> ┌ Honorification
                                │                     └ Affiliation
                                └ Detitulation

          ──19──> ┌ Single determination
                  └ Overdetermination ──20──> ┌ Inversion ──21──> ┌ Anachronism
                                              │ Symbolization     └ Deviation
                                              │ Connotation
                                              └ Distillation

          ──7──> ┌ Genericization
                 │ Specification ──8──> ┌ Individualization
                 │                      └ Assimilation ──9──> ┌ Collectivization
                 └                                            └ Aggregation

          ──22──> ┌ Abstraction
                  └ Objectivation
```

Notes: Square brackets = either-or choices; curly brackets = simultaneous choice (Adopted from van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 52)

Owing to a lack of space, I do not discuss all the categories in Figure 4.2 but only those relevant to my study, as given in Figure 4.3. Social actor representation has not been used before to analyse data in Setswana, therefore, I use my knowledge as a Setswana speaker. As a pioneering project in this regard, the SAR analysis is adapted/altered as below in red.

Figure 4.3: The part of the social actor framework being drawn on
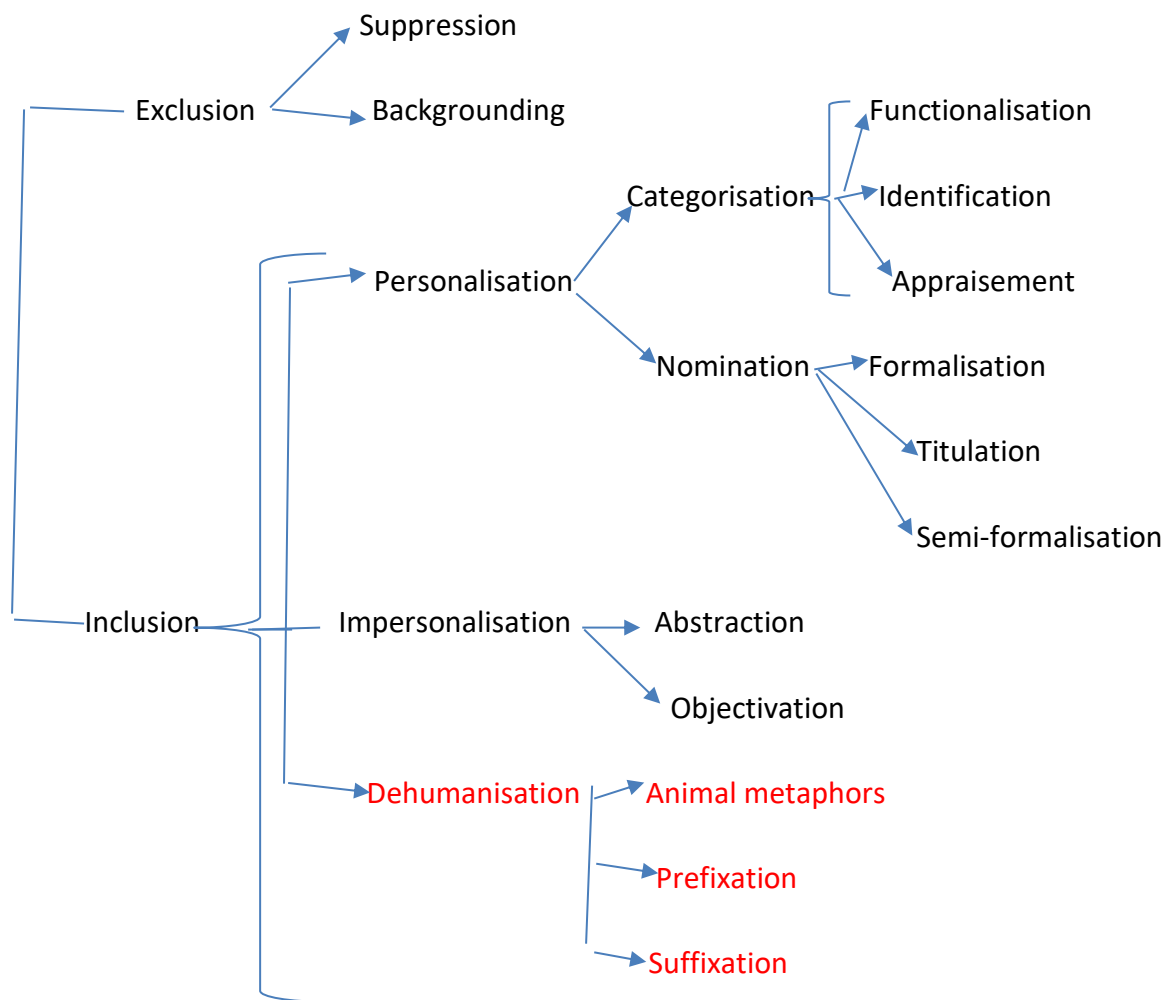
Exclusion: Suppression and backgrounding

According to van Leeuwen (2008), social actors can be included in or excluded from texts. Exclusion can either be in the form of suppression, i.e. they are not mentioned at all, or of backgrounding. Backgrounded social actors can be inferred from other parts of the text or assumed to be known. In comments about child sexual abuse, both male actors and the abused are backgrounded, e.g.

> go apara di mini skirt le di hotpants
> ke ga eng mo mmolong kgotsa mo
> distrateng dilo tseo di aparwa o le
> mo lapeng fela eseng o tswela ko
> ntl ,ke go ithekisa golo moo <u>tlogelang</u>
> <u>ba thubediweng</u>

15. *Go apara di mini skirt le di hotpants ke ga eng mo mmolong kgotsa distrateng* [why wear miniskirts and hot pants in malls and streets?]

16. *dilo tseo di aparwa mo lapeng* [such things are worn at home]

17. *eseng o tswela ko ntl* [not when you go out]

18. *Ke go ithekisa golo moo* [that is prostituting oneself]

19. *Tlogelang ba thubediweng* [Let them get raped/they should be raped]

In this comment, the abused are only referred to by pronouns as 'o' or *'ba'* (you/they/oneself) in (17) and (19). However, in (15) and (16) for instance, we note that the referents wear skirts and therefore are female, and culturally, prostitution (18) is a social action only women and girls engage in. Therefore, one can infer that the rapists are males who do not want females to dress in miniskirts and hot pants. Both the co-text and context help us to recover the backgrounded social actors.

Inclusion: Personalisation, impersonalisation and dehumanisation[13]

Social actors can further be included by personalisation, i.e. referred to as a human being or dehumanised. In my data, famous social actors are personalised in a finger-pointing strategy that makes them identifiable from a group. For example, famous foreign pastors are personalised, nominated, formalised and titulated, as in (20).

20. He had gone to <u>Prophet Bushiri</u> to ask for prayers.

---

[13] I have added another category of dehumanisation as it is prevalent in my data.

In (21), T.B. Joshua is also personalised and semi-formalised. However, Bushiri is represented metaphorically, which is not surprising given that the ideology behind nomination is to apportion blame and downplay his prophetic powers, e.g.

21. T.B. Joshua used to be popular but now they've abandoned him for <u>the new flavour of the season,</u> Bushiri**.**

Objectivation is more prevalent than abstraction and applied not only to foreigners but also to marginalised social groups such as girls and women, (see chapter 7). For example, in (22), the category 'Ma-14' identifies younger women by age and gender but also appraises them as gold-diggers. However, the prefix *'ma-'* typically denotes objects in their plural form and, when used to refer to people as in (22), it objectivates them. Similarly, '*di-*' is a plural form mainly applied to animals and objects, thus, in (23) gays *'di-gay'* are also objectivated.

22. <u>Ma-14</u> are always after money.

23. Hahaha *wena o ka tswa o raya <u>digay</u>* [you must be talking about gays]
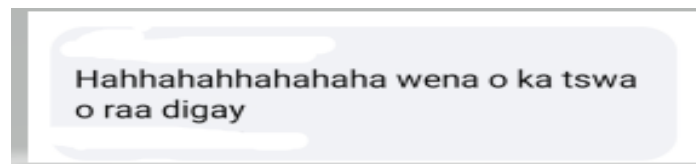
Objectivation tends to occur simultaneously with dehumanisation as in comments where social actors are referred to via animal metaphors, e.g. "*dipheke ke lona a ko le itshwareng. Ga le palelwa le re bolele re batle burdizzo*" (you dogs/donkeys (i.e. male rapists), better control your lust or else a burdizzo will be handy). In this comment, the prefix *'di-'* objectifies the male rapists but unlike in (23) above, the stem 'gay' does not dehumanise the social actors, while here they are explicitly dehumanised by the word/stem *'pheke' (male dog/donkey),* with raging sexual libidos because they are uncastrated, hence a need for a castration tool, a burdizzo. In other cases, objectivation, prefixation and suffixation may occur at the same time, as in '**di**-*kuku*-**nyana**', with the plural prefix *'di-'* objectifying the social actor while the diminutive suffix *'-nyana'* negatively appraises the social actor*. '**Di**-kuku-**nyana**'* (tiny/small cake**s, i.e. worthless** vagina(s) is metonymy for women) (see section 4.4.4.1 on appraisal theory).

Categorisation: Functionalisation, identification and appraisement

Social actors can be represented in discourse as members of groups. Categorisation can be in the form of appraisement, functionalisation or identification. In my data, there tends to be a simultaneous choice of any two of these as in (25), but in (24) all three forms of categorisation are found, e.g. the social actors are functionalised in that *'mabelete'* are so identified because they perform prostitution *'go beleta'*; and as only women are seen to be prostitutes (identification; see below), they are appraised as immoral. Therefore, for this project, representation by appraisement can be via affixation, i.e. through prefixation and suffixation as shown in this diagram:

Prefixation (***ma****-kwerekwere*, a slur for African immigrants)

Appraisement

Suffixation (Ba-ruti-**nyana:** tiny/small, i.e. fake pastors**)**
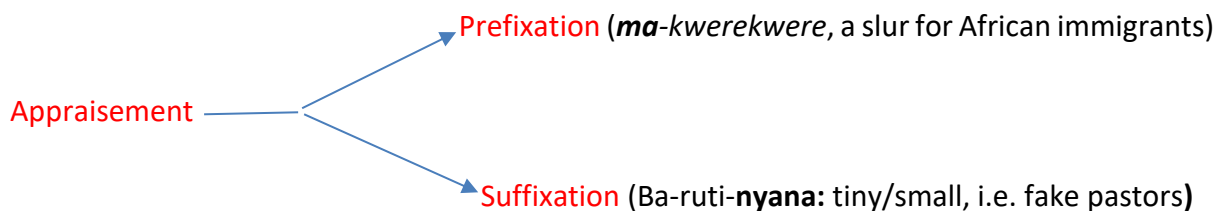
24. ***Ma****belete* [prostitutes]

Mabelete...
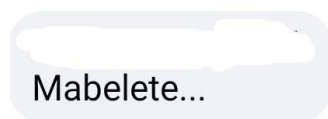
25. We expect <u>fake prophets</u> to give us miracle money (appraised + functionalised)

Identification: Classification, relational and physical identification

Classification involves representing social actors by their gender, social class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, etc. In my data, the most prevalent social classes are gender, nationality and religion. Those represented by nationality, religion, members of certain elites, and sexual orientation are usually represented as 'the other' and, as seen in examples 22 and 23, they may also be objectivated.

26. How is that <u>Nigerian pastor</u> able to find husbands for desperate wives through prayer only? (national identification + functionalisation)

27. Maybe the <u>irresponsible Councillor</u> has even infected her with HIV (appraisement + identification)

Relational identification is another prevalent way social actors are represented in the data, e.g. (28) is a simultaneous choice of age and relational identification. In (29), it is a combination of physical and gender identification, which in the data only applies to women and girls but not men and boys, giving us a peek into Tswana social attitudes about gender and corporeality.

28. <u>My younger brother</u> bedded her.
29. Where is that <u>slender girl</u> who lives in your neighbourhood.

4.4.3 Visual transitivity

Social semiotics is an approach to multimodal analysis that is derived from Halliday's theory of language as a social semiotic (Halliday, 1978). Its pioneers, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) modelled a grammar of images on Halliday's SFG. The system network of images, like language, presents choices to their producers and interpreters, and the meanings realised constitute and are influenced by, our cultures (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 20). Thus, all semiotic systems, including language, have a dialectical relationship with society, being constituted in and constituting it (Royce, 2015). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) adopt SFG's three metafunctions and come up with the representational (ideational), interactional (interpersonal) and compositional (textual) meanings detailing an image's internal structure (*Ibid*, p.42). Below, I give a brief description of the representational metafunction, which complements the linguistic transitivity analysis.

4.4.3.1 The representational metafunction

Applying clause transitivity to images, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) redefine processes into narrative and conceptual processes (p.59). The narrative processes can be transactional, depicting an ongoing action involving two participants in a configuration of *actor-goal*, or non-transactional, consisting of a single participant, usually an *actor* whose action does not have a *goal*. The hallmark of narrative processes is the presence of vectors or lines linking the

participants (transactional); these may be ''formed by bodies or limbs or tools in action'' (p.59). Narrative processes may also be reactional, i.e. realised by perceptual processes such as 'looking'. The vector is formed by an eyeline, in the direction of the gaze by the participant(s) whom we call *reactor,* while the sight beheld is the *phenomenon*. Reactional processes can also be non-transactive, suggesting that the *phenomenon* is excluded from the image. The system of visual transitivity is demonstrated below.

Figure 4.4: Visual transitivity
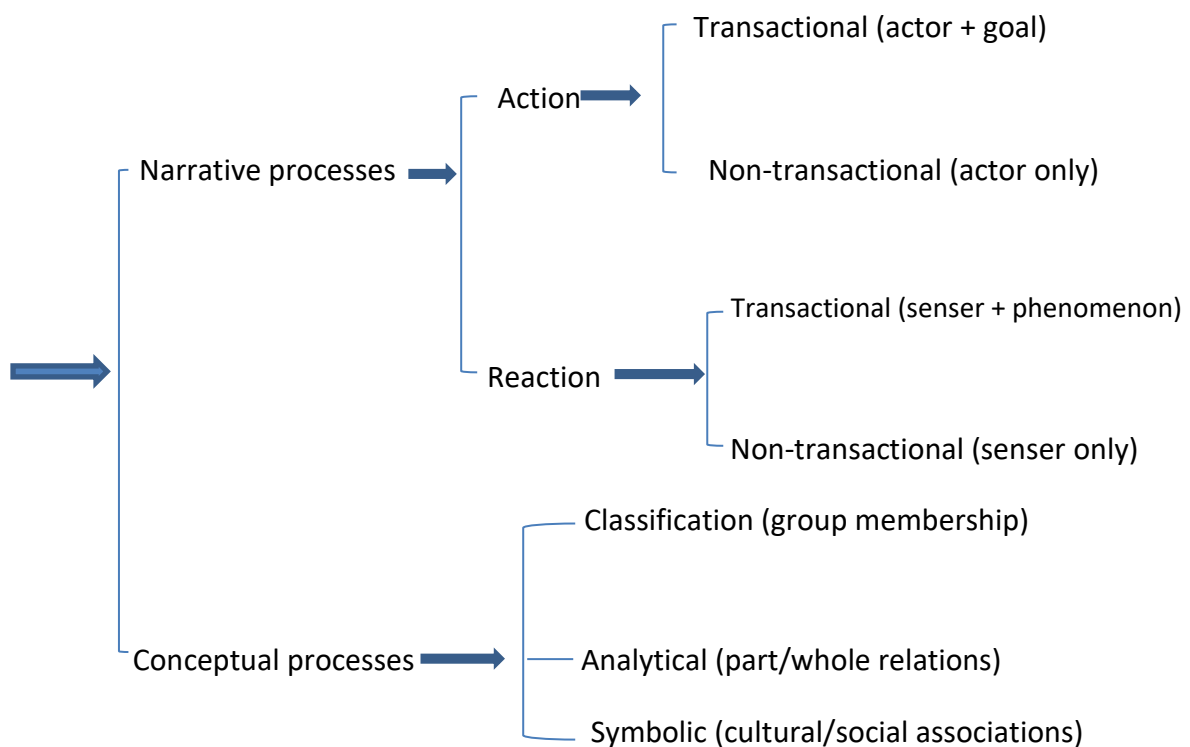
Having given the system drawn upon in the analysis, I now apply it to the cartoon below.

Figure 4.5: The talk of the town cartoon

The man in the caricature performs both transactional and reactional narrative processes. That is, he is depicted as an *actor* acting on the girl (the *goal*), e.g. he is touching her, and he also is the *reactor* looking down at the girl, who is represented as the *phenomenon*. The girl is also engaged in a non-transactive reactional process: she looks away from the man and outside the picture frame. Additionally, both are *actors* in relation to the bottles they hold in their hands and by sitting in a car.

Conceptual processes on the other hand are not characterised by directionality but by relations of classification, e.g. a participant can be depicted as a member of a group or represented in structures of part-whole relations. Conceptual processes can also be realised symbolically. Symbolic processes rest on certain culturally and socially determined associations or standards relating to ''what a participant means or is'' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 105). For example, in Botswana, cornrow hairstyles connote immaturity and usually form part of many public school uniform and hair policies for girls. Therefore, in addition to her relatively small size in comparison to her companion, the hairstyle of the girl in the image reinforces the message that she is underage, evoking negative moral judgements against the adult man (see visual appraisal analysis 4.4.4.2).

4.4.4 Appraisal Analysis

Above I have discussed ideational meaning as realised in the grammar of transitivity, but as noted earlier, SFG also posits that representations of the world through language simultaneously enact personal and social relations. In SFG, the interpersonal metafunction is expressed by the grammar of mood and modality, as well as through appraisal at the discourse-semantics level. I will give a summary of the appraisal framework as outlined by Martin and White (2005), which is adopted to address the research questions both at the representational and the discourse practice level to examine the linguistic features that realise evaluation in the cartoon texts and the comments produced by readers. Evaluation plays a crucial role in our interpretation of the world and in how we orient these interpretations to others. As Bednarek (2006: 4) notes, ''our short-term evaluations may turn into long-term values, which are important to our lives as our beliefs''. Hence, readers' views about dominant ideologies in the media are critical to sustaining already existing ideologies or to subverting them, which could result in social change.

Martin (2000: 145) defines appraisal as ''the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements, and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations''. Appraisal meanings are sub-divided into three types: *Attitude*, the resources for the expression of opinion and feelings; *Graduation*, the resources for grading evaluations, and *Engagement*, i.e. values by which the speaker/writer engages with other voices and alternative value positions (White, 2006: 1-2). This thesis focuses on attitude to analyse the dialogue, cartoons, and comments by readers. Below, I give a summary of the systems of attitude which are drawn upon in this project.

4.4.4.1 Attitude

Attitude is divided into the three sub-systems of *affect*, concerned with emotional states and responses; *judgement*, which deals with assessments of people's social-esteem and their behaviour concerning social norms; and *appreciation*, which is concerned with aesthetic evaluations and assessment of impact, composition and social value (Swain, 2012: 83). These sub-systems are discussed below.

<u>Affect</u>

Affect concerns emotions that derive from the judgements we make about others' conduct or our appreciation of the value of things. For example, conforming to or subverting a social group's norms and values can attract positive or negative feelings, i.e. if someone repeatedly lies to family, their unethical behaviour may trigger anger or even dislike from the group. *Affect* is divided into four sub-types: un/happiness comprises emotions about ''affairs of the heart'', e.g. love or sadness; in/security covers feelings about ''ecosocial well-being'', e.g. comfort or unease; dis/inclination expresses desirable or undesirable emotions, e.g. wishes or fears, and dis/satisfaction denotes feelings of ''the pursuit of goals'' e.g. 'content or bored with' (Martin and White, 2005, p. 49).

In this thesis, I analyse non-authorial affect because the cartoon conversations are about absent others, whose actual feelings are not known. Third-person or ascribed affect has been questioned for whether and how it shows the negotiation of interpersonal relations between interactants (Thompson, 2010). Bednarek (2006) also suggests that non-authorial expressions are not part of evaluation proper, which is concerned with the expression of the speaker's attitude (p.32). I address this concern by arguing that in my research, representations are made at the societal level more than they are made at the individual level. That is, social actors are mostly assigned social identities by others rather than identifying themselves as such. Such categorisations, which are often evaluative, are based on them abiding by or diverting from the larger society's norms and values, which are patriarchal and heteronormative in nature. For example, it is assumed that a man who provides for his wife also loves her, i.e. beliefs about men as providers have emotional effects, as in (30). Yet, it could be possible that one may be legally or morally bound to provide for a person they have no emotional connection to. Additionally, cultural associations of female dress with sexuality have emotional effects, as in (31). Both these examples show interaction at the interpersonal level, yet evaluation of the social actors' feelings is done by others using socially shared knowledge.

30. You see a woman married to a man who <u>loves</u> [+happiness] and provides her with everything yet when the husband goes to work, she beds a herd boy or garden boy**.**

31. Wat if it was ur lil brother wena *a garogile pelo* cos of *kapari ee sa nnang sentle*

[whose heart was broken/ripped apart [-happiness] by immodest dressing]

meaning he was sexually aroused [+desire/inclination][14]

> Wat if it was ur brother wena a garogile pelo cos of kapari ee sa nnang sentle an u say men are dogs, even ladys are dogs(bitches) hope u know the meaning an they are fucked by anithn that passes by....#mabelete

Judgement

Judgement distinguishes between *social esteem* and *social sanction*. Social esteem deals with criticism or admiration of personal character and behaviour, while social sanction focuses on applauding or condemning behaviour that adheres to or contravenes social norms, respectively. Social esteem further divides into *normality* (e.g. how normal/special someone or their behaviour is), *tenacity (e.g.* how resolute/persevering someone is) and capacity (how capable/powerful someone is). Judgements of sanction have to do with 'veracity' (how truthful someone is) and 'propriety' (how ethical someone is) (Martin and White, 2005: 52).

Most of what is analysed as judgement are opinions about entities manifest in lexical items such as adverbs, adjectives, nouns, and verbs, and, in fewer instances, phrases and sentences, e.g. '*a tla a sotlegile*' is a complete Setswana sentence (33) but becomes just a phrase (poverty-stricken) when translated to English. Most of these lexical items are overtly evaluative but in the comments data, cultural context is needed for accurate analysis. As Martin and White (2005) point out, ''when it comes to language use in context, it is often the case that a given lexical item will vary its attitudinal meaning according to that context'' (p.52). For example, the lexical item 'poor' confers different value judgements in the cartoon data (32) and in comments data (33), where the evaluation is imbued with sarcasm. The speaker

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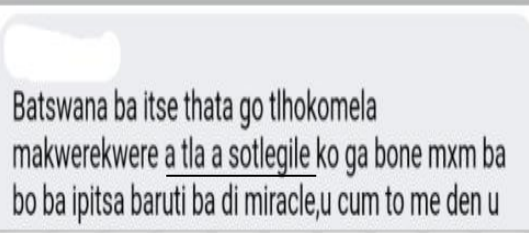
[14] Most comments in Setswana are double-coded due to euphemistic uses that have a literal and figurative meaning.

seems to appreciate the care given to foreign pastors, yet in reality she would rather that was not the case.

32. The councillor is working and the <u>poor</u> girl has lost a future [**ascribed distress** [-**happiness**] or [-**normality, i.e. unlucky**]

33. Batswana really/certainly know how to care for these <u>poor/poverty-stricken</u> *makwerekwere* (slur for foreigners) who now claim to be pastors of miracles [-**capacity**]
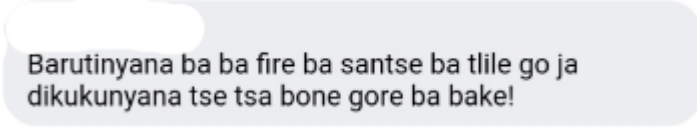
Batswana ba itse thata go tlhokomela makwerekwere a tla a sotlegile ko ga bone mxm ba bo ba ipitsa baruti ba di miracle,u cum to me den u

One would also need context to understand distinct identification such as 'fire churches' or 'pastors of fire churches' as carrying negative value judgements of propriety and veracity (34) in that the 'fire' label derogates evangelical practices as fraudulent.

As seen in the SAR discussion (section 4.4.2), Setswana prefixes and suffixes can be evaluative, e.g. the diminutive suffix '*-nyana*' can depending on the context convey a positive or negative evaluative meaning as in, *Mothonyana wame* [my **little** person, i.e. my beloved]. In (34) *'nyana'* encodes both negative veracity and social insignificance in relation to pastors, and negative social significance concerning women, whose vaginas are metonymised as cakes.

34. *Barutinyana ba ba fire ba santse ba tlile go ja dikukunyana tse tsa bone* [These 'tiny', i.e. fake pastors of fire are still going to eat their 'tiny' cakes, i.e. vaginas]

Barutinyana ba ba fire ba santse ba tlile go ja dikukunyana tse tsa bone gore ba bake!

The use of the prefix *'Ma-'* confers negative appraisal of the social actor by objectivation, e.g. '***Ma**-kwerekwere*' means foreigners speaking unintelligible languages but it is also a slur, conveying extreme negative emotions such as hate. The same objectivation applies to '***Ma**-*

14', which also evaluates younger women as gold-digging (22) and '**Ma**-*kgela'* (unripe fruits) to suggest underage girls are sexually immature/inexperienced.

Finally, and related to the latter expression, the analysis had to consider the use of metaphors, which occurred in the form of sentences *'mosadi ke ngwana'* (a woman is a child) and 'men are dogs'. Co-text and the larger context were important to understand these metaphors and the value judgements they conveyed. In Botswana, the word *'ntsa'* (dog) is a common insult suggesting extreme human moral deprecation. Hence, the 'men are dogs' metaphor conveys a negative evaluation of propriety as well as debasing men.

Appreciation

Within *appreciation*, the three main sub-categories are *reaction* (assessments of quality and impact), *composition* (assessments of balance and complexity) and *valuation* (assessments of worth). Appreciation is usually concerned with the appraisal of objects, phenomena, and events, but can also be applied to human beings, who are thereby objectified. In my data, it is human beings who are appraised via appreciation value systems. As demonstrated in the analysis of judgement, negative value judgements of propriety and capacity are inextricably linked to valuation, with those evaluated as subverting social norms being objectified or dehumanized as in example (34) above.

There are a few cases of social actors being directly appreciated in the comments, and this applies to women more than men. In the comment below, a woman (his wife) is evaluated as 'cute' [reaction +aesthetics] but a man is metaphorically represented as a children's cartoon character (Ben 10), which evaluates him negatively as socially insignificant and as young [-capacity] but also as economically incapacitated, e.g. he is 'a broke ass'.

> True love is rare in dz era...both men and women arent honest t each other...so dnt point fingers t one direction...a man cn stil walk out f de door nd slip arund inspite f hw cute n humble his wife cud b....same applies t a woman hu is bng provided wth evrythn nd go out t spend money wth Ben 10 hu is a broke ass...

Similarly, in the cartoon data women are largely viewed in terms of their sexual market value and evaluated aesthetically as 'good looking' and 'slender' (see example 21 above) but also for being socially insignificant, e.g. as gossiping time wasters. Consonant with the evaluation of men in the comments data, they are appraised for social significance and insignificance, e.g. as popular or unpopular (see example 29).

Figure 4.6: System of appraisal for Attitude
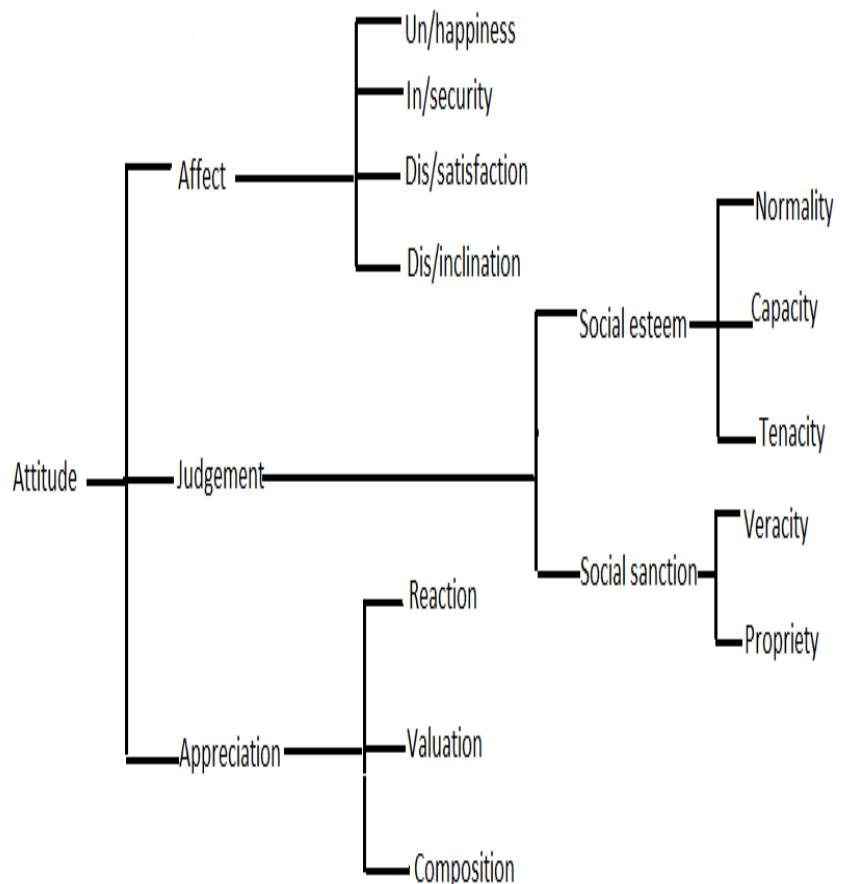
4.4.4.2 Visual Appraisal

Two important references in this section are Economou's (2006; 2009) adaptation of appraisal theory for the analysis of visual appraisal in photo news and Swain (2012), who follows Economou's model to analyse editorial cartoons. According to Economou (2006; 2009), visual attitude, just like verbal attitude, can be inscribed or evoked. Economou (2009: 152) found

that in photo news visually inscribed attitude is limited and difficult to identify. She notes, however, that in images inscribed attitude is manifested as feelings more than judgement and appreciation. For example, expressions of fear, anger, happiness (smiling) or unhappiness (crying) involves the re-arrangement of facial features that can be universally interpreted as effects of positive or negative emotions. However, Swain (2012) argues that in cartoons all three types of attitude can be visually inscribed as well as evoked. According to her, this is because cartoons not only rely on stereotypes, icons and formulaic facial expressions and gestures, which are themselves attitudinal, but also make use of emphasis and exaggeration. This section illustrates how appraisal theory can be applied to cartoons to identify the range of visual resources being employed for making evaluative meanings.

Economou's visual appraisal (2006: 108) approach is modelled on Martin and White's (2005: 67) verbal appraisal as shown below.

Figure 4.7. visual appraisal model

Inscribe (depiction of embodied attitude)

Evoke → Provoke (via visual ideational metaphor)

Invite → Flag (via visual graduation)

Afford (via visual ideational tokens)
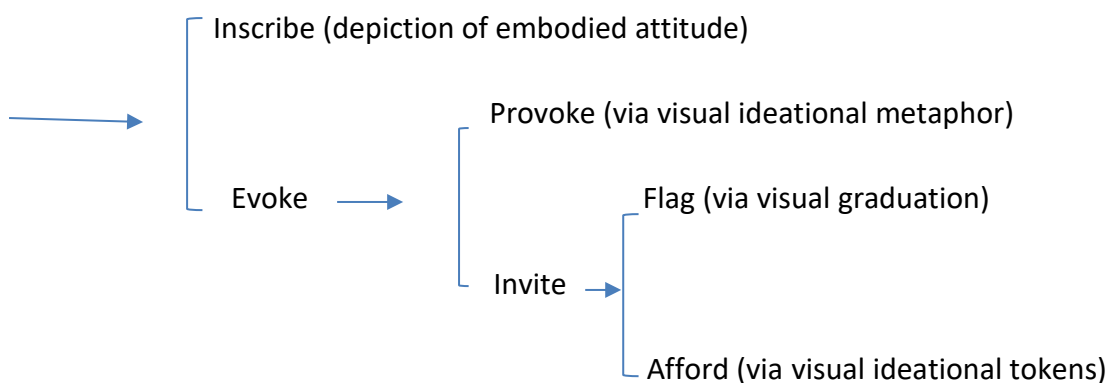
I give a brief explanation of this model with examples from my data where possible. Figure 4.8 illustrates inscribed attitude (affect) in the woman identified by a blue arrow. The upturned lips, the show of teeth, and the wide-open eyes are all embodied facial features signifying positive affect, e.g. happiness (laughter) or negative feelings, e.g. surprise, if read together with the hand-cupping gestures, which signify whispering, here behind someone's back.

Figure 4.8: Example of inscribed attitude

Besides being inscribed, attitude can also be evoked. Evoked attitude is further divided into provoked or invited attitudes. When attitude is provoked, it is implied through the use of metaphors and could be dependent on cultural knowledge for interpretation. In verbal appraisal, attitude is provoked through the use of lexical metaphor or simile and verbal imagery, e.g. ''we fenced them **like** sheep'' (Martin and White, 2005: 67), but visual images also provoke attitude, e.g. depicting a person with devil's horns implies they are diabolical (Economou, 2006: 109). The SFG account of conceptual metaphor is rather limited compared to conceptual metaphor theory. As a way of explaining this model, I refer briefly to Carroll (1996), who states that visual metaphors can occur as two separate phenomena or can be two unrelated entities fused into one entity. In both cases, one is the topic or 'target' and the other is the vehicle or 'source' (Bounegru and Forceville, 2011: 212), with the verbal element featuring in the respective other or in both domains.

Since my data is not rich in visual metaphors, I use a cartoon illustration from *Mmegi* newspaper in Botswana depicting a female politician who had lost a party[15] presidential election as a wailing bull being castrated outside a kraal (Figure 4.9 below). The cartoon is a fusion of the woman's face and head, but also has the body of a bull, ears and horns. The

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[15] The Botswana National Front is a socialist party, as shown by the sickle and hammer symbols in the image.

cartoon provokes attitude in that a person identifying as female is identified as a bull, connoting qualities such as dominance and virility. However, she represents a weaker type of masculinity that has been trounced by stronger masculinities (a male politician). Therefore, her loss is represented as emasculation through being castrated, symbolising her weakness [-capacity]. The only verbal element in the cartoon is *'tsiii!!'* which is onomatopoeic, i.e. the sound of the burdizzo as it squeezes the bull's testicles, with the pain being felt by the target.

Figure 4.9: A cartoon illustrating provoked attitude (Mmegi newspaper 28 May 2007)

For this project, I consider cultural symbols such as huts, which are metonymies for rural Botswana, as provoking attitude because they connote conservatism or even poverty. These symbols rely on culturally shared meanings. Cultural symbols like the headcover '*tukwi'* and shawl *'chale'*, which are symbols of respect, age and marital status likewise provoke attitude.[16] The female social actor in Figure 4.10 is evaluated as mature and conservative through the headcover and shawl, which provokes a positive judgement of the social actor as abiding by Tswana conventions of femininity.

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[16]Older women are expected to wear a white shawl or a small plaid blanket on their shoulders (mostly during marriage ceremonies, funerals and other gatherings) and cover their hair with a headscarf as a sign of respect. Draping a woman with a shawl and covering her hair is also a ritual a new bride goes through to mark her journey into womanhood.

Figure 4.10: An example of provoked attitude (a depiction of a traditional woman)

Implicit attitude can also be flagged or afforded. It can be flagged via graduation resources — which are the resources for amplifying or downplaying the meanings we make. For example, there is amplification of meaning in '*Batswana ba itse thata go tlhokomela makwerekwere'* [Batswana really/very well know how to care for *makwerekwere (foreigners)*], where the underlined words intensify attitude [+propriety]**,** yet context shows such care is not desired by the speaker. The same phrases can be used about the woman's backside in Figure 4.10, e.g. as **'**very large'. In this image, the author provokes attitude by selecting, exaggerating and drawing attention to this woman's bottom, reflecting modern views influenced by pop or western culture as too fat and unattractive and/or media values of women as sexual objects and entertainment.[17] There is no gaze from the woman to the viewer and her facial expressions are backgrounded. This can make viewers make moral judgements against the author for sexually objectifying an older woman. However, girls and women are generally objectified in the comments (see chapter 7).

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[17] Economou (2009) notes that the system of visual appraisal is gradable in terms of the extent to which its elements are open to different interpretations, with inscribed attitude leaving no room for interpretation, followed by provoked attitude being somewhat open, while flagged attitude is more open than provoked and afforded attitude is the most open for interpretation.

Lastly, the visual appraisal model also suggests that ideational meanings, i.e. representations of people's experiences of the world, can act as tokens of attitude, e.g. 'we brought diseases', where the process and goal together are the appraising items (Martin and White, 2005: 67). In Figure 4.8 above, the woman identified by an arrow is also performing a behavioural process of 'laughing behind another's back'. The circumstance 'behind another's back' evokes negative propriety.

4.4.4.3 The interactional metafunction

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), the angle from which an image is viewed enacts personal and social relationships (see also van Leeuwen, 2008). If a viewer is positioned as looking up to or down at an image (the vertical angle), then the relations of power are represented asymmetrically, with the participants in the image more powerful than the viewer who looks up at them, or vice versa if the viewer looks down at them. Van Leeuwen (2008) also suggests images can demand to engage with the viewer, with a direct gaze by a represented person, or they can simply be gazed at, in which case the depicted participant is offered to the viewer and objectified (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 116). In addition, an image can be rendered socially distant from the viewer or close to them, by using distal and proximal configurations. For example, an image can be a close, medium or long shot (O' Halloran, 2013).

Figure 4.11: The interaction system
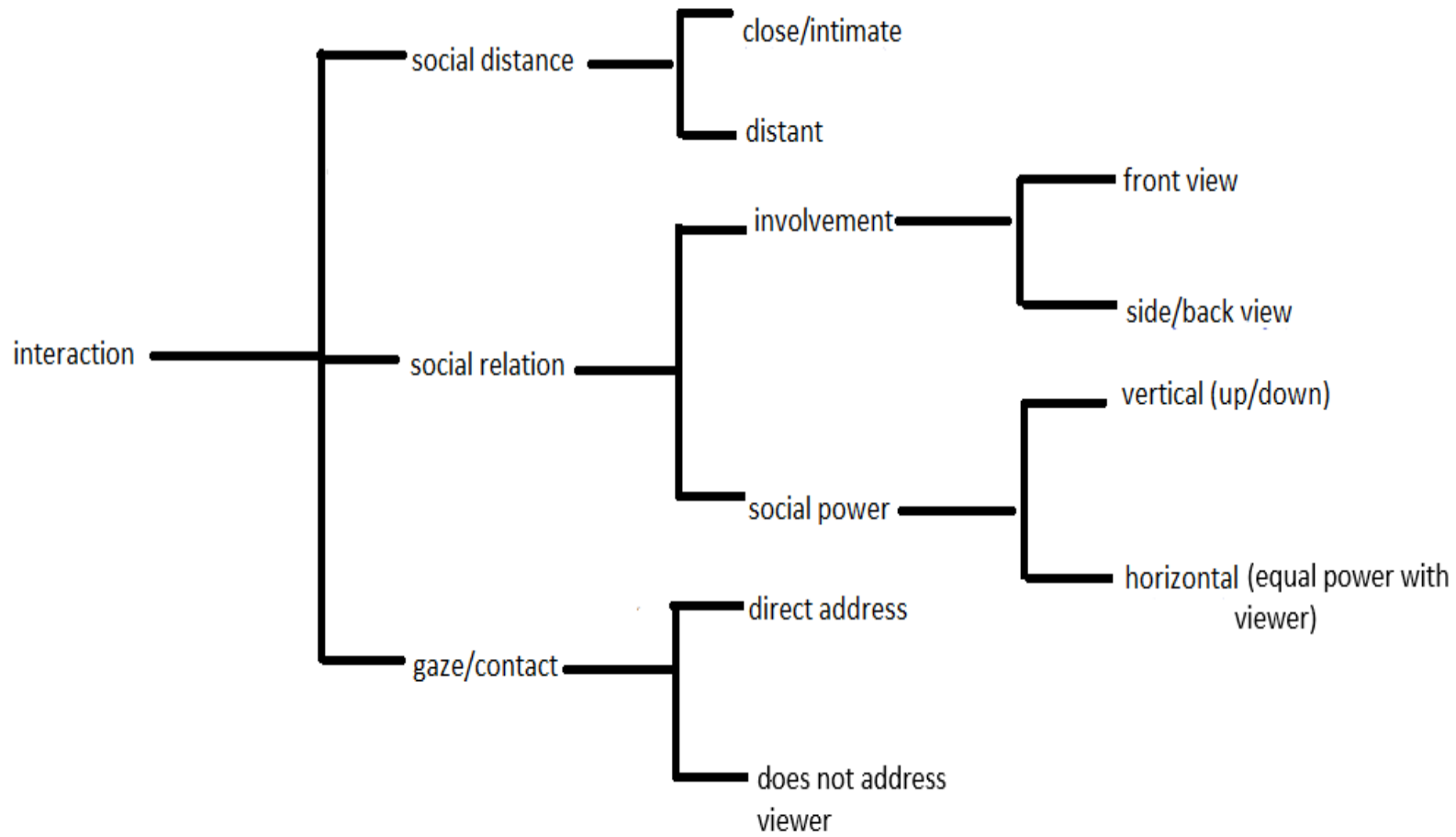
I will now show how I analysed attitude, contact, power and social distance in an image. I use the same cartoon I used to analyse visual transitivity.

Figure 4.5 reproduced

I start by analysing the power imbalance between the interactants; the male participant is so tall that his head reaches the roof of the car and his knees rise above the steering wheel. On the dashboard, there is a stack of money, which evaluates him for positive capacity, i.e. as wealthy. The female participant is represented as young and small, which conveys negative capacity. The man's power is also demonstrated by his actions, e.g. touching the girl and looking at her, with his sexual desires manifesting as a hanging tongue and heart shapes, evoking a negative propriety value judgement against the man. The victim may attract viewers' sympathy not least because of her immaturity but also by looking away from the man. Thus, the lack of reciprocal gaze may persuade the viewers to believe she does not want to be there. However, she does not address the viewer with a direct gaze, nor does he, so they both disassociate from the audience. A close-up and frontal shot of the participants implies an intimate relationship with the viewers, but only as objects. Therefore, this cartoon is presented as information for consumption rather than to invite viewers to stand up against child sexual abuse.

The next chapter presents the social actor representation and transitivity analysis of the cartoon data.

CHAPTER 5: Representations of men and women in the cartoon column: A transitivity and social actor analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the research question of how men and women are represented in the cartoon column 'Conversations from a combi' focusing on social actor representation and transitivity. I want to find out whether social actors are referred to with their names or categorised in terms of their identities or roles; or whether they are impersonalised and objectivated. Transitivity analysis will reveal the type of actions they engage in and the participant roles they typically occupy in the clause, because as van Leeuwen (2009) asserts, social actions are 'the core of a social practice' (p. 148). To investigate the power relations between social actors, I employ the concept of agency as used by Darics and Koller (2019) to demonstrate that social actors might not all have the same degree of agency. The overall aim is to find how the cartoon column uses language and images to construct ideologies around gender and sexuality. Details of how the social actor representation (SAR), systemic functional grammar (SFG) and semantic agency are applied can be found in chapter 4.

5.1.1 General overview of social actors featured in the data

Some of the social actors included in this analysis are foreign male evangelists, whose religious practices are cast into doubt. This social group, which is portrayed as outsiders or 'them', is represented through systems of categorisation, mostly through a hybrid of appraisement and functionalisation, e.g. 'fake or profiteering prophets', or national identification and functionalisation, e.g. 'A Nigerian/South African pastor'. Foreign male actors with renown, such as Bushiri and T.B. Joshua, are individualised 60% more than they are categorised. Foreign evangelists are activated in relation to women, who they allegedly pray for, profit from, and abuse sexually, but passivated in relation to the Botswana government. Occasionally, they are metonymically objectivated as a/the church, which is then activated as 'luring' or 'enticing' members with miracle money rather than preaching the scriptures. Objectivation draws attention to the religious institution as corrupt not just the individuals nominated.

Another social group worth of mention is that of underage girls who are sexually abused by men. These social actors are included via relational identification, mostly by reference to their mothers or through gender and classification, e.g. as 'underage girl' and as 'girl child'. A victim represented as a minor is also passivated and subjected and more sympathetically treated. The perpetrators, represented as older, rich men or politicians, are activated and categorised through appraisement and identification, e.g. 'the irresponsible councillor'. However, in the representation of underage girls believed to be sexual temptresses, girls are both activated and passivated, suggesting they are not treated as innocent victims, especially when the perpetrator is young and working-class.

Working-class people are typically represented as male taxi drivers, combi drivers, and conductors, but also as young and rural. The conversations take place in the Combi, and the drivers and conductors are also featured in some of these conversations. In both the verbal and visual data, this group is functionalised. In the visual data, cars marked 'taxi' are found in Figures 5.9 and 5.13. Working-class men are often portrayed as passive goals of mothers and their daughters, who frame them for rape just because they are poor, or of the police abusing their power to corruptly obtain money from them, or of materialistic younger women fleecing them of their money.

Other groups of social actors who are activated are 'Ma-14', female gender activists, and a female doctor. 'Ma-14', which encodes the gender of the referent as 'woman' as well as their age (e.g. young), is also an appraising term, suggesting the social actor is physically attractive and materialistic. They are activated in all the four process types analysed in this chapter. As actors, they 'milk men of cash', in mental processes, 'they want men to pop out cash', as sayers, they 'ask for money' and relationally, they 'are always after money'. Similarly, gender activists, who perform their femininity in contradiction to patriarchal gender ideologies are also activated, particularly concerning their speech styles, e.g. as 'blabbering and gossiping'. A female doctor is not represented in mental and relational processes but ascribed the roles of actor and sayer, yet what she does and says impacts the world negatively rather than positively.

Other marginalised social actors are 'toy boys', herd boys, and garden boys. The gendered term 'boys', semantically encodes not adult, which infantilises these men. In the case of 'toy

boy', the social actor is also appraised as just a plaything (Baker, 2008) owned by an older partner, while the categories 'herd/garden boy' identify them in relation to their jobs of gardening and herding animals. These men, who are also appraised and objectivated as 'smelly feet', are passivated in relation to middle-class women.

The SAR system is applied together with the grammar of transitivity in this chapter. In the rest of the chapter, I focus on the material, mental, relational, and verbal processes that occur frequently in the data (for more detail on SFG, see Chapter 4).

5.2 Quantitative analysis

In the quantitative analysis the focus is on gender and ethnicity because the cartoon texts make explicit reference to these social categories, e.g. 'Nigerian or South African pastor' and also names foreign prophets, which clearly identifies them as male and foreign. Women are represented as a largely homogenous group which is why they are not differentiated in the quantitative analysis. Although the categories of social class and age add a nuanced dimension to the analysis, it makes more sense to analyse them in the qualitative section where the co-text supports the inferences made. For example, the terms working-class and middle-class are not used in the texts; however, using co-text I can infer that a man identified as a 'councillor' is ascribed a middle-class status while a taxi driver is given a working-class identity. Figure 5.1 below presents the distribution of social processes by gender.

Figure 5.1: Distribution of social roles by gender
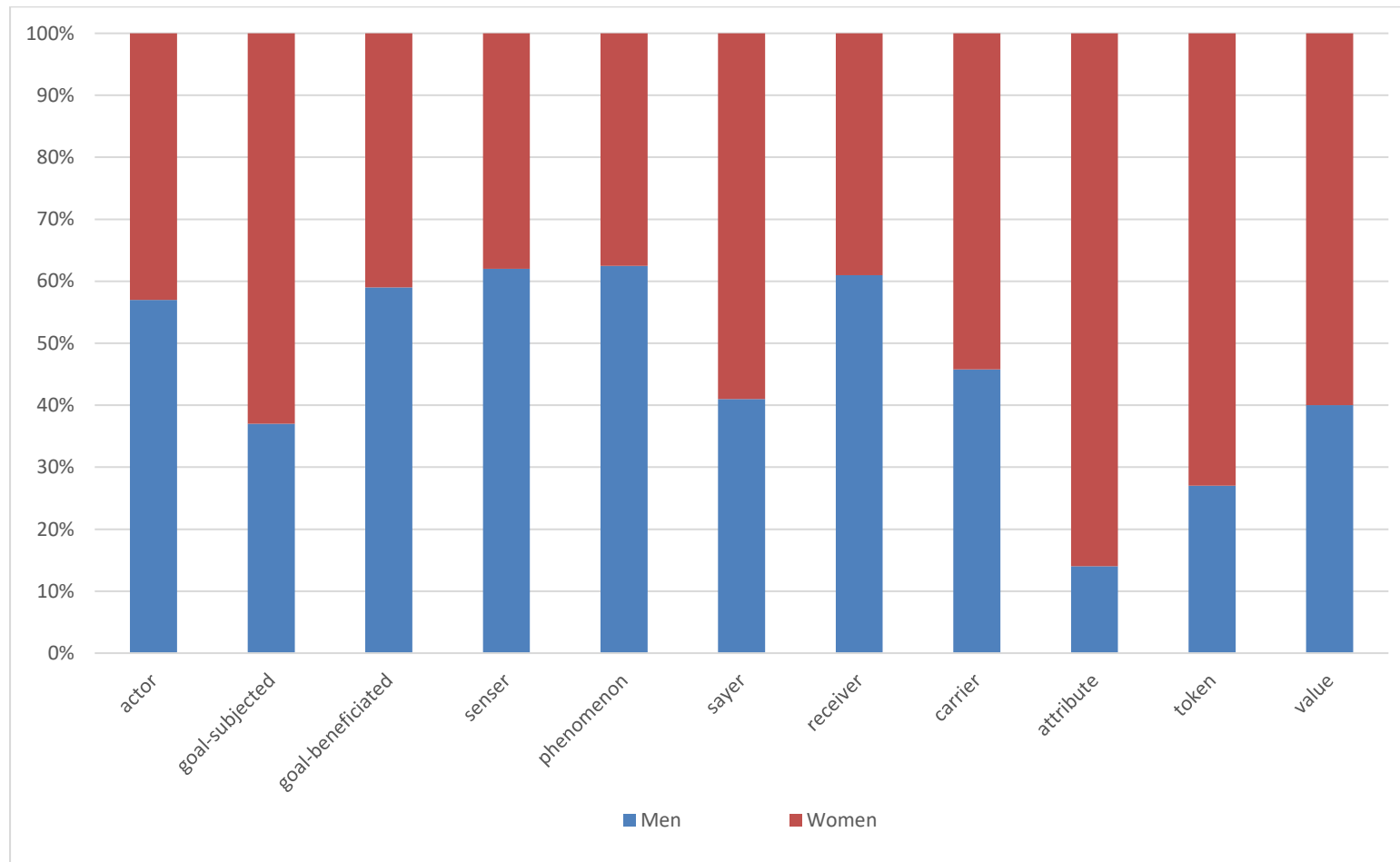
Table 5.1 participant role performed by each gender in the process types

Process types	Participant roles	Women	Men	Total
Material	Actor	86 (43%)	115 (57%)	201 (100%)
(327/566*100)	Goal subjected	61 (63%)	36 (37%)	97 (100%)
58%				
	Goal beneficiated	12 (41%)	17 (59%)	29 (100%)
Total		**159 (49%)**	**168 (51%)**	**327 (100%)**
Mental	Senser	21 (38%)	34 (62%)	55 (100%)
95/566*100)	Phenomenon	15 (37.5%)	25 (62.5%)	40 (100%)
17%				
Total		**36 (38%)**	**59 (62%)**	**95 (100%)**
Verbal	Sayer	23 (59%)	16 (41%)	39 (100%)
(57/566*100)	Receiver	7 (39%)	11 (61%)	18 (100%)
10%				
Total		**30 (53%)**	**27 (47%)**	**57 (100%)**
Relational	Carrier	32 (54%)	27 (46%)	59 (100%)
(87/566*100)	Attribute	6 (86%)	1 (14%)	7 (100%)
15%				
	Token	8 (73%)	3 (27%)	11 (100%)
	Value	6 (60%)	4 (40%)	10 (100%)
Total		**52 (60%)**	**35 (40%)**	**87 (100%)**
Grand total		**277 (49%)**	**289 (51%)**	**566 (100%)**

As Table 5.1, first column demonstrates, the material process type is most frequent, at 58% while the combined total percentage for the other three process types is 42% (see first column). Both men and women are represented more in the material process than other

types. However, a comparison by gender shows that men are represented more in material and mental processes at 51% and 62%, respectively, than are women. The breakdown of the participant roles in both Figure 5.1 and Table 5.1 demonstrate that while women are positioned as subjected goals, men occur in active roles as actors and as sensers but are also represented in passive roles as beneficiated goals and phenomenon in these processes. This suggests men are represented in roles that present them as conscious beings capable of impacting the world with their material actions. On the other hand, the statistics indicate that women are highly represented in relational and verbal processes at 60% and 53%, respectively. These findings anticipate the results of the transitivity analysis (section 5.3.3.2 and 5.3.4.2), where younger women are represented as too assertive, while professional women are derogated for their speech styles.

To test if these differences in the distribution of the process types between men and women were statistically significant, I performed a chi-squared test to see whether or not there was an association between the distribution of the process types and gender in the cartoon column. I hypothesised that;

- There is a relationship between the distribution of process types and gender in the cartoon column.
- The null hypothesis is that there is no relationship between the distribution of process types and gender in the cartoon column.

The test produced significant results against the null hypothesis that the distribution of process types and gender are independent of each other, with a p-value of 0.02. Although the effect size (phi)[18] was just 0.12, it confirms that to a lesser extent, a relationship of influence exists between the process types and gender in the cartoon column. I also calculated the residuals to see where the main deviations from the hypothesis of independence lie. The results showed residuals lower than 2, which though considered statistically unimportant, reinforce the findings in Table 5.1 that men are associated with material and mental processes more than women, while women are largely represented in relational and verbal processes in the cartoon column (see the R-log, appendix 2).

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[18] The phi value/co-efficient value measures the degree of association between two variables.

Figure 5.2 below shows how the process types are distributed by gender and nationality.
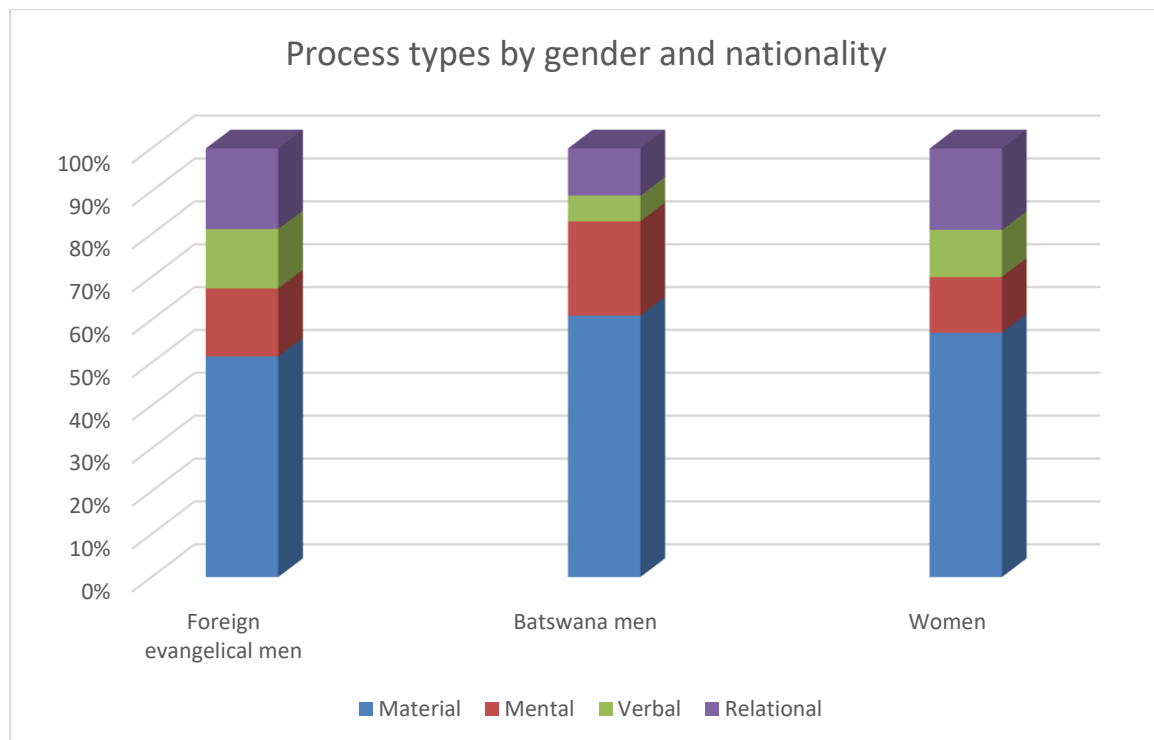
As can be seen in Figure 5.2 above, all three social groups are represented more in material process types than other process types, with Batswana men having the highest frequency of the three (61%). We also note that more than foreign evangelical men and women, Batswana men have a high frequency in mental process types. For example, they are represented through the cognitive mental process 'thinking' and affective process 'scorns' in the following sentences,

- I wonder what the kid's father <u>is thinking</u>. I wonder what kind of a man <u>scorns</u> a woman and then lives with her in the same yard?

The second highest frequencies for both foreign evangelical men and women are the relational process types. For example, foreign evangelical men are carriers of attributes such as 'fraud, fake, sick, etc' and a few positive attributes such as 'good, popular, holy', which are questioned, as in the following example:

- If people (e.g. prophets) considered to be <u>holy</u> continue to commit such horrendous crimes like rape and murder, where does that leave ordinary people like us who need deliverance then?

Women are represented in relation to family members and carry attributes such as 'bewitched, mad, heartless and evil', for example:

- She's the poor boy's stepmother. She led the cops to where she had buried him. She must be either bewitched or mad.

The rest of the chapter presents the results of the qualitative SAR and transitivity analyses.

5.3 Qualitative analysis: Social actor representation and process types

5.3.1. Representation of foreign evangelical pastors

5.3.1.1 Social Actor Representation (social actor representation tables given as appendix 1)

Exclusion

In both the language and visual data, pastoral and prophetic roles are performed by men only while women are included as churchgoers and as victims of pastors' sexual violence. The language analysis shows that these men are identified as foreigners. Since the early 2000s, Botswana has been experiencing exponential growth of evangelical churches formed by both foreigners and citizens. Although these churches are mostly led by male prophets, a few also have female leaders in their leadership hierarchy. Thus, a representation of evangelical pastors as male foreigners excludes local male pastors and women. I surmise this serves to delineate borders between foreigners and citizens in the hope that a shared nationality could unite the producer and reader against foreign evangelical men, who are neither suppressed nor backgrounded in the texts.

Inclusion

The analysis reveals that some prominent evangelical pastors are personalised and determined via formalised nomination. One such evangelist is Malawian-born Shepherd Bushiri, the founder and leader of Enlightened Christian Gathering church (ECG), which has headquarters in South Africa and several branches in Botswana. However, according to

Lipenga (2021), the government of Botswana has shut down ECG branches in the country. Let us consider the following example, in which the title 'prophet' also functionalises Bushiri.

35. He had gone to <u>Prophet Bushiri</u> to ask for prayers.

Another famous prophet who is nominated and semi-formalised is the late Nigerian televangelist T.B. Joshua. In this next example, however, he is compared to Bushiri, who is appraised as more popular at the moment.

36. <u>T.B. Joshua</u> used to be popular but now they've **abandoned** him for <u>the new flavour of the season,</u> Bushiri**.**

As can be seen in (36), Bushiri is metaphorised as the 'new flavour of the season' — an evaluative representation that not only measures his success as short-lived but also commodifies him as a trendy product that people will soon lose interest in. In connection with the perspective that represents evangelicals as foreigners, I now present examples that represent pastors via their nationality.

37. Recently, I watched <u>a Nigerian pastor</u> on television in South Africa who claimed to pray for younger women to get married.
38. How is that <u>Nigerian pastor</u> able to find husbands for desperate wives through prayer only?

Reference is specifically made to a 'Nigerian pastor' whose ability to pray for women to find men to marry is doubted. When read together with examples 35 and 36, which nominate and individualise two foreign men, such ethnic representation suggests that evangelical pastors are positioned as outsiders. As already argued earlier, these kinds of representation not only serve to make social actors stand out as suspicious but seek to categorise them as the 'other'. Indeed, 60% of readers take up these views and respond using offensive and derogatory terms

such as *'makwerekwere'*,[19] and openly create a binary between 'us', also referred to as 'our nation', and 'those foreigners' (see section 7.1).

Evangelists are categorised by appraisement as well as relational identification realised by the prepositional 'of', as in 'so-called men of God'. This suggests that these men are not believed to be of God, contrary to what they claim (39). Other forms of appraisement include explicit disparagement and dehumanisation, such as the use of animal metaphor 'pastors <u>on the prowl</u>', which represents them as sexual predators preying on women in the church. Other ways of appraisement suggest they profit illegally from unsuspecting congregants such as in the phrase '<u>profiteering</u> prophets'. Moreover, the forms of appraisement deployed in (39) and (40) below both express reservations about the pastor's authenticity.

39. She said the seduction started when the <u>so-called man of God</u> asked her to massage his feet and then asked her to join him in bed**.**
40. Many people are lazy to work, but we expect <u>fake prophets</u> to give us miracle money.

Consistent with the portrayal of pastors as 'predators', the church as a metonymy for its leaders is represented in the same way in (42), with a woman '**falling prey'** to one of the churches. In (41) and (43), the verbs 'lure' and 'entice' are suggestive of deception by the church.

41. Beware of <u>a church</u> [**activated**] that lures <u>members</u> [**passivated**] with the promise of quick miracles.
42. <u>My neighbour</u> [**activated**] fell prey to <u>one of these churches</u> [**circumstantialisation**]
43. <u>The church</u> **[activated]** enticed <u>her</u> [**passivated**] with a marriage promise.

It is interesting to compare these findings with the comments analysed in Chapter 7, in which the church as a metonymy for the pastors is also employed by some readers resisting the

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[19]*Makwerekwere* is a slur that refers to African immigrants as speaking unintelligible languages (Steenkamp 2009). The *'kwerekwere'* phrase is supposedly onomatopoeic of their speech sounds.

column's representations of evangelists. Through impersonalisation, commenters refer to the church and not the pastors/prophets in their comments (e.g. 'so the church of God is this corrupt' or 'the church is not a problem'), thus hiding the agency of individual church leaders for the alleged sexual abuses of women (see section 7.1.2). Also notable is that in the comments such objectivation occurs in relational attributive clauses, which according to the cline of semantic agency suggests the church has limited agency, at level 2. However, in the examples above, the church is given very high agency (at level 6), positioning it as having unlimited powers over the churchgoers.

5.3.1.2 Transitivity analysis

(a) Placing Bushiri and T.B. Joshua in disempowering roles

The SAR findings show that prophets such as Bushiri and T.B. Joshua are nominated and individualised. Since such social actors tend to have significant influence in the world, their actions can affect others positively or negatively. In the next segment, I present evidence to show whether these specified social actors have any power over others by examining their position in material and mental clauses. Surprisingly, T.B. Joshua is not represented in any material clause, while Bushiri is involved in material processes that have no goals. Both T.B. Joshua and Bushiri are, however, affected by other people's processes, suggesting they are powerless in the hands of their followers who can choose to either abandon or run after them, as examples (44) and (45) demonstrate. As Dube (2020) aptly puts it, religious adherents should not be perceived as captives of prophets as ''they can move from one prophetic movement to another'' (p.4).

44. Right now [**circumstance**], they [i.e., followers -**actor**] 've abandoned [**material-L6**] him (T.B.Joshua) [**goal-subjected**] for the new flavour of the season, Bushiri [**goal-beneficiated**].

45. When [**circumstance**] another so-called prophet [**actor**] emerges, [**material-L6**] they [**actor**] 'll abandon [**material-L6**] Bushiri [**goal-subjected**] to run after [**material-L6**] him [**goal-beneficiated**]

When he is given the role of senser and represented as having some moderate degree of agency, Bushiri is represented negatively, as having caused his supporters mental distress, such as in example 46.

46. That guy and his ilk [**senser**] have <u>confused</u> [**mental-L3**] people [**phenomenon**] to the point of madness [**circumstance**] with anointing oil and water [**circumstance**]

Notably, he is frequently cast in passive roles as a phenomenon and subjected goal.

47. All along [**circumstance**]**,** the government [**senser**] didn't want [**mental-L3**] Bushiri [**phenomenon**] in the country **[circumstance]** so they [**actor**] decided [**mental-L6**] <u>to come up</u> [**material-L6**] with the visa application story [**scope**] <u>to keep</u> [**material-L6**] him [**goal-subjected**] out [**circumstance**]

48. If [**circumstance**] the Bushirians [**senser**] want [**mental-L3**] him [**phenomenon**], they [**actor**] <u>should follow</u> [**material-L6**] him [**goal-beneficiated**] to Pretoria [**circumstance**]

In (47) the government of Botswana, a more powerful social actor, subjects Bushiri to visa applications, not normally required of citizens of Southern African countries (Lipenga, 2021) and denies him entry into the country. Even his followers, who are sarcastically referenced by a coined homogenous identity, the 'Bushirians', are activated and agentive in opposition to him (48).

(b) <u>Casting aspersions on prophets' healing powers and identity</u>

When Bushiri and other prophets are activated and given some agency, the conditional 'if' and circumstance of reason 'why' are used to call into question the healing powers of the anointing oil, the authenticity of the prayers they hold, and their identities as men of God.

49. If [**circumstance**] it (anointing oil) <u>works</u> [**material-L6**], why [**circumstance**] does the guy [**senser**] <u>need</u> [**mental-L3**] escort and bodyguards? [**phenomenon**]

50. If [**circumstance**] he [**token**] is [**relational-L2**] a true man of God [**value**]

51. why [**circumstance**] can't he [**sayer**] just <u>pray</u> [**verbal-L5**] to God [**recipient**]

and <u>trust</u> [**mental**] Him [**phenomenon**] for miracle protection? [**circumstance**]

As can be seen above, prophets are represented as having bodyguards for protection despite having anointing oil, suggesting that they neither trust nor practice the things they preach. Thus, they might not be genuine pastors as per the conditional clause 'if' in (50). The three examples above demonstrate that when pastors are cast in grammatically active roles, their agency is still semantically downplayed or minimised.

(c) <u>Male prophets' sexual abuse of women</u>

There is a strong association between women, evangelical churches, and their male leaders in material and verbal processes (also see the section on visual representation, Figures 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5). Chapter 7 on comments also found a link between male prophets and women, who are represented as goals of pastors' actions (see section 7.1.1). The connection between women as followers and male church leaders is attested to by Agazue (2016), who investigates the sexual abuse vulnerable women and girls endure in evangelical churches (also see Dube, 2020). This relationship of sexual exploitation is seen in examples (52), and (54) below. The motivation of the producer to align the readers with this perspective can be seen in the way circumstantialisation is deployed to upscale the misconduct of the pastor while aggregation positions the women as believable in (53), i.e. there is no reason 30 women would lie.

52. …a South African pastor [**actor**] that <u>seduced</u> [**material-L6**] and <u>raped</u> [**material-L6**] female members [**goal**]
53. Why [**circumstance**] would 30 women [**sayer**] <u>lie</u> [**verbal-L5**]
54. that this particular pastor [**actor**] <u>raped</u> [**material-L6**] them [**goal-subjected**]?

In other verbal processes, the prophets are given the role of sayer, while women are recipients, as in the following examples.

55. The so-called man of God [**sayer**] <u>asked</u> [**verbal-L6**] her [**receiver**] to massage [**material-L6**] his feet [**goal**]
56. and then <u>asked</u> [**verbal-L5**] her [**receiver**] to join him in bed [**verbiage**]

57. to join [**material-L6**] him [**goal**] in bed [**circumstance**]

It is notable that in 55 and 56, the pastor has power over the woman as he not only instructs her to do things but is the beneficiary of those services (55 and 57). When the woman is represented as agentive, her speech act is ineffective as her request for use of protection (58) is declined by the pastor (59), showing his speech roles carry more authority even though both are represented as just making requests, e.g. as 'asking' rather than demands or orders. Thus, the pastor is not represented as acting aggressively but as negotiating with the woman, which represents the sexual act as consensual, e.g. they had sex (60). This points to the producer's desire to demonise foreign pastors by giving them negative agency (52, 54), yet also wanting to play down the rape – which perhaps is indicative of clashes between xenophobic and patriarchal ideologies.

58. She [**sayer**] <u>asked</u> [**verbal-L5**] him [**receiver**] [<u>to use</u> [**material-L6**] a condom [**goal**]] [**verbiage**]
59. and apparently [**circumstance**] his reply [**token**] <u>was</u> [**relational-L2**], "God would not allow her to get pregnant even when they had sex without a condom'' [**value**]
60. ''God [**actor**] would not <u>allow</u> [**material-L6**] her [**goal/carrier**] <u>to get</u> [**relational-L2**] pregnant [**attribute**] even when [**circumstance**] they [**actor**] <u>had</u> [**material-L6**] sex [**scope**] without a condom [**circumstance**]".

As can be seen in (60), the woman is positioned by the pastor as a goal, who is in no position to make decisions about her sexuality, which undermines her maturity. This also suggests women are child-like and easily manipulated. But as Agazue (2015; 2016) observes in her research of Pentecostal churches in Nigeria, the social pressures that women face, such as expectations to marry and reproduce, often push them into these churches because marriage and motherhood are valued rites of passage in Africa. Unlike men, women who out of choice or other reasons remain single and childless face discrimination in traditional societies. For women experiencing economic hardships, marriage lifts that burden from them as the provider role is traditionally believed to be a male role in marriage. This may explain women's attraction to Pentecostal prophetic missions. As the evaluative terms in (61) show, women

are portrayed as 'desperate' for marriage and also occupy the role of beneficiated goals in this clause.

61. How [**circumstance**] <u>is</u> [**relational-L2**] that Nigerian pastor [**carrier**] able [**attribute**] <u>to find</u> [**material-L6**] husbands [**goal**] for desperate wives[20] [**goal-beneficiary**]

Reinforcement of this belief is found in the visual transitivity analysis where a young woman, who is being prayed for by a man, is represented imagining her wedding via a thought bubble projection (section 5.3.1.3, Figure. 5.5). These results echo Baker's (2008) study in which he found that unmarried men and women are held to different standards: whereas unmarried women are represented disparagingly as 'frustrated spinsters', unmarried men are positively evaluated as 'eligible bachelors'. In example (63), unmarried men are appraised as a 'Mr Right' who appears in a woman's life after she has used anointing oil, which is satirised for its 'magical powers' and as overpriced. This sarcasm denies the pastor's positive qualities mentioned in (62).

62. He (Nigerian pastor) [**carrier**] is [**relational-L2**] so good [**attribute**]
63. that you [**actor**] pay [**material-L6**] at least $5000 [**goal**] for anointing oil [**circumstance as goal**] to rub [**material-L6**] on your body [**circumstance**] for Mr Right [**actor**] to show up [**material**] within 14 days [**circumstance**]

For a comprehensive analysis of the cartoons and the benefit of the reader, the verbal analyses are followed by visual analyses since the data gathered for this project are multi-modal. Therefore, in the next section, I analyse the caricatures about evangelical pastors. I apply van Leeuwen's visual social actor network (2008) and Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) theory of visual grammar, particularly the representational metafunction, to examine transitivity in the caricatures.

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[20] This example is reproduced as is in the data, although it would make sense to say 'desperate women'.

5.3.1.3 Social actor representation and transitivity in images

The linguistic analysis of how evangelists are represented in the cartoon column revealed xenophobic ideologies being mediated by gender and sexuality. What I find conspicuous about the cartoons is that the young female congregants are relatively less sexualised than other represented female participants, who are highly sexualised through their dress styles. Young Christian women are represented as dressed smartly and conservatively in dresses rather than in what conservative Tswana ideologies perceive as provocative dress, e.g. trousers and mini-skirts (Disele et al., 2011). But they are also portrayed as more passive than other groups of women as shown by the submissive postures they adopt in relation to the pastors in the following cartoons.

Figure 5.3: The 'Touch the screen and shout "I receive!" cartoon

Like in the verbal social actor analysis, Prophet Bushiri is included, specified, and individualised through a caricature with an iconic resemblance of him. He, unlike all other caricatures in this chapter, appears alone and framed by the television set, suggesting he is represented as socially significant. Kgatle (2019: 1) confirms Bushiri's popularity and power, proclaiming he is the ''master of practices of Pentecostal prophecy''. However, Bushiri is depicted as a relatively less agentive social actor, e.g. while the female participant is represented as an actor performing a narrative transactional process, which places her at level 6 in the cline of semantic agency (Figure. 4.1), Bushiri is a reactor, with a semantic agency at level 3. The similarities in the way Bushiri is represented in both the verbal and visual data

suggest that he is being symbolically disempowered. In other words, despite being perceived as powerful in religious circles, such power is not replicated in discourse about him. The minimisation of his social agency is perhaps meant to change attitudes among his followers and the general public about his prophetic powers, especially by projecting negative views about him. For example, in the verbal analysis, he is represented as having confused people to the point of madness, while in the image he performs a transactional reactional process in relation to the woman by directing his gaze at her crotch. These are both negative representations that portray him as uncaring and lustful. Therefore, I argue based on both the verbal and visual data sets that being represented as an individual person is a finger-pointing strategy that names and shames prominent social actors in this column (at least for the data analysed).

The next set of cartoons depicting pastors show that they are classified, rather than treated as individuals. Let us consider the cartoons in Figures 5.4 and 5.5 below.

Figure 5.4: The 'Pastors on the prowl' cartoon

Van Leeuwen (2008) points out that some depictions concentrate on making a social actor a class type rather than an individual. In Figure 5.4, the male caricature is identified as a pastor through conceptual attributive symbols (the cross he wears on his neck, the collared purple shirt and the bible), which functionalises him as well. The pulpit (Figure 5.5) as circumstance of accompaniment reinforces these men's identities as pastors/religious leaders. By contrast, none of the women in the images are specified or individualised, rather, they are genericised

via their dress and hairdo and categorised physically as having protruding backsides that are disproportionate to the rest of the body.

Figure 5.5: The 'Profiteering Pastors' cartoon
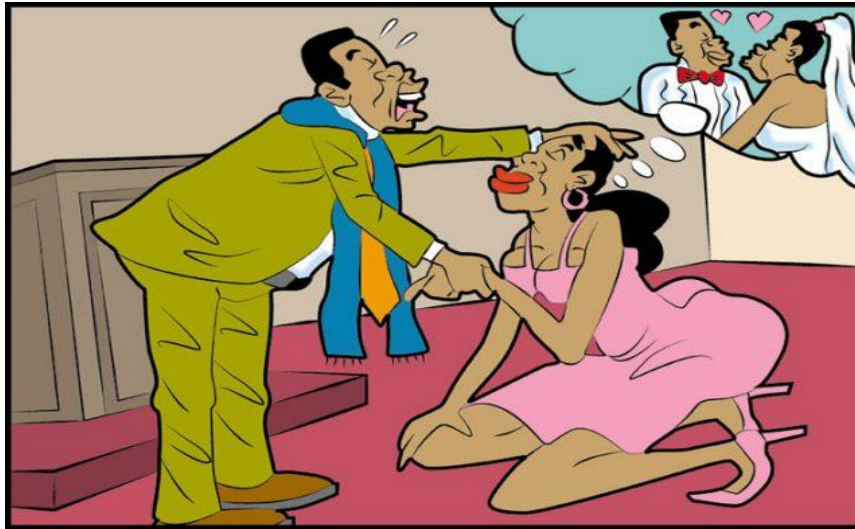
In both Figures 5.4 and 5.5, the pastors perform narrative transactional processes; touching the young women on their heads, holding their hands, and in the case of Figure 5.4, fondling a woman's breast, all of which gives them very high agency. The latter is similar to the verbal transitivity analysis in example (52), where a pastor is represented as sexually attacking women at his home. The men adopt postures that signal authority, whereas the young women are submissive behavers: kneeling and waiting for the pastors to perform activities on them. However, the woman in Figure 5.5 is represented as imagining her wedding (echoing the verbal analysis in example (61)), which makes her a senser in relation to her own thoughts with a moderately low semantic agency. The pastor in Figure 5.4 is also represented as performing a transactional reactional process, with his erect penis forming an oblique line in the direction of the woman and his tongue hanging in desire. The combination of narrative transactional (fondling a woman's breast) and reactional (sexual arousal) processes foreground pastors as sexual predators, preying on young women. The images show the women are represented as compliant as none is shown to be making any resistance, attesting to an assessment Agazue (2016: 4) makes of the young female followers that ''the[y] deliver their bodies to their prophets to handle as they wish'' in miracle performances.

The last caricature in this category shows that one social actor is depicted as representing 'foreign pastors' and another as 'church members'.

Figure 5.6: **The 'Miracle money on the loose' cartoon**
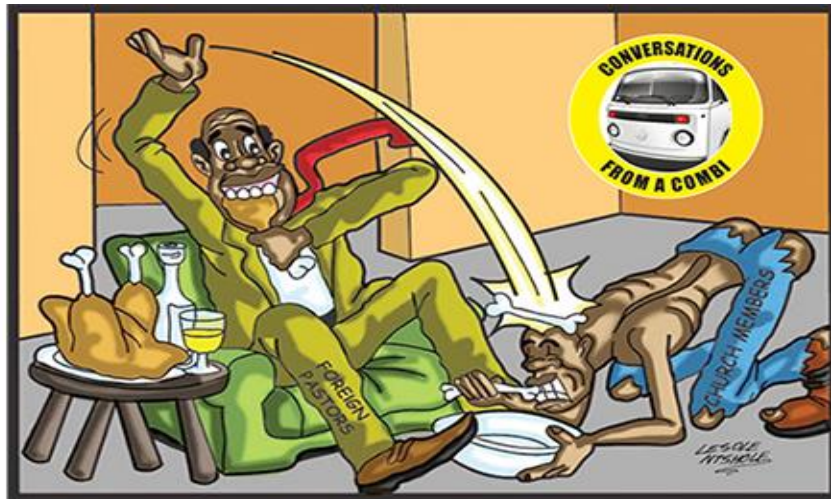
The represented participants are not only identified via labelling but also differentiated by analytical processes such as their outfits; a well-dressed foreign pastor is contrasted with an emaciated church member dressed as a peasant in torn trousers and worn-out boots. The accompanying circumstances (the round table, a plate with a whole chicken, and a half-filled wine glass) represent the pastor as having a good life. Meanwhile, the church member bends over an empty bowl at the feet of the pastor feeding on the leftovers, invoking a master-servant relationship. The inequality between the participants is also reflected in their roles. The pastor throws chicken bones at/onto the church member's head, representing him as engaged in a transactional process in which the church member is the victim of abuse. The message of the caricature unequivocally projects foreign pastors as too comfortable and as greedy abusers, who ill-treat members of their churches rather than serving them. The depiction of the church member's exposed buttocks perpetuates the idea of citizens who have been reduced to paupers by profiteering foreign pastors.

In summary, these findings demonstrate that the text producers draw a binary between 'us' (Batswana) and 'them' (foreign pastors). The differences between the groups are magnified by emphasising the bad qualities of the foreigners and minimising their good qualities, while in-group members have their good qualities emphasised and their bad qualities downplayed. Both the SAR and transitivity analyses reveal that pastors are identified as foreigners as well

as negatively appraised as profiteers and as sexual predators. Their good qualities are traduced when they are cast as suspect via circumstantialisation and satirised — something we do not see in the representation of their bad qualities — as represented in unmitigated language. On the other hand, in-group members (being local church goers/women) are positioned as passive and as having less agentive social actors in the hands of sexually and physically abusive foreigners. The victims are represented as naïve, too trusting,[21] obedient and vulnerable. By representing the in-group as oppressed by outsiders, the producers appeal to the readers' emotions such as pity. Koller (2022; 2014) asserts that ideologies have affective components and motivate behaviours. Like social categories, ideologies give meaning to our encounters and experiences. Therefore, to categorise a person as a foreigner is to cast them as an outsider and therefore different. Encounters with them (personally or in text) are compared to the 'norm', which are one's own values, norms, and beliefs. This causes stereotyping, which can lead to more or less positive or negative emotions and behaviours towards the social actor or their social group (Cuddy et al., 2008). These findings show that while local church members are seen as warm but incompetent, foreign evangelical pastors are represented as neither warm nor competent (Cuddy et al., 2008), which can evoke anger, resentment, and disdain at them. Such denigration of foreign evangelists may not just result in hateful speech in the comments (see section 7.1.1) but could cause real physical harm to others such as the attacks on African immigrants in South Africa in 2019 and other years. Scholars have characterised these attacks as Afrophobic[22] (not xenophobic), i.e. attacks fuelled by some South Africans' hatred for immigrants from other African countries (Dlamini et al., 2020; Mangeya, 2021).

The next set of cartoon texts is about the sexual abuse of underage girls.

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[21] Such representation of Batswana is consistent with beliefs of the country and its people as peaceful, stable, friendly, welcoming, and trusting. These are attributed to having not experienced any conflicts, be it wars leading to independence, regional wars, or inter-ethnic wars. As a result, other African nationalities are viewed as having mastered ways of survival during periods of war and conflicts in their countries, which they now use to manipulate docile people. Often, the government is blamed for not protecting its citizens. Hence, the government's hostile actions against Bushiri as noted in section 5.3.1.1.

[22] Afrophobia is a term used by the South African media and academics to refer to violent attacks that were unleashed by some black South Africans on other black Africans in South Africa in the past years. This term conceptualises these attacks as hatred for other Black nationals specifically and not other races.

5.3.2 Sexual violence against underage girls: gender, sexuality and social class

McConnell-Ginet (2011) posits that hegemonic masculinity is constituted by, among other things, physical strength, the ability to physically harm others, withstand attacks on the body, and defend others against such. Connell (1995) refers to this kind of masculinity as protest masculinity, which is usually performed by working-class men. Those of higher socioeconomic status may perform their masculinity by displaying the material wealth and the symbolic power that comes with political or academic achievements and high-paying jobs. This kind of hegemonic masculinity enables men to use their economic power to access girls' and women's bodies. Below, I show how men with money and political influence are criticised for sexual abuses of girls while younger working-class men are not.

5.3.2.1 Social actor representation

Exclusion

In the two texts I analyse, fathers are excluded by suppression, while mothers are involved in reporting the cases to the police, supporting the children, and giving media briefings. The absence of fathers in children's lives has been documented by among others Mookodi (1999; 2004) and Molokomme (1991). These studies have shown that most families in Botswana consist of mother and child/ren, which leaves childcare roles, financial support, and security to mothers (see section 7.2, where commenters also exclude fathers, but constantly refer to mothers).

Inclusion

In this section, I show how social actors are represented in the ''Bringing sexy back'' and ''Talk of the town'' texts. In both texts, the main social actors are the male perpetrators, the female victims, their mothers, and the police. In the ''Bringing sexy back' (Text A henceforth), the perpetrator, who is a young working-class man, is represented in relational terms, e.g. 'my brother' or 'my/your younger brother', which positions him as belonging to a family. I posit

that relational identification brings him closer to the producers and the readers, thus, he is not seen as an outsider. For example,

64. <u>My younger brother</u> bedded her.

On the other hand, in the ''Talk of the town'' text (henceforth Text B), where the perpetrator is older, middle-class, and an elected public servant, the most frequent way of representation is identification by classification, e.g. councillor. It is his membership in an esteemed body that is foregrounded, not his relations. In my view, this representation allows both the producers and readers to distance themselves from him, evaluate him negatively and raise questions about his membership in the council.

65. How can <u>a prominent figure</u> defile and impregnate a minor and no action is taken?
66. Maybe <u>the irresponsible Councillor</u> has even infected her with HIV**.**

We also see that the councillor is represented via appraisement as a prominent figure (65) and an irresponsible councillor (66) and activated as well. Noticeably, HIV/Aids, which is an epidemic of concern in the country,[23] is excluded in Text A, which could mean that it is viewed as a topical issue only in connection with a powerful politician in order to discredit him.

When it comes to the representations of the victims, we see a pattern that differentiates a girl defiled by a working-class man (Text A) from the one defiled by a councillor (Text B). For example, in the former case, both relational identification and classification by gender are used to categorise the victim (67, 68). The girl is activated whereas the perpetrator is passivated (68).

67. <u>My neighbour's daughter</u> is fond of wearing miniskirts and crop tops.
68. <u>The girl</u> enticed him into sex**.**

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[23] Botswana is one of the countries gravely affected by the HIV/AIDS scourge and is ranked the third highest in the world for infections (Botswana Demographics Profile, 2018).
https://www.populationpyramid.net/botswana/2018/

When the working-class man is activated, euphemistic language such as 'bedded' (64) is used rather than 'defiled' (65). In the Setswana language, sexual intercourse is referred to metonymically as *'dikobo'*, which literally means blankets/bedding (Batibo and Kopi, 2008). So to 'bed' someone is to have sex with them. This euphemistic expression gives the impression that in Text A sex is consensual, and thus hides the fact that it is rape,[24] a social issue that the United Nations Fund Population Agency identifies as needing to be addressed to achieve gender equality in the country.

In Text B, the victim is represented through a combination of appraisement and gender identification, as well as by relational identification. Also noticeable in the following examples is the emphasis drawn to the status of the victim as a minor.

69. He (cartoonist) overheard a conversation amongst passengers on the recent saga in which a councillor in Sebina defiled <u>an under-age girl</u>.
70. I feel pity for <u>the girl child</u>.

For example in (69), the victim is appraised as 'under-age' and, in (66), classified by gender and age as in 'girl child', both of which carry the meaning 'not adult'. Reference can also be made to example (65), where she is referred to as 'a minor', suggesting it is the victim's immaturity and vulnerability that are foregrounded. Furthermore, she is passivated in all these clauses (65, 66, 69, and 70).

In the next section, I look at how these social actors are represented in process types.

5.3.2.2 Transitivity analysis

The foregoing analysis demonstrated that male perpetrators and their victims are represented differently in the cartoon column. We have seen that an elected public figure is held to a higher moral standard than a younger man from a poor background. The elected member of the council is very agentive, performing only material processes while the

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[24]The world population review placed Botswana second, after South Africa, in terms of rape cases: at 92.9 per 100, 000 citizens (https://botswana.unfpa.org/en/news/much-more-needs-be-done-ending-gender-based-violence-botswana).

working-class man is positioned from having limited agency to having very high agency in the same moment (71), but also represented as a passive goal of other people's processes (72).

71. Your younger brother [**carrier**] wasn't [**relational-L2**] wrong [**attribute**] to make [**material-L6**] sexual advances [**scope**].

72. She [the girl's mother-**actor**] reported [**material-L6**] my brother [**goal**] to the police for alleged defilement [**circumstances**].

Similarly, the girl in Text A, who is sexually violated by a working-class man, is represented as highly agentive through verbal processes (73, 74) but men have moderate agency compared to her in (75). These representations, which portray both the perpetrator and victim as relatively powerful and powerless at the same time, can persuade readers to think neither is to blame for the rape. The following examples show that the victim's actions are also represented via hypothetical direct speech, which makes her actions explicit.

73. That (i.e. dress style) [**identified/token**] 'll be [**relational-L2**] a sign [**identity/value**] to say [**verbal-L5**], "…I'm inviting all men to notice that I' m now ripe." [**verbiage**].

74. ''I [**sayer**] 'm inviting [**verbal-L5**] all men [**receiver**]

75. to notice [**mental-L3**] I [**carrier**] 'm [**relational-L2**] ripe [**attribute**] (the relational clause is also a phenomenon)

Despite being portrayed as actively seeking attention, the victim is also impersonalised and objectified through the term 'ripe' (75), which metaphorises her as food. Representations of girls as unripe fruits or food (Hiraga, 1991; Hines, 1994) are prominent in readers' comments (see section 7.2.2c), who argue that underage girls are unripe for sexual activities. This implies that once they come of age they will be sexually available. Conceptualisations of female sexuality in terms of food development and consumption are entrenched in Setswana heterosexual ideologies as evidenced by the readers' comments in section 7.1.2(b), where terms such as *'ja'* (eat/have sex), *kuku* (cake/vagina) and '*lekgela*' (unripe fruit/minor) are used to refer to sexual practices, female sexual organs and girls, respectively. Thus, despite

being represented as actively participating in her rape, objectification suggests she is dehumanised while the assailant is not, a sign of asymmetrical power relations.

Another finding in this research is the link between rape and mini-skirts (73), which has been reported by scholars all over the world, e.g. Diabah (2013) provides evidence of a young, Ghanaian female artist's dress style being blamed for her rape, while Thetela (2002) writes about the physical assault of a mother in Lesotho by her husband for failing to stop their daughter from wearing short skirts, which he believed had enticed the rapist. Makoni's (2011) analysis of multilingual taxi inscriptions in Johannesburg shows that women in miniskirts are discursively constructed as seeking sexual attention, through writings like, ''*Gqok' isgcebhe uzongiph' ikuku*'' (Wear the miniskirt you will give me the cake/vagina) (p. 354). Krendel's (2020) study of online communication by a group of men on Reddit shows defining women by their dress is also found in western cultures, e.g. these men positively evaluate women dressed modestly as a 'decent woman' (p.620) while girls are evaluated negatively as 'dressing like sluts' and 'compelling, allowing and encouraging men to commit rape' (p.622).

My analysis shows that a mother whose daughter wears crop tops and mini-skirts (Text A), is represented differently to another mother in Text B, whose child is sexually abused by the village councillor. The mother in Text A, for example, is given negative agency and represented as complicit (76, 77), while in Text B, another mother does not act on the child but seems to be raising awareness about the defilement in the media (78).

76. She (i.e. the mother) [**actor**] traded [**material-L6**] her [**goal**] for groceries from rich older men [**circumstances**] who [**actor**] drive [**material-L6**] expensive cars [**goal**].

77. Just because [**circumstance**] my younger brother [**actor**] couldn't provide [**material-L6**] groceries [**goal**], the mother [**actor**] fabricated [**material-L6**] a defilement charge [**goal**]

78. The mother [**sayer**] confirmed [**verbal-L5**] in a local private radio station [**circumstance**] that the councillor impregnated her child **[verbiage]**

79. that the councillor [**actor**] impregnated [**material-L6**] her child [**goal**]

The contradictory framing of violence and how it should be responded to highlights the ideological position of the writer: on the one hand, he frames the rich and politically powerful as morally depraved men, who take advantage of vulnerable rural girls, and on the other hand, frames young and working-class men as victims of greedy mothers and their 'seductive' minor daughters. This suggests that young and working-class men are the groups The Voice newspaper speaks for and wishes to reach with its content. It is not surprising that in chapter 7 (section 7.2), women and girls are referenced with the vilest forms of insults such as '*mabelete*' (bitches/prostitutes) as commenters take that cue from the cartoon text.

In the next section, I analyse the visual texts to see if they corroborate the findings from the verbal analysis.

5.3.2.3 Visual transitivity

Figure 5.7: The 'Bringing sexy back' cartoon (also referred to as Text A)

Figure 5.7 (Text A) is mainly a narrative, transactional, reactional process realised by a perceptual process, namely 'looking'. The vector is formed by an eyeline in the direction of the glance by the male participant — the reactor and the phenomenon is the girl in front of him. This is similar to the verbal transitivity, where the girl is represented as a phenomenon being noticed by men (75). The man is also a reactor in relation to his emotions, realised by heart shapes, dilated pupils, open mouth, and a hanging tongue. These are behavioural

processes that can be assumed to be physiological manifestations of his lust. Meanwhile, the girl is represented conceptually, typically in terms of part-whole relations, with the exposed upper part of her bottom being the focus of the man's gaze. In addition, the focused part is proportionally larger than other parts of her body realising carrier-attribute roles and symbolic attributive processes, which sexually objectifies her. In contrast to Text B below, the events happen in daylight, suggesting two participants are openly flirting or are in a relationship.

Figure 5.8: The 'Talk of the town' cartoon (also referred to as Text B)

In Figure 5.8 (Text B), the asymmetrical power relations between the two participants are strikingly represented by contrasting their body sizes (see section 5.3.2.2 where this power difference is represented by consistently ascribing the role of actor to the councillor, while the girl is a subjected goal). The seated male participant reaches the roof of the car, his knees rise above the steering wheel and he is pot-bellied, while the girl is a diminutive figure wearing a mini-skirt and crop top which exposes the lower part of her stomach. Her hairstyle is cornrows, just like the girl in Text A, which symbolises immaturity. The power of the male participant is also portrayed via transitive processes, he touches the girl and looks down at her, while she averts her gaze. The man's lewd intentions are reflected in his wagging tongue. The depiction of a powerful older male and a vulnerable female in the dark evokes judgement of morality against the man (see section 6.3.2 on visual appraisal).

While sexual abuse of girls is represented as perpetrated by middle-class men, we also notice that lust is merged with romance in both cartoons as shown by the heart icons and the men's hanging tongues. This partly minimises and explains away sexual immorality as love and therefore, protects men as a social group. In Botswana 'sex' and 'love' are not always mutually exclusive because being romantically involved is often seen as a gateway to a sexual relationship. For example, there is no law on marital rape in the country because it is assumed consent is given at the time of marriage and likewise, dating means agreeing to sexual relations (Mojola, 2015; Wood and Jewkes, 1997). In readers' comments (section 7.2.2), lust is also conflated with love.

Although the girls in the images above symbolise immaturity with their hairstyles, the one in Text A is also positioned through her dress as sexually alluring. Moreover, she looks back at the man in the car as if to acknowledge him. The girl in Text B is not represented as such, although her sitting position could be interpreted as a deliberate sexual exposure of the self or as carelessness resulting from her immaturity, which might suggest she is represented as the archetypal victim of sexual abuse. Consequently, the girls may attract different responses from the readers, who may sympathise with the girl in Text B more than the one in Text A. However, the analysis of comments showed that 61% of readers rejected the victim-blame strategy of the cartoonist in his representation of the minor in Text A(see chapter 7).

In summary, this analysis demonstrates that linguistic and visual choices enable the producer to represent rape as a class issue rather than a pervasive social problem. In pursuing the ideologies of a stigmatised working-class man versus a seductive girl on the one hand, and the indomitable rich politician man vis-à-vis a rural, vulnerable girl on the other, the producer presents a partial and distorted social reality. For example, HIV should not be included in a text about rich politicians only as it also affects working-class men, who also risk infecting girls through exploitative sex. Thus, a representation of working-class men as unaccountable for their actions only promotes a culture of sexual violence in the face of alarming rates of HIV/Aids infections.

The next category looks at how gender and sexuality influence and shape professional identities of social actors.

5.3.3 The role of gender in the construction of professional identities

5.3.3.1 Social actor representation

<u>**Inclusion**</u>

The results for this category show that only male social actors are nominated, individualised, and titulated (the same is found in section 5.3.1.1 in relation to some male pastors). A male officer, Inspector Morris, is the only one nominated, titulated and functionalised in this section.

Policing is the most referenced professional category, with 40% of social actors being referenced through the terms 'cop(s)' or 'police officer(s)'. Male professionals are referenced through categorisation systems of appraisement and functionalisation.

80. A conductor and some passengers in a Molepolole bound bus broke into a conversation about <u>corrupt police officers</u> who will stop at nothing to line their pockets with traffic fines.

81. Some few weeks back, I saw him (Inspector Morris) charge <u>taxi drivers</u> for blowing horns at a stop by Choppies.

Contrastively, referential strategies for female social actors preface their professional identities by their gender, revealing the link between gender ideologies and categorisations. For example in (82) below, a female professional is identified by gender first before being functionalised, while in (83) another is classified by gender before referencing her membership of parliament. We did not see this in section 5.3.2.1 concerning the male councillor.

82. This <u>female doctor</u> is taking us for granted.

83. I'd vote for a man instead of <u>a woman MP</u> anytime.

It is assumed that the categories 'doctor' and 'MP' (member of parliament) are male by default, thus the need to highlight the incongruity of a woman being a doctor or MP. The

aberration of a woman practising as a doctor is also shown in depicting her as inefficient, as the transitivity analysis below demonstrates.

5.3.3.2 Transitivity analysis

The verbal analysis shows that a female doctor is represented as chattering during office time and distracting another doctor. It follows then that categorisation by gender, e.g. 'female doctor' serves to stigmatise and exclude her from the field. Let us consider the following examples in which reference to time occurs mostly as circumstance, yet as fundamental to the overall representation of this doctor.

84. She [**actor**] took [**material-L6**] a break [**goal**] at 10 o'clock [**circumstance**] and now [**circumstance**] it's [**relational-L2**] 11:30 [**value**].

85. How [**circumstance**] does someone [**actor**] drink [**material-L6**] tea [**goal**] for one hour and 30 minutes [**circumstance**]?

86. Since this morning [**circumstance**] she [**actor**] has been leaving [**material-L6**] her consultation room [**goal**] from time to time [**circumstance**] to talk [**verbal-L5**] to the other doctor [**receiver as circumstance**]

Marking women as outsiders in traditionally male-dominated professional settings seems to be characteristic of journalistic writing in Botswana newspapers. A corpus-assisted discourse analysis study of representations of women in The Sunday Standard newspaper (a broadsheet) reported the same results (Phili, 2011). Grammatically, the doctor is not positioned as a powerless social actor as the examples above show she performs mainly material actions (84, 85, 86) and a verbal process (86) but such high agency is not related to her work. This pattern is observed in the representation of female gender activists whose activities have nothing to do with their work. There is a tendency to represent professional women in verbal processes more than other process types, in line with stereotypes of women as chatterers. For example, female gender activists are denigrated as 'bickering and blabbering' (88). Such derogation of women's speech styles in the media is a finding Caldas-Coulthard (1993) also reported.

87. They (i.e. women) [**actor**] waste [**material-L6**] time [**goal**] with <u>gossip and back-</u><u>stabbing</u> [**verbal clause as circumstance**]

88. They [**sayer**] start <u>bickering</u> [**verbal-L5**] and <u>blabbering</u> [**verbal-L5**] about gender equality [**verbiage**]

89. and <u>demand</u> [**verbal-L5**] freebies [**verbiage**]

Although these women are largely represented negatively, the verbal process 'demand' (89) suggest they speak authoritatively. Hence, they pose a threat to patriarchy and especially to working-class men, who are the target readers of the column. The conversation that dismisses female gender activists is between a Combi driver and a conductor, which are stigmatised male-dominated occupational roles reserved for the uneducated in Botswana. These men perform their masculinity by subordinating gender activists through trivialisation and stereotyping, affirming Connell's (1995: 77, 79) argument that the ''most visible bearers of hegemonic masculinity'' are not always the most powerful people in society. Yet, these performances of masculinity are significant not only for the individual man but all men who benefit from the general subordination of women. Hence, it would be wrong to assume that Combi drivers and conductors or working-class men in general do not engage in political debates which subordinate women and that the columnist does not use them as his mouthpiece.

Although working-class men (e.g. Combi/taxi drivers) perform their own gender identities by being dismissive of professional women, they are represented as powerless in relation to other male actors with institutional power such as policemen. For instance,

90. Every time [**circumstance**] he (police officer) [**actor**] <u>keeps stopping</u> [**material-L6**] me (taxi-driver) [**goal**] <u>to demand</u> [**verbal-L5**] my drivers' license [**goal**].

91. The previous day [**circumstance**], he (Inspector Morris) [**actor**] <u>charged </u>[**material-L6**] taxi drivers [**goal**] for blowing horns at a stop by Choppies [**circumstances**].

92. He [**senser**] never [**circumstance**] <u>forgives</u> [**mental-L3**] drivers [**phenomenon**]

While policemen occupy the roles of actor and senser, male taxi drivers take the passive roles of subjected goals (90, 91) and phenomenon (92). Noteworthy is that the representation of

professional men in material processes is different from that of their female counterparts, who are represented as acting on 'things', e.g. time, tea, or lipstick, while professional men act on other people, albeit abusing their power. The motivated interest of this symbolic representation could be to diminish women's power in the world of work.

5.3.3.3 Visual transitivity

Exclusion

The cartoon column represents men as symbols of law and order (Figures 5.9 and 5.10), while female police officers are suppressed.

Inclusion

Social actors are included through classification and functionalisation, e.g. through their uniforms and white waist coats and stethoscopes they are identified as members of the police or as doctors. They are also functionalised via the roles they perform, e.g. attending to a patient or crime scene.

Figure 5.9: The 'Corrupt cops' cartoon
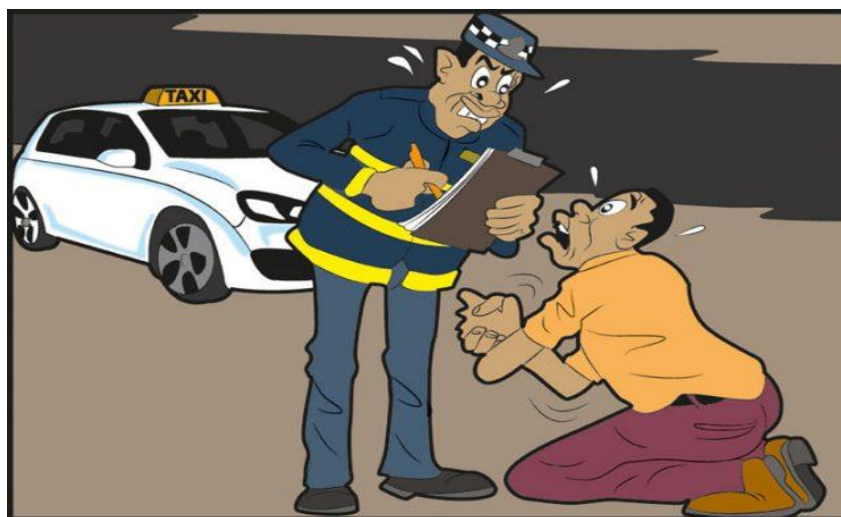
In the above image, the Botswana police uniform gives the social actor standing the identity of 'policeman'. His posture, the charge sheet he is writing, and the gaze vector to the second participant all make him the dominant figure. The other participant in civilian clothes is positioned as powerless and subordinate by his hand gestures, posture, and by the act of

looking up at the officer standing over him. But just like in the linguistic analysis, and as the title demonstrates, this particular male officer (nominated, individualised, and titulated in the dialogue as Inspector Morris) is portrayed as a token of a corrupt force that mistreats male taxi drivers.

Figure 5.10: The 'Love, life and death' cartoon

Figure 5.10 shows three policemen and a male official in the presence of a hand-cuffed female. The three policemen are identified and functionalised by their uniforms, which have Botswana flag colours on the sleeves, while a represented female participant is identified as a perpetrator through symbolic attributes, such as the handcuffs on her wrists. This image, conspicuous in its depiction of a lone female character who is accused of a crime, draws attention to a transgressive woman. For example, a dug ground, a shovel on a heap of soil, and two policemen carrying a small white body bag suggest she is a suspect in a murder case (probably of a child). The choice of this extreme but rare crime by women suggests that female violence is amplified and foregrounded in the cartoon column. Thus, it is represented as needing to be countered as shown by the arrest. However, children especially girls, suffer more abuse from their male relatives and strangers alike in Botswana (Ramabu, 2020; Seloilwe and Thupayagale-Tshweneyagae, 2009; Violence against children study, 2018). 67% of women in Botswana (more than double the global average) reported to have experienced

male abuse in their lifetime. Thus, such foregrounding distracts from the usual mundane crime by men.[25]

The next cartoon depicts a scene in a doctor's consultation room.

Figure 5.11: The 'Musings in a doctor's waiting room' cartoon

In Figure 5.11 above, a female doctor is represented as chattering (see also example 86 on verbal transitivity). Structurally, the female doctor is represented as dominant, e.g. centred and salient in her size as well as body orientation, which forms a vector in the direction of the seated doctor. She excludes the patient from the conversation with one hand drawing a symbolic line between her and the patient (implying this talk is not about the patient) while using the other to gesticulate towards another doctor. The woman is an actor engaged in narrative transactional processes as well as a reactor, looking down at the male doctor, who is the phenomenon. However, her professional identity is limited to the white coat and stethoscope around her neck. By contrast, her male counterpart's professional identity is foregrounded: he is seated behind a desk, a stethoscope around his neck, a bottle of medicine on the desk, and written documents in front of him, which all point to a consultation with a patient seated on the side of the desk. The male doctor and patient' faces are not visible, distancing them from the viewer. By this, the producer shows the intention to focus on the female doctor. The fact that she has no seat and is on the other side of the desk, as well as

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[25] https://botswana.unfpa.org/en/news/much-more-needs-be-done-ending-gender-based-violence-botswana

the door behind her, is evidence that she is a 'distractive' visitor (see example 86 in the verbal transitivity analysis). Therefore, I argue that women are either excluded from professional settings altogether or represented negatively when included. For example, the next cartoon about female gender activists is decontextualised and shows women doing no work except laughing behind another's back.

Figure 5.12: 'The women are their own enemies' cartoon (The gender activists)

In this caricature, one social actor, a woman on the left, wearing a pink dress, is represented as engaged in a narrative process, namely 'walking' as shown by the movement of her limbs. The other two women on the right side of the frame are reactors, with their gazes directed at the woman on the left. These women are also behavers: standing still and laughing at another woman. All three are also depicted as members of a certain social type via conceptual and symbolic attributive processes, e.g. protuberant bottoms, stylish long wavy or cropped hair, and bright colourful lips.

As a concluding note, the visual depictions of professional women and men are different. Professional men are represented as producing results in their work, e.g. consulting patients, charging traffic offenders, and arresting suspects for murder. Meanwhile, women are portrayed as chattering during office hours or as just walking and laughing. This corroborates

the verbal analysis (section 5.3.3.2), where women are trivialised as more invested in physical appearance than work and derogated through stereotyped speech styles.

The next section examines how men and women who date across generations and social classes are represented in the column.

5.3.4 Intergenerational and interclass relationships

5.3.4.1 Social actor representation

Inclusion

In this section, social actors are represented through relational identification 51% of the time, while 49% is accounted for by appraisement, gender identification, and association. I base my analysis on the last three categories in order to highlight generational differences in the forms of appraisement of younger men and women on the one hand, and older men and women on the other. Further, by analysing these three categories, I show that social class differences have a significant role in the appraisement of men.

The results reveal that younger women are represented as 'Ma-14', a coined category which originated in popular culture. '*Ma-*' is a class 6 noun prefix[26] which denotes plurality in non-human entities in the Setswana language, such as *'ma-gapu'* (watermelons) or *'ma-tlapa'* (rocks). The singular form is '*Le-*' as in *'le-gapu'* (watermelon) or *'le-tlapa'* (rock). When used to refer to human beings, they denote a quality associated with the person, e.g. *'le-kgarebe/ma-kgarebe'* or *'le-kolwane/ma-kolwane'* appraise young women and men as beautiful and handsome, respectively. The noun prefixes, however, cannot be used to denote

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[26]In the Setswana language, nouns fall into twelve categories. Each category or class has a prefix known as *Tlhogo ya setlhopha* (literally meaning the Head of the class). A noun prefix is a bound morpheme that combines with other morphemes to form nouns. Ordinarily, nouns are made up of a prefix and a noun stem (Guma 1987). For example, the first and second categories denote humanity and are represented by the prefixes 'Mo—' and 'Ba—' respectively which are attached to the stem '—tho' to derive 'motho' (person/human) and 'batho' (people/humans).

ethnicity, unless the ethnic groups are denigrated. Following from this, I construe 'Ma-14' as an objectifying term that also appraises younger women.

'Ma-14'[27] was a hit song by a young Motswana man in the early 2000s. The singer addresses intergenerational and transactional sex between older (usually) married men and younger women. He sings about young materialistic women who get into relationships with older men for financial gain. These younger women are also represented as daring in that they may confront the wives or partners of their 'sugar daddies', which could ruin the men's reputations or marriages. The ages of thirteen and fourteen are the onset of teenhood age, but I do not suggest this as a reason for the number '14' being chosen to represent this group of young women/girls. I assume the singer was just being creative. Such language creativity can also be found in Pattman (2002) whose study found that male students' identities at the University of Botswana centred around gender, sexuality, social class and nationality. The two *main* male student identities were 'Cats' (*Ma-khete*) and 'Ugandans' (*Ma-Uganda*). The former were middle-class expatriates and Batswana students who attended so-called 'English medium' (i.e. private) schools. They distinguished themselves from the rest of the students by speaking in English all the time, driving expensive cars to school, excelling at sports (mainly basketball) and juggling studies with running businesses. The latter were *largely* but not exclusively working-class men of rural upbringing with misogynistic beliefs, e.g. they publicly commented on female students' bodies who passed by the students' bar. They performed their masculinity by drinking excessively, disregarding institutional rules and displaying reckless sexual behaviour such as having sex without a condom with prostitutes. Pattman (2002) reports that the 'Cats' were associated with black American lifestyles and contradictorily represented as superior but also as artificial by his male interviewees. The study does not offer an explanation why 'Cats' was found to be a suitable student identity but those who self-identified as Ugandans said ''Uganda denoted Africaness and was also connected with political rebellion'' (Pattman, 2002: 35). Thus, the Ugandans identified as traditional men in

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[27] Nowadays though, the meaning of 'Ma-14' has been extended to appraise older people of any gender, who take great effort to look younger and attractive.

touch with their African roots.[28] Following this brief background, I now give examples of appraisement of younger women (the parenthesis in 93 are part of the original text).

> 93. <u>Ma-14 (young women)</u> are always after money.
>
> 94. <u>These Ma-14</u> want you to pop out money every month end.

The examples above demonstrate that young women are categorised via appraisement and especially as gold-diggers through reference to money. Similarly, younger men who fall for older women are negatively appraised as 'toy boys', or by reference to their youth, as in 'a young lover'. It seems younger people receive a more negative evaluation for being in intergenerational relations than older people. For example,

> 95. Those in the know say <u>the mum's toy-boy</u> is years younger than the sons themselves.
>
> 96. Their mother rented one of the rooms in the homestead to <u>her young lover</u>.

Baker (2008) points out that the colloquial term 'toy-boy' suggests a relationship based on fun and objectification (p.199). The construction of the younger man as a plaything diminishes his status as an equal partner in the relationship. Thus, he is also represented as owned by the older partner as in 'the mum's toy-boy', which suggests that in this type of relationship age supersedes gender in relations of power.

Below, I show how older partners in heterosexual relationships are represented. Women are appraised as mature, older, or as experienced, all of which are imbued with positive judgement. They are viewed as sensible for playing the traditionally supportive and subordinate roles in relationships.

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[28] Given the behaviour of the students identifying as Ugandans (Ma-Uganda), there is no doubt it could be a misrepresentation of Ugandan men. Yet again, it shows how a performance of an 'African' traditional masculinity is intertwined with misogyny. Pattman (2002) reports that his male interviewees expressed good-natured humour towards 'Ugandans', represented them as 'studs' and interpreted their misogyny as naughtiness and irresponsibility.

97. If you tell them (i.e. Ma-14) you want to buy building materials, they'd accuse you of being stingy. At least <u>an older woman</u> would understand that you want to spend money on something valuable.

98. If you (i.e. younger women) do these things (such as providing great sex, cooking, and doing laundry) right, a man will never leave. If you fail, some <u>elderly[29] and experienced women</u> would do them for him.

The next pair of examples show referential strategies for older men and women in intergenerational relationships.

99. Even if you're faithful to them (i.e. Ma-14), they'll always fall for <u>other men with money</u> behind your back.

100.   How can someone leave his partner of 11 years and the mother of his two kids for an <u>older woman with six children</u>?

The older partners are represented through association, e.g. men are associated with money (99), while older women are grouped together with children (100), reflecting traditional ideologies that construct manhood around financial capacity (see also example 101 below) while womanhood is constructed around reproduction and childcare roles (as mentioned in section 5.3.2). However, the relationship between a younger man and an older woman is marked as deviating from the norm via circumstantialisation (<u>'how'</u> and '<u>with</u> six children'). That is, a younger man is not expected to date an older woman with so many children.

The analysis shows that men doing low-skilled jobs are appraised more deprecatingly than all other social groups. These men, identified as garden and herd boys, are said to have 'smelly feet', which objectifies as well as negatively appraises them as unhygienic. For example,

101.   You see a woman married to a man who loves and provides her with everything yet when the husband goes to work, she beds a <u>herd boy or garden boy</u>**.**

102.   Women can be attracted to <u>men with smelly feet</u>.

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[29] 'Elderly' as used in this context does not mean old age but 'older'

In the next section, I will examine the roles social actors discussed above take in the clause and the process types they occur in.

5.3.4.2 Transitivity analysis

The findings show that 'Ma-14' are frequently represented in material and verbal processes, which gives them very high semantic agency. These young women are represented as sayers and actors, while older men are on the receiving end.

103. The young girls [**actor**] will have <u>milked</u> [**material-L6**] him [**goal**] dry [**circumstance**] of all the cash [**circumstance as a goal**]

In this example, the younger women are represented as acting on a man through the idiomatic expression 'milk dry', which not only represents him through the metaphor of a cash cow but also positions him as a subjected goal. Younger women are rarely passivated, in material processes e.g. 'Ma-14' occur in the role of a subjected and beneficiated goals in 3% and 13% respectively, compared to 30% of the time they are represented as actors, suggesting they are represented as making an impact on the world, especially destabilising patriarchal norms. For example, these younger women are represented as using their voices to be heard in their relationships with older men, which counters cultural expectations that women submit to men while younger people should do the same to older ones. 'Ma-14' are twice as often (20%) positioned in the role of sayer than receiver, which contrasts to younger Christian women, who are represented mostly as receivers of their pastors' verbal processes (see section 5.3.1.2). In their roles as sayers, Ma-14 not only ask men for money but also perform other speech acts as in (105) below.

104. The girl [**sayer**] <u>would ask</u> [**verbal-L5**] for money [**verbiage**]
105. They [**sayer**] <u>'d accuse</u> [**verbal-L5**] you [**target**] of being stingy [**verbiage**]

In a different cultural context, Krendel (2020) also found that girls are ascribed more agency than women in online dating contexts and viewed as too assertive and exploitative by men. Similarly, Kang and Chen's (2014; 2017) studies of the 'Kong girl' are about the same construct

as 'Ma-14', — the 'Kong girl' is a type of Hong Kong woman who dates men for financial gain. This shows that world-wide, assertiveness is not a desired feminine trait.

By contrast, the results of this study reveal that younger men dating older women are not ascribed high semantic agency. Already, we have seen that they are objectified as just playthings through the term 'toy-boy' and mainly represented via relationally possessive categories (95, 96). This powerlessness is further reinforced by being represented in passive roles. 55% of the time the 'toy-boy' is a goal of other people's material processes, e.g. he is a subjected and beneficiated goal (44.4% and 11%, respectively). This contrasts with the mere 11% of the time he is given the role of actor. Notably though, he is acted on by other younger men, who beat and throw him out of the house, as in (106).

106. They [**actor**] <u>beat</u> [**material-L6**] them [**goal**] and <u>threw</u> [**material-L6**] the boy [**goal**] out of the yard [**circumstances**]

Nevertheless, in the one instance that the younger man is activated (107), he is very agentive in the role of actor, while the older woman is a subjected goal metaphorised as a vehicle/animal, which positions the younger man in the dominant role in sexual acts. This finding anticipates results of the readers' comments, where the dehumanisation of women as vehicles/animals in heterosexual sex is ubiquitous. In section 7.4.2, readers are seen to conceptualise heterosexual sex as a journey, whereby women are vehicles or animals ridden by men, which is an erasure of the female sexual experience.

107. They [**actor**] <u>found</u> [**material-L6**] <u>a boy</u> [**goal/actor**] <u>riding</u> [**material-L6**] their mother [**goal**].

With the norm being relationships between older males and younger females, it is not surprising that older women dating younger men are also subjected to male violence. As the SAR analysis shows, 'Ma-14' is a new construct whereas a word already exists (at least in English) to characterise a younger man dating an older woman, namely as a 'toy-boy'. Similarly, the term 'cougar' also exists for an older woman dating a younger male (Baker,

2013). The data makes this non-normative partnership salient by orienting to violence, as shown below.

108. A woman [**actor + goal**] in Tati [**circumstance**] is recovering [**material-L6**] from a beating [**circumstance**] by her sons [**actor**]

109. They [**actor**] caught [**material-L6**] her [**goal**] sleeping [**material-L6**] with a younger man [**circumstance**]

The evidence above of a mother being assaulted by her sons may be reflective of kinship relations in traditional Tswana ideology, where the patrilineal order often supersedes the generational order. Despite her age, the older woman has no autonomy over her body, which is policed by her sons. However, unskilled men are represented as goals of middle-class women's actions, pointing to their subordinate status in interclass relationships.

110. … a woman [**carrier**] married [**relational-L2**] to a man [**circumstance**] who [**senser**] loves [**mental-L3**] and provides [**material-L6**] her [**goal**] with everything [**circumstance**]

111. yet when [**circumstance**] the husband [**actor**] goes to work [**material-L6**], she [**actor**] beds [**material-L6**] a herd boy or garden boy [**goal**]

The difference between a husband and a herd boy/garden boy is demonstrated in the roles they occupy in the clause. The husband performs material actions such as providing and going to work (110, 111) and is also a senser, which portrays him as a powerful social actor with moderate to very high agency. On the other hand, a herd boy or garden boy is passivated, suggesting that in interclass relationships social class can supersede gender. These findings will be compared and contrasted with the visual transitivity analysis in the next section.

5.3.4.3. Visual transitivity

Figure 5.13: The 'Gold diggers' (Ma-14) cartoon

The woman in Figure 5.13 is a reactor, her eyes are fixed on the man in the car, while he seems to be focused on her hand about to receive the money in his hand, which forms an oblique line. The woman's bent body, arm movement, and open palm form strong vectors between the represented participants. Therefore, she is represented as involved in both narrative transactional and reactional processes, suggesting she is a powerful agent. This positioning of the social actor corresponds with the verbal transitivity analysis, in which 'Ma-14' are equally activated as actors ''milking men dry of their cash'' (103), and sensers ''wanting men to pop out money'' (94). To reinforce the centrality of money to this relationship, the cash and the woman's cupped hand are at the centre of the picture, showing the significance of the exchange.

Whereas in the verbal text an inference can be made that 'Ma-14' could be urban younger women, the caricature displays a rural setting in the form of a round mud hut and a small brick house in the background — a metonymical representation of rural Botswana. Therefore, this implies that 'Ma-14' are also rural younger women who fleece not only rich older men but also younger, rural, and working-class men such as taxi drivers. This dissonance in the verbal and visual findings is consistent with the column's goal to be the voice of working-class men. For instance, young working-class men are foregrounded as exploited by younger women or abused by the police (see section 5.3.3.3.).

Figure 5.14 below illustrates an intergenerational and interclass relationship.

Figure 5.14: The 'women please your men' cartoon

In Figure 5.14, the female participant is represented in terms of part-whole relations, with parts of her body marked in various bright colours. For example, her matching pink underwear highlights her crotch and breasts, while her lips are a sensual red colour. She performs a narrative transactional process in relation to the tray she carries in her hands. In line with the verbal transitivity (example 98), she is represented as performing normative femininity by serving her partner food. The male participant is represented as a reactor through a combination of a protruding tongue (lust) and romance (flying heart icons). In the case of this caricature, the participant could be reacting to the food and/or the eroticised woman in front of him. It is not clear if his gaze vector is directed at the food or the woman's crotch because sex and food are inextricably linked in gender and heterosexuality ideologies (Emanatian, 1999; Allan and Burridge, 2006), (cf. chapter 7 sections 7.1.2, 7.2.2, 7.5.2).

The results demonstrate that young working-class men are positioned as victims of younger women. The findings further suggest that younger women's assertiveness is not viewed positively in the column. Their attitude to relationships and money also compares unfavourably to that of older women, who prioritise the needs of the family rather than seeking individual satisfaction. Thus, as homemakers and carers, older women are afforded higher status than the less feminine 'Ma-14'.

From a feminist critical discourse perspective, however, younger women such as 'Ma-14' can champion gender equality and social change. Their ability to deviate from gender norms could subvert patriarchal norms that too often are held together by heterosexual relationships. For example, Figure 5.14 reflects and reproduces the gender norms reported in Setume et al. (2017) and Ellece (2010), where the responsibility of a successful relationship lies with a woman being a service provider and being sexually available. The results in this section show that the dominant patriarchal ideology ensures its sustainability by countering feminism through violent and non-violent means. For example, when older women date younger men, both are physically assaulted, but if younger women are materialistic, withhold labour and sex, older women become ideal partners.[30] This confirms what Talbot (1997a) says about hegemonic ideologies' capacity to blend contradictory discourses to withstand the challenge of other emerging discourses and to use them for self-sustenance.

5.4. Conclusion

The results show that the column 'Conversations from a Combi' not only represents the interest of men in general but specifically speaks for young, working-class men to the detriment of women in general. It is rather surprising for a newspaper that boasts more female representation than other media houses in Botswana to have content that reinforces gender inequality in society. This resonates with what Gcola (2007) condemns as the ''cult of femininity'', which equates gender equality and women's empowerment to enabling women to move into male-dominated workspaces and access power through public and corporate positions while ignoring the disempowerment most women experience from being sexually or otherwise physically violated. In other words, there is a discord between promoting female journalism or ensuring women hold the highest positions in The Voice newspaper and the representation of women in the paper's content. From the position of media producers, gender and sexuality issues are treated as impersonal and abstract media content rather than as pertinent aspects of real people's identities (Lawrence and Nagashima, 2020). The findings show that women professionals are either excluded or represented negatively in the cartoon

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[30] In traditional songs by younger men, older women are referenced disparagingly as *'matlalo'* (old hides), who only become a choice because their girlfriends date rich, older men (Ellece, 2013). Baker (2013: 209) says the term 'cougar' was originally coined by young heterosexual men as a put-down for older women who would go home with whoever was left at the end of the night.

column. One then wonders what would constitute sexism for The Voice. In line with Lloyd and Ramon's (2017) argument about the media being a business, I concur that the ''pursuit of profit and influence is often, possibly always, the underlying dynamic of newspapers'' (p.131). Hence, by way of boosting its readership appeal and sales, The Voice circulates negative stereotypes of women that would resonate with its imagined young, male, working-class readers. Women are essentially reduced to their bottoms, which are gigantic and almost always barely covered. I argue that these representations of girls and women appropriate colonial and racist ideologies that exoticised and othered black women's bodies such as the case of Saartjie (Sarah) Baartman, who was trafficked and exhibited for audiences in Europe in the 19th century.[31] Her large backside and elongated labia presented her as sexually non-normative in the West and thus, a form of entertainment. This is replicated in the portrayal of the female caricatures in the column. This shows that even now in a progressive independent Botswana, a colonial legacy lingers in the media, where women are othered by bringing together colonial and racist ideologies with heteronormative and patriarchal ideologies to sell newspapers.

The results show that working-class men are at the core of this cartoon column content design. The content reflects their financial struggles and insecurities, which define their relationships with other social groups. For example, they are scornful of men with institutional power and/or political power, disparage and trivialise professional women and assertive younger women. Whereas van Leeuwen (1996) found that working-class newspapers nominate ordinary members of society while broadsheet newspapers nominate the elite, it is not so with this cartoon column, which nominates famous foreign evangelical men and corrupt policemen. A closer reading of the data reveals that nomination is a finger-pointing strategy that draws attention to social actors as wrongdoers. The position of women as the subaltern is reflected by making them nameless and homogenous. Following the SAR and transitivity analyses, In chapter 6, I analyse the cartoons using Martin and White's (2005) appraisal framework and Economou's (2006; 2009) visual appraisal model.

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[31] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-35240987

CHAPTER 6: Appraisal in the 'Conversations from a Combi' cartoon column

In this chapter, I focus on the interpersonal function of the cartoons by examining how social actors in the cartoon column interact with one another, and with the viewers, by analysing the language used to evaluate these participants in the multi-modal texts. The system of appraisal analysed in this chapter is attitude and, to a much lesser extent, I also refer to the system of graduation when it evokes attitude (Swain, 2012). Attitude is divided into the three sub-categories of affect, judgement, and appreciation, all of which have further sub-divisions (see Chapter 4 for a detailed presentation of the appraisal system).

Social values are ideological in that some of the values we are socialised into may perpetuate certain ideologies and keep unjust social structures in place rather than disrupt them. Ideologies also have affective components, which structure interpersonal relations and as such motivate behaviour (Koller, 2022). This shows that the relationship between evaluation and ideology is intricately close, such that when we evaluate others, we also signal what our beliefs, values, norms, and expectations are for ourselves and others, and how we feel about them. The overall aim of this chapter, therefore, is to tease out gender and sexuality ideologies that are reflected in the cartoon column through analysing evaluation.

6.1 Appraisal of social actors: Quantitative analysis

Below, I present a table showing the number of times foreign and Batswana men and women are evaluated in each category, which gives a general picture of societal attitudes around gender and nationality in the cartoon column.

Table 6.1: Frequency of sub-categories of Attitude by gender and nationality

Type of attitude	Foreign evangelical men	Batswana men	Men (Foreign + Batswana men)	Women	Total (%)
Affect (66/346*100=19%)	0	48	48 (73%)	18 (27%)	66 (100%)
Judgement (225/346*100=65%)	44	70	114 (51%)	111 (49%)	225 (100%)
Appreciation (55/346*100=16%)	2	4	6 (11%)	49 (89%)	55 (100%)
Total (100%)	46	122	**168 (49%)**	**178 (51%)**	**346 (100%)**

To test if these differences in the distribution of the attitude types between men and women, and between foreign men and Batswana (men and women) were statistically significant, I performed chi-squared tests. The results showed there was no relationship between the distribution of attitude types and gender, but there is a correlation between the distribution of attitude types and nationality with a very significant p-value < 2.2e-16 and effect size of 0.48. This shows there is a strong association between these attitude types and nationality (see appendix 2).

Figure 6.1 below is a stacked column demonstrating the percentage of each sub-category per social group.

Figure 6.1: Attitude sub-categories by gender and nationality

Percentages of attitude sub-categories by gender and nationality
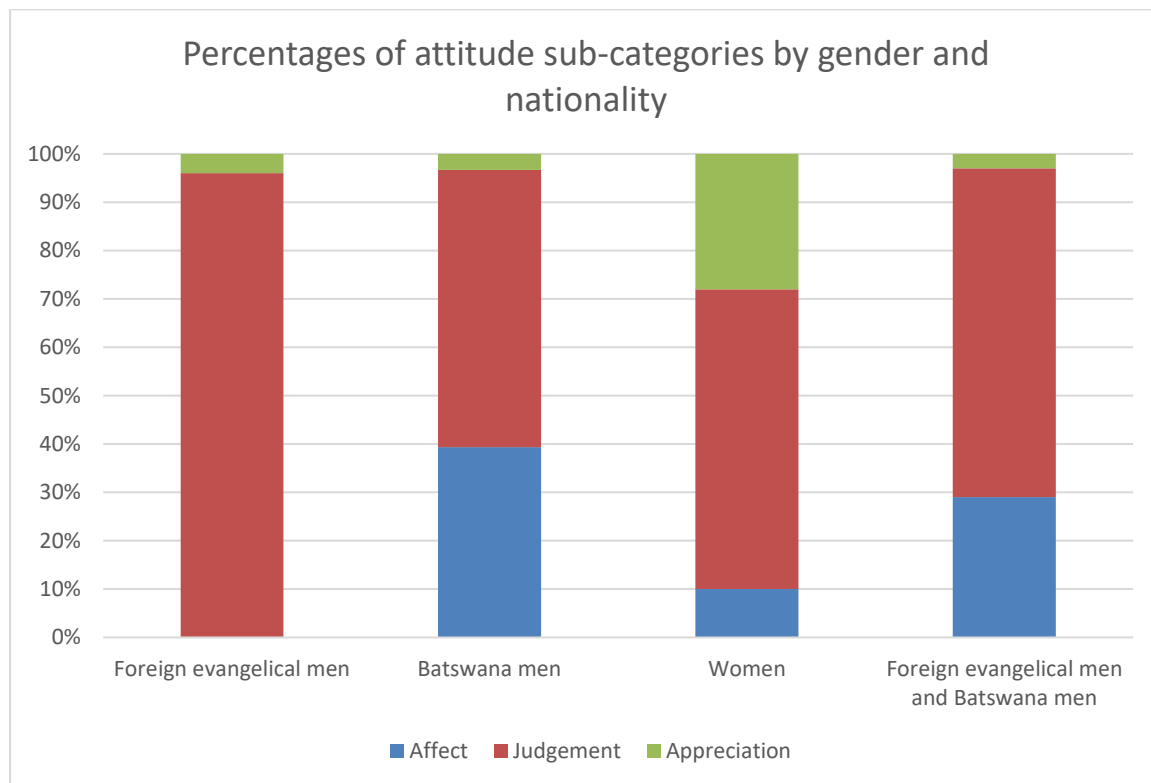
Table 6.1 indicates that judgement is the most frequent way of appraising social actors, at 65%, which is two-thirds of the total (see first column). This pattern is observed in all the three social categories, where social actors are judged more than they are appreciated and ascribed feelings. This suggests that societal values are central to the construction of identities in this cartoon column. Figure 6.1 shows that foreign evangelical pastors are judged more than any other social group, at 96%, but not ascribed feelings. The statistics show that women have a higher frequency in the category of appreciation compared to men. Interestingly also, Batswana men are ascribed feelings 39.3% of the time compared to women at 10%, which could mean that they are appraised for their personal feelings. These statistics suggest that Batswana men being most differentiated, might be the target audience of the cartoon column.

Figure 6.2 below is a breakdown of the judgement category in terms of positive and negative evaluation.

Figure 6.2: Evaluation of social actors by type of judgement[32]
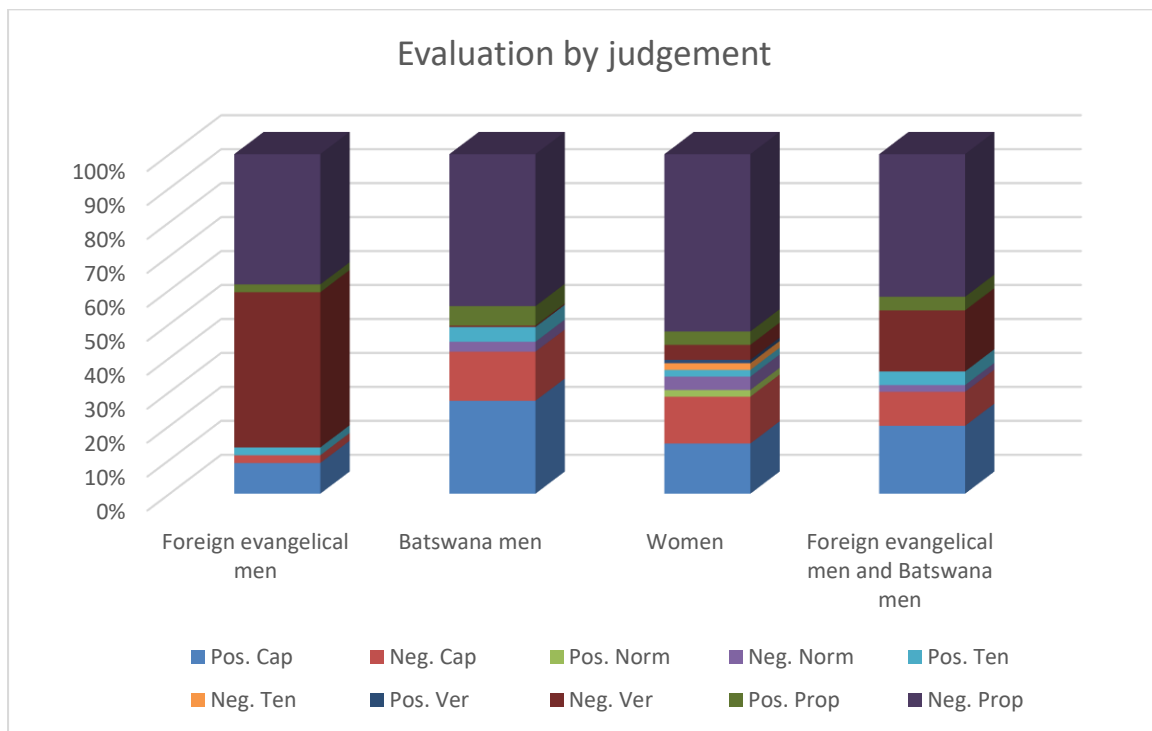
The statistics in Figure 6.2 paint a picture of how social actors are judged concerning their gender and nationality. At a glimpse, one's attention is drawn to the top tiers of all the bars, which show that all social actors are judged negatively for propriety. In other words, social actors' behaviours are viewed as transgressive rather than conforming to conventions. However, women receive more negative judgement than both foreign and local men combined. They also attract the highest number of different judgement types, implying a higher moral standard is set for women than men. For example, stories about women are about stepmothers who are murderers, about unfaithful wives, lazy doctors and mothers bartering their daughters to older men for groceries, as in the following example;

- She <u>traded</u> her for groceries from rich older men who drive expensive cars [-**propriety**]

However, foreign men are appraised for negative veracity 46% of the time, which is three times as much as both Batswana men and women are appraised, and are conspicuously

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[32] NB: Pos=Positive; Neg=Negative; Cap=Capacity; Norm=Normality; Ten=Tenacity; Ver=Veracity; Prop=Propriety

marked for negative propriety as well. For example, one pastor is described as deluded and a liar for telling younger women that God would not allow them to get pregnant even when he slept with them without protection.

- You wonder if he was so deluded [**-capacity**] that he actually believed in his own lies? [**-veracity**]. It's obvious that when pastors commit these atrocities [**-propriety**], there'll always be someone to support and aid them.

As regards Batswana men, we note that the most frequent form of judgement after negative propriety is positive capacity, at 27%, compared to women and foreign evangelical men at 15% and 9%, respectively, pointing to a tendency to see them as relatively powerful, especially physically and economically. For example,

- A woman in Tati is recovering from a beating by her sons [**+capacity, i.e. physical power/ -propriety**]
- She traded her for groceries from rich older men who drive expensive cars [**+capacity, namely economic power**]

Figure 6.3 shows whether social actors are evaluated more positively or negatively when appraised through appreciation.

Figure 6.3: Distribution of appreciation types by nationality and gender
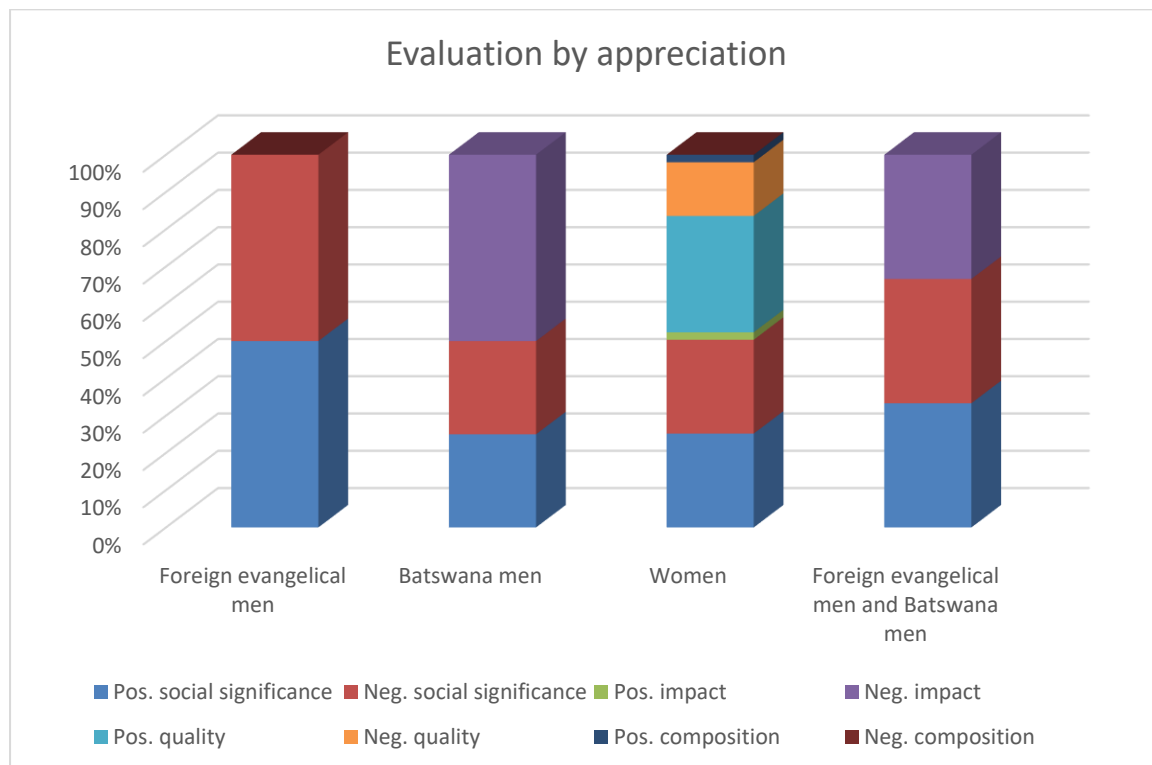
As can be seen above, the bar chart for women is the most colourful in contrast to other charts, showing that women are evaluated with the broadest range of appreciation categories. Women are frequently evaluated for positive quality with a value of 31%, followed by social in/significance at 25% each. These figures mean that women are appraised in terms of their value or lack thereof in the cartoon column. For example, reference to a beauty product in the example below implies women are concerned with physical appearance, which is linked to their social insignificance.

- They waste time [-**social significance**] with gossip, back-stabbing, and competition on who can wear the best colour lipstick [**quality +aesthetics**]

On the other hand, the appreciation types men are evaluated by are both social significance and insignificance. For example, T.B. Joshua is said to have lost his popularity among evangelical followers, while Prophet Bushiri is the 'new flavour of the season', suggesting he is valued more than the former.

The last bar chart shows the distribution of affect types between Batswana men and women only, because foreign evangelical men are not ascribed feelings.

<u>Figure 6.4: Distribution of affect types by gender</u>
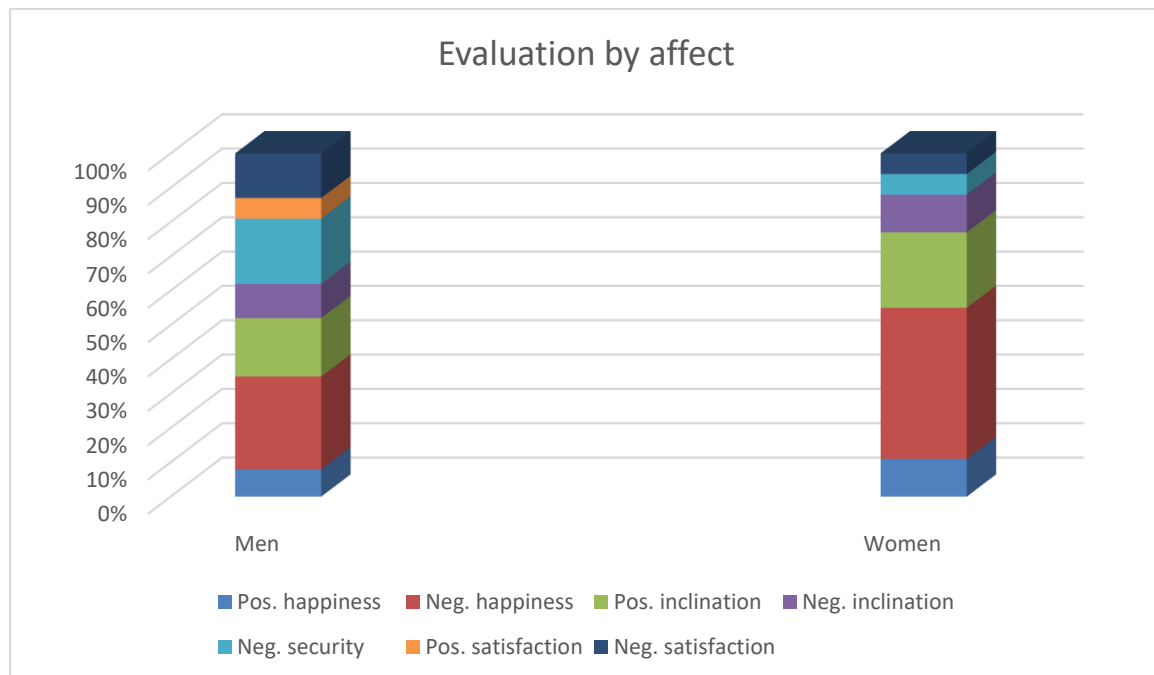
Congruent with both Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1, Figure 6.4 shows that men are ascribed a slightly wider range of emotions than women. However, both genders are represented as generally experiencing more negative emotions, with men ascribed negative affect 70% of the time compared to women's 67%. The results show that social actors are ascribed emotions such as unhappiness on the negative side, and inclination on the positive side. While women are represented as harbouring negative feelings for other women, men are ascribed negative emotions in relation to women, not other men. For example,

- A woman can actually just <u>hate</u> [**-unhappiness**] another woman simply because of a hairstyle or a dress.
- What kind of a man <u>scorns</u> a woman [**-unhappiness**] and then lives with her in the same yard?

With regards to positive affect, women are represented as desirous of material or financial benefits from male romantic partners and the government, while men in positions of authority desire to be feared, i.e. instil insecurity in others and thus gain power over them.

- These Ma-14 (young women) <u>want</u> you (i.e. male partner) to pop out money every month [**+inclination**]
- They (i.e. the policemen) <u>want</u> us (i.e. civilians) to fear them [**+inclination**]

The section that follows examines the data qualitatively.

6.2 Appraisal of foreign evangelical pastors

6.2.1 Verbal appraisal

We noted in the foregoing analysis that foreign religious men are judged for morality and veracity. In chapter 5, the findings showed that they are categorised as 'profiteering prophets' and as 'fake prophets', which is consonant with these forms of appraisal. Below are some of the ways this social group is evaluated.

112.   Many people are lazy to work, but we expect <u>fake prophets</u> [**-veracity**] to give us miracle money.

113.   She said the seduction started when the <u>so-called</u> [**-veracity**] man of God asked her to massage his feet and then asked her to join him in bed**.**

As can be seen in these examples, evangelicals are appraised as fraudulent because they deceive people into believing they can give them miracle money. This negative evaluation is not only conveyed via adjectives, but also evaluative verbs such as 'lure' and 'entice', as in the examples below.

114.   Beware of a church that <u>lures</u> [**-veracity**] members with the promise of quick miracles.

115.   The church <u>enticed</u> [**-veracity**] her with a marriage promise.

The church as a metonymy for the prophets is depicted as intentionally ensnaring converts through unconventional means such as promising marriage or miracle money, which represents the church as manipulative. Linked to this are representations of these religious leaders as unethical, as the following examples demonstrate.

116.   People continue to fall prey to profiteering churches [**-propriety**]

117.   That guy and his ilk have confused people to the point of madness with anointing oil and water [**-propriety**]

In example (116), churches are evaluated as seeking to enrich themselves by exploiting vulnerable members, whom they confuse to the point of madness (117). This suggests these prophets are evaluated as using religion as a façade to obtain money by false pretences. In chapter 7, however, these evaluations are challenged by some readers who believe a wholesale evaluation of foreign pastors as false and immoral is wrong. The readers draw a dichotomy between true and false prophets and evaluate the former as 'the **few** who genuinely care about the spiritual wellbeing of our nation' (see section 7.1.3). What is intriguing in the readers' evaluations, however, is a tendency to degrade the women sexually abused by 'false' prophets as insignificant through the diminutive suffix '-*nyana*', in *'dikuku**nyana'*** (**tiny** cakes — a metaphor for vagina). The transitivity analysis (see section 5.3.1.2) shows that such readers position the women as sensers and the prophets/church as a phenomenon. Thus, women are believed to be sensible enough not to fall victim to false prophets. Hence, they are not seen as 'real' victims of sexual abuse.

The quantitative analysis shows that to a very limited extent, foreign religious leaders are evaluated as powerful. Nevertheless, such power is questioned and believed to be counterfeit. Hence, when a prophet is appraised as powerful, there is also explicit or implicit evaluation of them as false. For instance;

118.   I recently watched a Nigerian pastor on television in South Africa who claimed [**-veracity**] to pray for younger women to get married.

119.   How is that Nigerian pastor <u>able</u> [**+capacity**] to find husbands for <u>desperate</u>
        <u>wives</u>[33] [**-happiness**]

The pastor's competency is preceded by a suggestion that his assertion is only a 'claim' (118), meaning it is not verifiable. The same doubts are expressed via a question in (119) above and then through a conditional clause (120) and a question (121) in the next set of examples, in which the powers of the prophet are viewed as possibly dubious.

120.   If he is a **true** <u>man of God</u> [**+veracity**]

121.   why <u>can't</u> he just pray to God and trust Him for miracle protection? [**-
        /+capacity**]

The next section analyses the caricatures/visual depictions of evangelical men and their female followers.

6.2.2. Visual appraisal of foreign evangelicals

Drawing on Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006: 116) interactional metafunction and Economou's (2006: 108) visual appraisal theory, I identify the range of visual resources being employed to make evaluative meanings in the cartoons (see chapter 4 for details on these methods).

The verbal appraisal analysis results show that foreign male prophets are evaluated as immoral and deceptive. It is important to find out if the same forms of evaluation obtain in the images. Let us consider the following caricatures.

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[33] Although it would make sense to say 'desperate women' rather than 'wives', this example is used as it appears in the data.

Figure 6.5: The 'Touch the screen and say amen' cartoon

This cartoon shows a man who resembles Prophet Bushiri in a close shot. The caricature is frontal and framed from the chest upwards, suggesting an intimate relationship with the viewer. Yet, his gaze is directed at the woman in front of him, not at the viewer. The female caricature is a full-body image at an oblique angle and very close to the frame. While this is an offer image, the intimate positioning suggests the viewer should identify with the participants. However, the oblique angle of the woman and the frontal position of the man without contact with the viewer gives the impression that viewers should not be involved in their world. The lack of gaze from the woman to the man and her submissive posture suggest unequal power relations between the participants. By depicting a caricature of Bushiri on television, the producer draws viewers' attention to his celebrity status and therefore evaluates him as socially significant (Kgatle, 2019).

Figure 6.6: The 'Profiteering pastors' cartoon
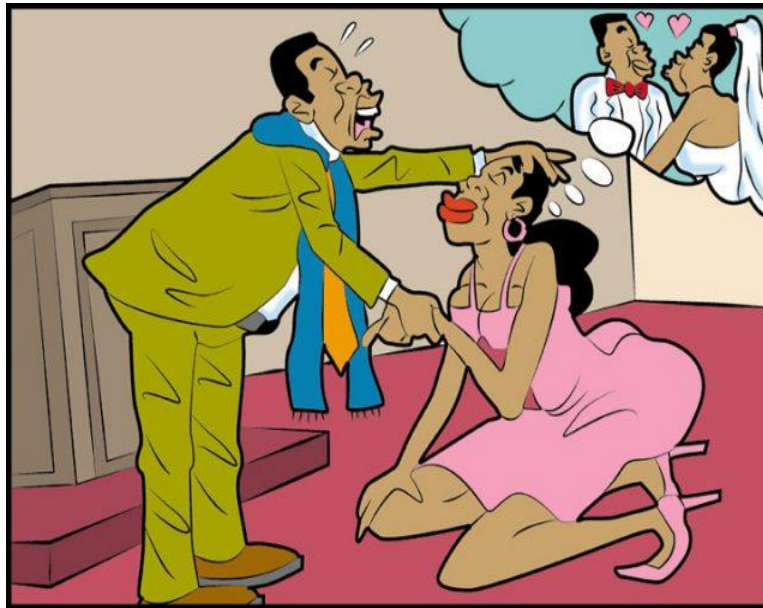
In Figure 6.6 above, the participants, although depicted as being in a facing relationship (Bednarek and Caple, 2012), neither make eye contact with each other nor with the viewers, meaning the image is just a spectacle for our scrutiny (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The image is a medium close shot, showing the full bodies of the participants and suggesting familiarity with the viewer. However, the side view means the participants are represented as not part of our world. Viewers are drawn to the positive values of this image via ideational tokens such as the pastor laying a hand on the woman's head in prayer, while the woman imagines her wedding, suggesting she believes in the power of the prayer and the man blessing her. The fact that this happens in a church adds to the positive judgement of the pastor as genuine, in contrast to Figure 6.7 below. The power difference between the participants is exhibited in their different and opposing postures: the pastor's posture symbolises power while the woman's shows submission. And contrary to representations of prophet Bushiri, who is the embodiment of televangelism, this pastor represents the 'norm', e.g. he conducts prayers in the church as the pulpit shows. Therefore, there is dissonance between this image and the evaluative title because nothing suggests the pastor is a profiteer or even a sexual predator. This cartoon aligns with the observations made by readers in section 7.1.3. that some evangelicals are genuine.

Figure 6.7: The 'Pastors on the prowl' cartoon

Similar to Figure 6.6, the male caricature in Figure 6.7 has more power over the woman: he stands over her kneeling figure, looks down at her, and performs material actions on her. The full body figures are very close to the frame but are offered to the viewer as objects. The man is evaluated through a depiction of embodied attitude signified by an erect penis forming an oblique line in the direction of the woman, a hanging tongue, and heart shapes flying from his face, evaluating him as lustful. When read together with the ideational tokens, e.g., praying and at the same time grabbing a woman's breast, this man's lust evokes negative propriety and insecurity in viewers, which is a contradiction of the positive morality bestowed on him by the cross, dog collar and Bible. However, the woman's eyes are closed — making no contact with the pastor or the viewers. Thus, she neither appeals for help from the viewer nor reciprocates the pastor's gaze. Her relaxed posture, lack of gaze and impassive facial expressions imply she might be a willing participant and not a victim. Represented as such, victims of sexual abuse may not be viewed empathetically by audiences (see section 7.1.3 on comments). Yet, it is also possible that the woman is rendered voiceless and incapable of resistance due to her gender and position as a follower of the pastor.

Figure 6.8: The ' Miracle money on the loose' cartoon

Striking in the evaluation of the foreign pastor is the deployment of evoked attitude via ideational tokens. For example, the pastor hurls chicken bones at the church member and there is more food and wine by his side. The church member, on the other hand, is evaluated through an inscribed attitude, his skeletal torso, with graduation being used to select and focus on the three visible ribs on each side of the spine. His peasant status is reflected by his bare bottom and knees protruding from torn trousers, and the sole of his foot and toes peeping from worn-out boots. The juxtaposition of a well-dressed and well-fed foreigner and an emaciated, starving church member intensifies negative propriety towards the pastor while evoking sympathy for the church member. The foreign pastor has power over the church member as he is positioned above him and gazes down at the member, who makes no contact with him or the viewers. His powerlessness is demonstrated by crouching on all fours like an animal to finish off the pastor's leftovers, suggesting he is being dehumanised. Despite being presented with this image in close proximity, the choice of an oblique angle means viewers are not involved with the church member. The message being given to viewers is that the world depicted here is familiar but does not warrant their intervention.

In summary, the visual analyses show a power imbalance between pastors and church members. The pastors' powers are demonstrated by being positioned above their followers, whom they act on and gaze at, while the followers do not make eye contact with the pastors.

These caricatures are mostly full-body images drawn at oblique angles; they are close to medium-close shots with pastors viewed from a lower angle than church members. The participants are depicted facing one another rather than the viewers, which means viewers are disassociated from the depicted social actors. They are depicted as closely acquainted with the viewers but consistently offered to the viewer as commodities rather than subjects engaging with them, which suggests representations of sexual and financial exploitation are offered to consumers as entertainment rather than as issues requiring their intervention.

The next section examines the language used to evaluate sexually abused underage girls and the men who abuse them.

6.3 Appraisal of sexually abused underage girls and the perpetrators

6.3.1 Verbal appraisal

In chapter 5, it was shown that one of the girls who is defiled by a village councillor is appraised by reference to her minority status, e.g. as underage (for ease of reference, I will refer to this case as Text A)**.** We noted that such appraisement contrasted with another victim raped by a working-class man (henceforth Text B), whose immaturity is backgrounded and represented as grammatically active. The examples below demonstrate that such categorisation has implications for how they are judged. For example,

> 122.   [The] Voice cartoonist overheard a conversation amongst passengers on the recent saga in which a councillor in Sebina defiled an under-aged girl [**-capacity**] (Text A)
> 123.   The girl enticed him into sex [**-propriety**] (Text B)

While both victims are judged, the evaluation of a girl in Text B explicitly indexes a transgression of social norms, which invokes a common frame in male sexual violence that casts victims as guilty. Meanwhile, judgement of another girl (Text A) focuses on her immaturity and vulnerability to sexual predators. In example 123, we see that the evaluative word is a process performed by the evaluated social actor, while in example 122 the evaluative term is an adjective attributing a quality to the victim. These different

representations echo Magot Mifflin's (2021) argument in an article in which she reflects on the use of the term 'underage' in the Ghislaine Maxwell trial. Ghislaine was in December 2021 convicted and sentenced to 20 years in prison for sex trafficking charges and for luring underage girls into the late Jeffrey Epstein's ambit for him to abuse. Jeffrey Epstein died in a New York prison while awaiting trial on sex trafficking charges and sexual abuse. Regarding Ghislaine's case, Mifflin reasons that the use of 'underage' implies that some girls are mature enough to have sex with adult men, who are not criminals as in (123). Yet, by definition, 'girls' are children and therefore underage. Thus, sex had by a man with any girl constitutes statutory rape.[34]

The examples below also show the girls' emotions are evaluated differently, e.g.

124. The councillor is working and <u>the poor girl</u> has lost a future [**implied distress in girl** [**-happiness**]] (Text A)

125. My neighbour's daughter is <u>fond of</u> wearing crop tops and miniskirts [**+happiness in girl**] (Text B)

It can be noted that in (124), the victim is evaluated as unhappy, which might trigger the same in readers. This is because a constant reference to her as a 'child', 'minor' or 'underage' points to her vulnerability and hence evokes sympathy. In (125), by contrast, the victim is evaluated as happy with her clothes but not appraised for how she feels being raped. The exclusion of victims' feelings in sexual abuse narratives has been linked to less empathy by readers (Anastacio and Costa, 2014). The connection between her attire and the rape is a victim blame strategy that draws on stereotypes of women as either virgins or whores (Kitzinger, 2004; Moorti, 2002). Thus, it can be concluded that the ascribed affectual evaluation in (125) is also an indirect negative evaluation of her as immodest.

The next examples illustrate evaluations of the men who perpetrate violence against minors.

126. How does <u>a prominent figure</u> [**+capacity/-normality**] <u>defile and impregnate a minor</u> [**-propriety**] and no action is taken? [**-propriety — unmentioned supposed action takers**] (Text A)

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[34] https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/ghislaine-maxwell-trial-phrase-girls-victims-epstein-b1970670.html

127. Your <u>younger</u> [**-capacity (encodes infantile)**] brother <u>wasn't wrong</u> [**+propriety**] to make sexual advances (Text B)

128. My <u>younger</u> [**-capacity (see 127 above)**] brother <u>couldn't</u> provide groceries [**-capacity**] (Text B)

The findings of the social actor representation analysis in chapter 5 showed that referential strategies to one perpetrator as 'the councillor' distanced the reader from him in contrast to the other assailant, who is represented as a family member, e.g. 'my/your younger brother'. These categories play on the 'stranger/family' perpetrator dichotomy which attributes sexual abuse to pathological strangers (Atmore, 1996). In (126), there is a reference to the powerful stature of the perpetrator, for example, he is appraised positively for capacity, e.g. 'prominent figure' but negatively evaluated for propriety, e.g. as abusing his power. There is an implication that his position of prestige is also connected to inaction by those (e.g. the police) who should be protecting the girl. Thus, both the perpetrator and the police are evaluated negatively for propriety. In (127 and 128), however, the perpetrator is negatively evaluated for capacity via the adjective 'younger', which suggests he is immature. Such inscribed evaluation understates the crime and represents the perpetrator as not culpable for his actions. The evaluation of the perpetrators suggests that youthfulness and a lack of economic power by the perpetrator may be reasonable grounds to excuse abuse of underage girls, while having political and socio-economic power should justify prosecution or being held to account for the same crimes.

The following section presents the findings of the visual evaluation.

6.3.2 Visual appraisal

As is in the verbal analysis, the cartoons will also be labelled Text A and Text B for ease of reference in the discussion.

Figure 6.9: The 'Talk of town' cartoon (Text A)

Overt in this image is the contrast in the sizes of the caricatures. Through graduation, the cartoonist flags attitude in viewers by portraying the girl as a tiny figure, whose attire and cornrow hairstyle are reflective of her immaturity. By contrast, the male caricature (the village councillor) has a paunch and is so tall that his head reaches the roof of the car, all of which appraise him as old. Further, the male participant's economic power is evidenced by the display of money, which one might infer was used to lure the victim. Having clandestine meetings with a minor at night might evoke a negative evaluation of propriety against the man. This evaluation is intensified by a display of lust, which he embodies with the hanging tongue. Conversely, the victim may attract viewers' sympathy not least because of her immaturity but also by looking away from the man. Thus, the lack of reciprocal gaze may persuade the viewers to believe she does not want to be there. However, she does not address the viewer with a direct 'you', so she also disassociates from the viewer. In addition, through her sitting position, she might be viewed as a sexual temptress deliberately exposing herself to an older man for financial gain. A close-up and frontal shot of the participants implies an intimate relationship with the viewer. Yet, viewers can only relate to them as objects. This is a poignant illustration of how the column might be alluding to real-life issues

with real-life implications to titillate audiences.[35] Blending lust with love (also found in Figure 6.10) blurs the lines between lewdness and genuine feelings, which excuses sexual abuse. When this is read together with the interactional choices made, it is safe to argue that entertainment is prioritised while sexual violence is glossed over.

Figure 6.10: The 'Bringing sexy back' cartoon (Text B)

In this caricature, one notices that the visual choices made are biased against the girl. First, the miniskirt she wears is designed such that it exposes the upper parts of her bottom rather than the upper parts of her legs, which is unlike any regular skirt design. She is represented as more powerful than the other participant by having her tower over the man in the car. What is more, unlike the girl in Text A, she turns to look at the lustful man in recognition of his attention. There is only implicit evaluation of her as a minor, which is limited to the corn-row hairstyle. The representation of the female caricature suggests she is sexually experienced and not a victim. The design of her skirt evaluates her as a sexual temptress. The fact that the girl is very close to the viewer suggests that viewers are intimately acquainted with girls dressed like this in public and who use the power of their sexuality to lure men into

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[35] Like other caricatures, the caricatures in Figure 6.9 do not bear real people's faces. However, there was a story of a schoolgirl who was impregnated by a councillor in Sebina village sometime in 2016. This cartoon could be an allusion to this story (https://www.mmegi.bw/news/infamous-sebina-sex-scandal-resurfaces/news).

sex. The lack of gaze at the viewer means viewers should see her as a sex object while an oblique angle suggests she is not socially relatable. The young male caricature is also a close shot, with his face facing the viewer but his gaze fixated on the girl's backside. Therefore, the man is represented as intimately close to the viewer, socially relatable but not interacting with the viewer. Therefore, this cartoon normalises male sexual lust while positioning a girl as not only the trigger of such but as having power over her abuser, which is evidence of male privilege. This is because, in a world where male sexual interests do not override girls' rights, public exhibition of lust would be shameful.

6.4 Evaluation of professional women and men

6.4.1 Verbal appraisal

It was observed in the quantitative analysis that women are judged more than men (see Table 6.1). Moreover, Figure 6.2 shows that women are judged in accordance with social norms about in/appropriate conduct, with negative propriety accounting for 53% of total judgements. Notably, explicit evaluative lexis such as 'cruel', 'evil', or 'evil-hearted' is common in the evaluation of women. For example, in a conversation about female gender activists and their campaign for gender equality, a speaker in the Combi makes the following contribution:

129.   I'd vote for a man instead of a woman MP anytime, because once <u>she has climbed up the ladder</u> [**+capacity, i.e. gained power**]**,** <u>a woman begins to look down on you</u> [**-propriety**]. […] women can be <u>cruel</u> [**-propriety**]

To keep women under male patronage, patriarchy puts women in subordinate roles and sets the moral bar higher for them. As a result, women who defy patriarchal structures by seeking political office are evaluated negatively for rejecting their 'normal' place in society. It is not only politics where women are viewed as outsiders, they are in medicine, too. The examples below are taken from a text where speakers express frustration about a female doctor's work ethics.

130.   This female doctor is <u>taking us for granted</u> [**-propriety**].

131. Since this morning she has been leaving her consultation room from time to time to talk to the other doctor. Doesn't she realize that she is <u>distracting the other doctor from doing his job</u>? [**-propriety**]**.**

By prefacing her profession with a gendered term, the producer marks her as the 'other', with the co-text showing that she is evaluated as making light value of her patients. Not only that, but she also diverts her colleague's attention from his patients (131). In a hospital setting where lives can be at risk if urgent decisions are delayed, this doctor is represented as very unprofessional. In the same way as a female politician, she is represented as positioning herself as superior to her patients. This disparagement of female professionals is deeply rooted in sexist and gendered social structures that expect women to occupy subservient positions. Women who advocate for gender equality are also dismissed and denigrated as frivolous, gossipy, and obsessed with physical appearance. For example,

132. They <u>waste time</u> [**-social significance**] with <u>gossip, back-stabbing</u> and competition [**-propriety**] on who can wear <u>the best colour lipstick</u> [**+aesthetics**]

133. […] when they wake up from <u>fighting silly lipstick wars</u> [**-propriety/implied -social significance**] and realise opportunities have passed them by**,** they start <u>bickering and blabbering</u> [**-propriety/implied -social significance**] about gender equality**.**

In these examples, negative evaluation of female professionals as immoral also evokes evaluations of aesthetics and social significance, e.g. backstabbing and gossiping are borne from their obsession with aesthetics (132). It is interesting to note that while women are represented as engaged in metaphorical armed conflict, e.g. 'fighting…wars', such violence is then trivialised lest it is understood as the kind of 'real' violence men engage in. Thus, through the explicit appraisal of lipstick (a beauty product) as 'silly' (133), women are implicitly evaluated as childish and petty (Lemish, 2004). This negative evaluation is also implied in 'bicker and blabber'. The cumulative effect of these evaluations is to repudiate professional women as lacking the maturity and seriousness required in the professional space and thus, a justification for their exclusion. In the next section, I analyse how male professionals are appraised, and how that compares to female professionals.

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Male professionals are typically police officers and taxi drivers. These two popular professions are positioned as being opposed and the professionals are rivals. The police officers are accused of power abuse and evaluated negatively for morality, as in the following examples:

134.   […] some passengers in a Molepolole bound bus broke into a conversation about <u>corrupt police officers</u> [**-propriety**] who <u>will stop at nothing</u> [**-veracity**] <u>to line their pockets</u> with traffic fines. [**-propriety**]

135.   […] <u>every time he keeps on</u> [**+tenacity**] stopping me to <u>demand</u> [**+capacity**] my drivers' license.

136.   He's trying <u>every trick in the book</u> to find an offence for you. [**+tenacity/-propriety/-veracity**]

In a marked difference from the evaluation pattern seen in (132) and (133), negative propriety and veracity in (134) and (136) are linked to the male professional's tenacious, albeit corrupt approach to work. For example, in (135) the illocutionary force of the word 'demand' suggests the social actor has institutional power and that there is an obligation on the part of the taxi driver to obey him. The frequency of the stops (135) and the many tricks he pulls (136) show the police officer's sheer determination to fine the taxi driver even though the road offences are fabricated. Notably, the evaluation of male professionals makes no insinuations about stereotypical male behaviour, suggesting this behaviour is attributed to the individual and/or the police as an institution but not to all men.

As the analyses have consistently shown, gender is not the only social category influencing how social actors are represented in the cartoon column. Social class differences are pivotal in understanding how men are represented and evaluated as agents acting on women and girls (cf. section 6.3 above). In this column, it is the working-class men who are positively represented. However, in cases where women are alleged to have committed crimes, the police are also positively represented. For example,

137.   Some months ago, a taxi driver told me about <u>a certain illegal lady operator</u> [**-propriety**]. When taxi drivers tried to approach her, she'd just drive off at full speed.

138.   She has since stopped <u>the illegal taxi operation</u> [**-propriety**] after police
        impounded the car and charged her a lot of money.

In these examples, both the taxi drivers and police are by implication evaluated as being
ethical in opposition to a woman labelled as an 'illegal taxi operator'. In a show of solidarity,
the taxi drivers and the police work together at excluding a woman (who is already othered
by the gendered category 'lady operator') from the transport industry. For example, in (138)
when the police charge a woman lots of money and impound her car, they are not evaluated
as corrupt as is the case in (134) and (136) when they fine male taxi drivers.

6.4.2 Visual appraisal

The verbal appraisal results show that othering women as incompetent, criminals, idle, and
trivial is a powerful discursive strategy that symbolically removes them from professional
spaces. It will be interesting to see if these findings are replicated by the visual results. First, I
analyse cartoons of female professionals, given as Figures 6.11 and 6.12 below.

Figure 6.11: The 'musings in a doctor's waiting room' cartoon

The female doctor is structurally represented as powerful, i.e. she is salient by posture, size,
and how she defines the interactional space for her and others with her body orientation.
This power is also ideationally rendered; her mouth is open and she gestures in the face of

another doctor. She is facing the viewer, and therefore involved but not as close as the other two participants. The gaze vector from her to the other doctor intensifies her powerful position over him. Whereas both doctors are evaluated for their prominence (Bednarek and Caple, 2012) via their white waistcoats and stethoscopes, the objects that act as circumstances of accompaniment in the room evoke a positive appraisal of the seated doctor, whilst at the same time intensifying a negative evaluation of the female doctor, who is construed as disturbing an ongoing consultation. It is therefore possible that compositional features are employed as a finger-pointing strategy to undermine her in this profession.

Figure 6.12: The 'women are their own enemies' (the gender activists) cartoon

The cartoon above is decontextualised, these women are not given any professional identity, suggesting they represent any and every woman. Consonant with the stereotypes of women in the verbal appraisal analysis, they are depicted as engaged in gossip and laughing at another woman. Unlike the solidarity shown by men in the verbal analyses of (137) and (138), patriarchal hegemony is maintained by depicting women as rivals. The decontextualised scene renders this image as nothing more than a piece of display, in which the women are professionally devalued but evaluated for their sexual worth (Lemish, 2004). These results anticipate the findings of comments in chapter 7, where some male readers evaluate women for sexual power which they link to their professional power, i.e. women who have progressed

in their careers slept their way up. Meanwhile, these readers believe it is men's hard work that earns them professional power and academic achievement. This position is contested by female readers, who self-identify as hardworking, educated business owners and professionals. These findings suggest that female readers who experience the intersection of gender, education, and professionalism show strong resistance to sexism.

Figure 6.13: The 'corrupt cops' cartoon
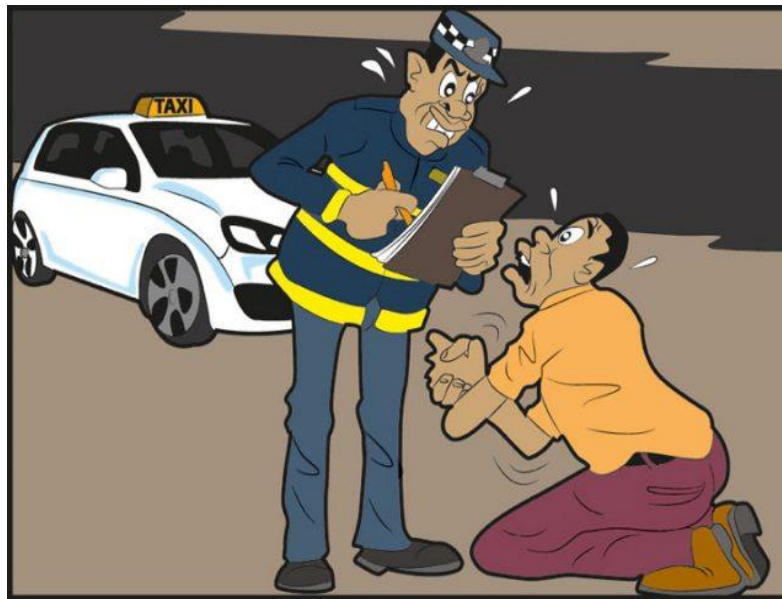
Figure 6.13 is a depiction of a male police officer bearing an angry face as shown by a downturned lower lip and bared teeth**.** The police uniform gives him prominence, e.g. as representing an organisation (Bednarek and Caple, 2012), while the paper and pen he holds also appraise him as being on duty. In addition to these ideational tokens, structurally, the policeman is the principal social actor, i.e. he is centred and stands over the other man, who is kneeling on the ground. This judgement of the officer's social esteem is intensified by the interactional choices made, such as gazing down at the taxi driver, as well as being a full-length picture at a low angle, which positions the viewer as having less power. The other participant, a taxi driver, is shown as powerless by his submissive position, wringing his hands and looking up at the officer with a face full of fear**.** This is congruent with the verbal analysis, where police officers are appraised as 'wanting' civilians to fear them, i.e. they think an insecure civilian is a good thing. This then links with the author's interactional choice of having

viewers look up at the policeman in fear rather than in admiration, evoking a negative evaluation of propriety.

Figure 6.14 'The love, life and death' cartoon

The last image in this section depicts a woman in handcuffs, which is an inscribed negative judgement of her morality. She looks on as two policemen on the bank of a dug grave carry off a white body bag, evoking negative propriety towards her. The police uniform worn by the three officers bears the flag of the nation (the triangular batches on their shirt sleeves), which creates solidarity with the viewer. The effect of having three male law enforcers and a fourth man, whose formal attire suggests he might be a top official, e.g., a minister of police, realises graduation-quantification, which intensifies negative attitudes of propriety and normality towards the woman — the only female in the image. The participants, including the handcuffed woman, are very close to the frame, suggesting an intimate relationship with the viewer. However, the male officers wearing the national flag are positioned as culturally nearer to the viewer than the woman as they are portrayed as national service providers. She is also shorter than the male participants, which gives them power over her. In Botswana, as indeed around the world, women are more often victims of male violence than they are perpetrators. It is surprising that the column excludes cartoons about murders of women by their intimate partners, an epidemic that has ravaged the country for two decades now

(Akpabio and Mathambo, 2008; Bagai and Famau, 2021 Dingake, 2006; Exner and Thurston, 2009).

The next section examines the intersection of class, age, and sexuality and how that shapes the language used to talk about younger men and women on the one hand, and older men and women on the other.

6.5 Evaluation of men and women in intergenerational and interclass relationships

6.5.1 Verbal appraisal

In Chapter 5, we noted that the coined term 'Ma-14' categorises younger women in relationships with older men by appraising them as gold diggers. The transitivity analyses found that they are represented as having very high and high agency through being placed in active roles in material and verbal processes (see cline of semantic agency, Figure 4.1). On the other hand, younger men who date older women are more passivated than activated and represented as being owned by their partners (see section 5.3.4.2). The findings suggest that younger rather than older people receive a negative evaluation for being in intergenerational relations. Let us consider the following examples.

139. Ma-14 (young woman) <u>are always after money</u> [**+normality/-propriety**]
140. These Ma-14 <u>want</u> [**+inclination**] you to pop out money <u>every</u> month end [**+normal**]**.**

It can be seen in (139) that younger women's predilection for money is expressed through the temporal adverb 'always'. Therefore, they are being evaluated for social esteem — normality and negative propriety. In (140), 'Ma-14' are evaluated for desire (inclination), which can also be analysed as deontic modality expressing a high degree of requirement. In other words, the younger women expect the men to meet the obligation of 'popping' money every month. As shown above, I also underline '**every**', which expresses a repeated behaviour, e.g. being financed by their partners has become a norm to 'Ma-14', which the men do not approve of.

Concerning relationships between younger men and older middle-class women, it is the men who are explicitly and negatively evaluated. For instance,

141.   Those in the know say the mum's <u>toy-boy</u> [**-social significance**] is years <u>younger</u> [**-capacity (infantile implied)**] than the sons themselves.

142.   Their mother rented one of the rooms in the homestead to her <u>young</u> lover [**-capacity**].

In these examples, we see that younger men are evaluated as socially insignificant through the label 'toy-boy'. Additionally, they are positioned as powerless through reference to their youth. Different from their female counterparts, younger men are not represented as seeking financial benefits from their older partners but sexual and domestic services, wherein lies the power of older women, as in example 143.

143.   If you do these things (i.e. great sex, cooking, and doing laundry) right, a man will never leave. If you fail, some <u>elderly[36] and experienced</u> women would do them for him [**+capacity**]

By contrast, it is older men's financial power that is believed to be the reason younger women are attracted to them, which makes working-class men insecure and anxious. For example:

144.   Even if you're <u>faithful</u> [**+propriety -men**] to them (i.e. Ma-14), they'll always fall for <u>other men with money</u> [**+capacity -men**] <u>behind your back</u>. [**-propriety/-veracity -Ma-14**]

The men get positive evaluations for propriety and capacity, while younger women are negatively evaluated for propriety and veracity. It is surprising that these men are positively appraised for morality as they are most likely married or have lifelong partners, to whom they are unfaithful. Moreover, 'Ma-14' may also include vulnerable teenagers from poor

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[36] The word 'elderly' has a different sense in this sentence to how it is used in Britain. Here it means 'older'. Perhaps it is a direct translation from Setswana terms '*mogolo/bagolo*', which mean an elder/elders and '*mogol-wane*', which means old-er.

households who are lured into these relationships for financial support (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Mojola, 2015; Nkosana and Nkosana, 2015).

The next example demonstrates that men who are negatively evaluated are viewed to be punching above their weight, such as a garden boy/herd boy who sleeps with his employer's wife. In the transitivity analyses, the male partner is passivated, while the woman is activated, showing unequal power relations rendered by class differences. The appraisal results show these men are evaluated negatively for affect as well as being implicitly appraised as insignificant. For example,

> 145.   You see a woman married to a man who <u>loves</u> [**+happiness -husband**] and <u>provides her with everything</u> [**+propriety -husband**] yet when the husband goes to work, she beds a herd boy or garden boy**.** Women can be attracted to <u>men with smelly-feet</u> [**-satisfaction/implied -social significance -garden boy/herd boy**]**.**

Unskilled men are objectivated as 'smelly-feet', which suggests they are evaluated as disgusting. In chapter 7 (see section 7.4.2) the comments on this text not only repeat this objectifying term but also show that colonial and racist ideologies which pathologized black men's sexuality as wild and aggressive are appropriated and reproduced as classist ideologies about working men's sexuality (Makoni, 2016; Hill-Collins, 2005; Moorti, 2002).

6.5.2 Visual appraisal

The next section examines visual appraisal in interclass and intergenerational relationships.

Figure 6.15: The 'Gold diggers' (Ma-14) cartoon

Figure 6.15 depicts a young taxi driver and a young woman in a close-up shot. While the taxi driver is pictured from the chest upwards, the woman is viewed from above the knee, which suggests a focus on her upper body (as is the case with Figure 6.16 below). The man faces the viewer and flashes a smile, suggesting he is affable whereas the woman is drawn from a side view and therefore not socially relatable. These choices would make the viewer identify with the man rather than the woman, who is explicitly evaluated as a seductress and a gold-digger through her outfit and a cupped hand ready to receive money from the taxi driver. Structurally, she has more power than the man, as she leans over and fixes her eyes on him. The visual choices in this caricature mimic those in Figure 6.10 (section 6.3.2 on the sexual abuse of girls) because both depict the females as not only structurally powerful but also as having sexual power over men. In both Figures 6.10 and 6.15, the setting is the countryside, where conservative values are still adhered to, and women's freedoms are infringed upon. Thus, we see the two female caricatures are foregrounded for wearing a miniskirt and trousers, respectively, which are believed to index girls and women's sexual immorality (Disele et al., 2011; Makoni, 2011; Morrison, 1996). It is not surprising that rural girls and young women are evaluated negatively because the survival of patriarchy is dependent on rural dwellers, especially young females, being compliant (Cockerton, 2009). In a recent work on masculinities and intimate femicide, Modongo (2021) observes that younger men construct their masculine identities around having money and providing for their female partners. However, due to high unemployment levels and high cost of living they are not able

''to fully rise to this role'' hence, they employ shaming tactics on women that they ''date men for money or use love as a business'' (p. 41).

Figure 6.16: The 'women please your men' cartoon (older/middle-class women and younger/working-class men)

In contrast to Figure 6.15 above, the female caricature in Figure 6.16 is frontal, framed above the knee and involved, while the male participant is viewed from the back, suggesting viewers are distanced from him. Yet, we are also persuaded to take his point of view through being positioned closer to the frame. The older woman is portrayed as a service provider and she is also eroticised. Hence, she is objectified for both the viewer and the other participant, whose sexual desire is symbolised by a hanging tongue. Congruent with the verbal analyses, older women are positively evaluated for their domesticity and sexual availability (see also verbal analysis, example 143 above), while younger women are positioned as using their sexuality to financially exploit men. Whereas the taxi driver in Figure 6.15 is depicted as part of the viewer's world, the man in this image representing a garden boy/herd boy/toy boy is uninvolved, which means he is depicted as socially unrelatable. This is congruous with the verbal appraisal, where younger men and unskilled men are negatively evaluated for dating older, middle-class women (see example 145 above).

6.6 Conclusion

The findings of the visual appraisal show that the caricatures are offered to audiences as entertainment. Although represented as intimately close with viewers, 57% of the depicted participants are drawn from an oblique angle compared to 43% that are frontal, with none addressing the viewer. Given this representation, the viewers may not view these caricatures as reflecting their reality and hence not sympathise with, especially, those represented as victims of abuse. With the sexual objectification of women permeating all their social identities — be it professional women, younger women, churchgoers, or underage girls — it might be reasonable to argue that this platform is commercially oriented. The parameters set for the column suggest a patriarchal and heteronormative ideology, in which it is male identities that are articulated and legitimated. These parameters are set within a cultural space that views women as sex objects and commodities that can be sold to male audiences.

The verbal appraisal findings reveal that sexual abuse is problematised as a social class and ethnic issue rather than a societal problem rooted in gender inequality. For instance, if a perpetrator has a higher social status, then his actions are represented as reprehensible but the same does not obtain for a young working-class perpetrator. Instead, a young victim's morals are brought into question in that case, challenging her credibility. Although foreign evangelical men are generally viewed as sex predators, the visual appraisal results suggest some young women are represented as compliant participants. As Kitzinger (2004) points out, this selective condemnation of sexual violence seeks to 'other' certain individuals/social groups by offering a distorted view about its nature. Kitzinger (2004) posits that such distortions contribute to a 'symbolic expulsion' of sexual violence in that they ''set the scene for promoting a law-and-order agenda that tackles sexual violence purely by identifying and controlling these individuals'' (p.27). For example, owing to media coverage that targeted Pentecostal churches, a lot of foreign evangelical leaders were deported from Botswana and declared prohibited immigrants.[37] However, sexual abuse of women and children within and outside the church still remains a thorny issue. For instance, the motivation to downplay sexual violence as a performance of aggressive hegemonic and heteronormative masculinity is shown in the representation of male lust as love in the cartoon column, which normalises

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[37]https://voiceofafrica.co.za/botswana-clamps-down-on-foreign-pastors/

male sexual depravity. This perspective is unfortunately reproduced by some readers (cf. section 7.3).

The findings also show that female professionals are defined as women/female before they are professionals. As Ross and Sreberny (2000) assert, they are represented as the atypical doctor or member of parliament in contrast to their 'normal' colleagues who, while bearing no gendered descriptors, are marked as male. Younger women (Ma-14) are positioned as money worshippers and temptresses, suggesting that deviance from traditional ideologies of femininity is viewed as a threat to the status quo. In the same vein, younger men and unskilled men are disparaged for dating outside their social class and age group because, as the findings show, it changes the power dynamics, i.e. the men become subordinate partners, which destabilises patriarchy and threatens male supremacy.

Chapter 5 and 6 presented results of SAR, transitivity and appraisal with regards to the cartoon column. The same methods are applied in the next analysis chapter, chapter 7, to examine how readers reacted to the cartoons.

CHAPTER 7: Representations of men and women in readers' comments on [selected] cartoons

This chapter addresses the research question of how readers react to the cartoons and conversations in the cartoon column 'Conversations from a Combi'. I analyse the comments for transitivity, social actor representation and appraisal: attitude to see if readers align with, or disassociate themselves from, the gender and sexuality ideologies promoted by the cartoon column. The findings will give us an impression of the gender and sexuality ideologies that are confirmed and reproduced, and those that are contested and subverted. Additionally, it will be interesting to see if there are counter-ideologies emerging and how they are reacted to by the commenters. This chapter is structured as follows; first, I perform a SAR (social actor representation) analysis of the comments followed by transitivity and appraisal analyses. To understand how I selected the comments that are analysed in this chapter, refer to chapter 4 on methodology.

7.1 Representations of foreign evangelical pastors

Two texts were selected in this category: the 'miracle money on the loose' and the 'pastors on the prowl' texts. The total number of comments collected for this section were 131, with 79 (60%) readers aligned to the values and beliefs expressed in the column, while 52 (39.7%%) contested those values. Below, I give a synopsis of the cartoons.

Miracle money on the loose

The passengers in the combi discuss foreign evangelical pastors and prophets who claim to perform miracles, including filling church members' bank accounts with money. Church members are encouraged to buy the products sold in the church and give more money in church as they would be rewarded with more. This only leads to those giving money in the church sinking deeper into poverty, while the church leaders live lavishly. This argument is further bolstered by the image shown below.

Figure 7.1: cartoon illustration of 'Miracle money on the loose'

Pastors on the prowl

In this text, some of the represented speakers on the combi opine that evangelical pastors play on young women's insecurities and desperation to find men to marry. After gaining their trust, they invite them for prayers at their private residences or other secluded areas, where they rape or manipulate them into sex. Often, the pastors do not work alone but with other members of the church. In the case of this text, a pastor collaborates with an older female, who lures a younger woman into the pastor's bedroom. The conversations are illustrated by the cartoon below.

Figure 7.2: cartoon illustration of 'Pastors on the prowl'

7.1.1 Social actor analysis

Now moving to the analyses of the text, I start with the social actor analysis.

Table 7.1: Social actor representation in the readers' comments

Appraisement	Functionalisation + ethnic identification	Ethnic/national identification	Functionalisation + identification
Prophets: negative -*Makwekwere* [derogative term for African immigrants] [1] -Profit-making business [1] -*Ramatousane* [money grabbing] healing church [1] -*Kereke tsa fashion* [fashion-show churches] [2] -false prophets/pastors [8] -false churches [1] -Wolves in sheep's skin [1] -*barutinyana* ['tiny'/i.e. disingenuous/fake pastors] [1] -*Barutinyana baba fire* ['tiny'/i.e. fake pastors of fire] [1] -the evil pastors [1] -so called pastors [1] -*maherehere* [crooks] [1]	foreign pastors [2] **Functionalisation** -*Baruti*/Pastors [14] -*Moruti*/pastor [16] -players [1] **Impersonalisation (objectivation)**	-Those foreigners [1] -Batswana [Botswana citizens] [1] -The locals (i.e. Batswana) [1] **Relational identification** -**our** women [1] -**Your** fellow country-men [1] -**our** nation [1] -nation of **ours** [1]	-*baruti ba di miracle* [pastors of miracles] [1] -*baruti ba fire* [fire pastors] [2] -pastors of fire churches [1] -fire churches' pastors [1] **Identification by gender (age, religion)** -*basadi*/women [8] -*mosadi*/woman [6] -Christian women [2]

		-the pastor's wife [1]	-*mosadi ke ngwana* [a
Prophets: positive	**Women**	-*basadi ba gagwe*	woman is a child] [1]
-real prophets [2]	-*Kuku/dikukunyana*	[the pastor's wives]	-'*malaiti a schecho*'
-mighty prophets [2]	[tiny/small cake, i.e.	[1]	[church boys] [1]
-true pastor/s [2]	vagina] [2]		-*bana ba phuthego*
-true Christian/s [2]	**Pastors**		[children i.e. women
-true prophets [1]	**[dehumanisation]**		in the church] [1]
-genuine churches [1]	-*dilo tse* [these things]	**Appraisement +**	-*bana* [children i.e.
-*batlodiwa ba modimo* [God's	[1]	**identification**	women] [1];
anointed] [1]			-*banuza*
-servants of God [1]		-hottest girl [1]	[children] (slang for
		-hot girls [1]	girls) [1]
		-ugly girls [2]	

There are 32 instances when prophets are categorised via appraisement in the table above. However, 63% (20 instances) of appraisement are negative while only 37% (12 cases) are positive. This aligns with the numbers of readers (60%) who took the dominant subject position in the texts as stated above. The data above suggests that evangelicals are perceived as either 'false' or 'true', while their churches are disparaged as 'profit-making businesses'.

Table 7.1 demonstrates that representation by functionalisation is prominent in readers' comments as the terms *'mo-/baruti'* (pastor/s) are used 30 times. The stem *'ruta'* means 'to teach' and '*mo-/ba-ruti*' literally translates to 'teacher/s'. But in addition to being functionalised, they are also given a special identity which distinguishes them from other

pastors, e.g. as 'pastors of miracles' or 'pastors of fire'[38] or as foreign pastors *'makwerekwere'.* Noticeably too, a dichotomy is drawn between pastors and the nation; with the nation being categorised as 'Batswana' and also referenced through relational identification pronouns such as, '**your** fellow countrymen', '**our** nation', and 'nation of **ours**', indicating a desire to build national solidarity. Contrastively, evangelical leaders are referred to by means of a deictic pronoun, e.g. '**those** foreigners', which distances them from the speaker and positions them as outsiders. For example,

[Female]

> Batswana ba itse thata go tlhokomela makwerekwere a tla a sotlegile ko ga bone mxm ba bo ba ipitsa baruti ba di miracle,u cum to me den u
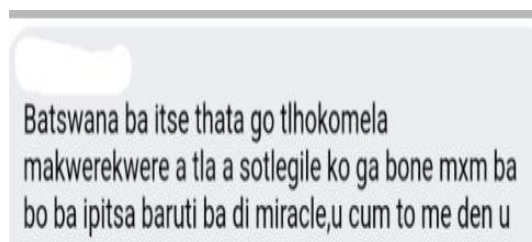
146.   'Batswana surely know how to care for these poverty-stricken *makwerekwere* who claim to be pastors of miracles/Batswana surely know how to care for these *makwerekwere* driven from their homes by poverty and once here claiming to be pastors of miracles.'

This user draws a line between 'us-Batswana' and 'them-*Makwerekwere*', whom she believes are fleeing economic hardships from their countries and only use religion to get easy money from the nation. Kim (2010: 12) equates the *makwerekwere* label to 'babblers' and Mangeya (2021: 352) argues it is a slur nuanced with racist and colonial tropes such as in Conrad's 'Heart of Darkness' novel. He opines that to equate a people's language with babbling denigrates and dehumanises them, and ultimately justifies violence against them. Thus, the label is a form of verbal violence which is often a prelude to physical violence.

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[38] Evangelical churches are commonly known as fire churches in Botswana because the prophets often claim they can exorcise demons with fire.
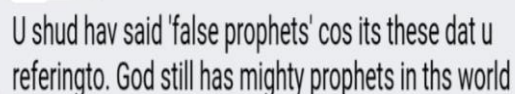
There are also 19 references to *'mo-/ba-sadi'* (woman/women), suggesting that church members are generally represented as female (see also section 5.3.1.2). In the representation of women there is a reference to them as *'ngwana/bana'* (child/-ren) as well as 'girls', which suggests they are viewed as immature. On the contrary, there is only one instance when adult men are represented as boys, e.g. *'malaiti a schecho'* (church boys). In line with this positioning as children, women are also categorised via relational identification, e.g. as belonging to men, e.g. 'our women' or 'the pastor's wife'. Women are also categorised by impersonalisation, i.e. through euphemistic references to their body parts such as *'kuku/dikuku-nyana'* (cake/s), which means vagina.

7.1.2. Transitivity analysis

For this category, I analyse the comments for the theme of false vis-à-vis real prophets, which as seen in the SAR analysis, is a key issue in readers' comments, as well as for the themes that position women as food and as children. These metaphors are pivotal for our understanding of how women are perceived in contexts of heterosexual abuse and the roles they take in sexual activities.

a) **False versus real prophets/pastors**

[female]

147. U [**sayer**] shud hav said [**verbal-L5**] 'false prophets' [**verbiage**] cos [**circumstance**]
148. its these [**identified**] that you referring to [**identity**]
149. you [**sayer**] referring to [**verbal-L5**]
150. God [**carrier-possessor**] still [**circumstance**] has [**relational possessive-L2**] mighty prophets [**attribute-possessed**] in this world [**circumstance**]

This commenter responds to the cartoonist and resists the stereotype of all male evangelists as sexual abusers. She uses a relational identifying clause to identify 'false prophets' (147) and

an attributive one to suggest that God (150) has real or 'mighty' prophets, implying the false ones are not of God. In this sub-theme, 70% of the commenters are male, which raises questions of whether they are foreign pastors using this platform to defend and protect themselves from a negative representation.

[male]

> Ke mathata, but there a few true Pastors still arround, who genuinely care about the spiritual wellbeing of our nation.

151.   *K*e [it-**token**] is [**relational-L2**] *mathata* [a problem −**value**]

152.   but there are [**existential-L1**] a few true Pastors [**existent**] still around [**circumstance**]**,**

153.   who [**senser**] genuinely [**circumstance**] care about [**mental-L3**] the spiritual wellbeing of our nation [**phenomenon**]

In this example, the commenter avoids characterising the pastors as the problem. Instead, the role of carrier is given to a dummy subject, 'it', which is an inanimate social actor (151). This evasive strategy is followed by a contesting position (152) that a few true pastors exist. The pastors are agentive and active conscious beings in the role of senser, while the nation is a passive phenomenon (153). This reader's counter strategy is to avoid positioning pastors as actors, which would make them more agentive. Rather, he positions them in existential and mental clauses, which have very low to moderate agency (see cline of semantic agency-Figure 4.1). Unlike an actor in a material clause, the role of senser as in (153) is not physically demonstrable and therefore hard to critique. The next example also demonstrates how impersonalisation metonymically represents pastors as the church.

[male]

> Jeso yo bonolo, aoh bathong, le raya gore kereke ya Christ e senyegile jaana. Let us learn to differentiate false prophet and real prophet. mathata ke rona batho, ga re itse gore re batla eng. kereke ga e na molato, mathata ke rona.

154. *Jeso yo bonolo* [Jesus Christ], *aoh bathong* [wow fellows], *le raya gore* [so] <u>*kereke ya Christ*</u> [the church of Christ [**carrier**] *e* [is—**relational L2**] *senyegile jaana* [so corrupt —**attribute**].

155. Let <u>us</u> [**senser**] learn to differentiate [**mental-L3**] false prophet and real prophet [**phenomenon**]**.**

156. *Mathata* [The problem—**attribute**] *ke* [is—**relational L2**] *rona, batho* [us, the people/followers—**carrier**],

157. *ga* [we—**senser**] *re itse* [don't know—**mental L3**] *gore re batla eng* [what we want—**mental clause as phenomenon**].

158. *Gore re* [we—**senser**] *batla* [want—**mental L3**] *eng* [what—**phenomenon**]

159. *Kereke* [The church—**carrier**] *ga ena* [is not—**relational L2**] *molato* [a problem— **attribute**],

160. *mathata* [the problem—**attribute**] *ke* [is—**relational L2**] *rona* [us—**carrier**]

The use of 'church' as a metonymy for prophets (154, 159) positions them as objects and without accountability for the decisions they make in the church. Contrastively, church members are characterised as the problem (156, 160) and activated as sensers (155, 157, 158), which suggests they are represented as having some degree of agency to change the status quo. While it is possible for church members to effect change by distinguishing between false and true prophets (155), church leaders have an equal role to play as they are the alleged perpetrators of sexual abuse. The burden should not be with the younger women, who are victims of men abusing their positions of power to take advantage of them. Comments like these utilise what feminists call 'the blame victim frame' (Exner et al., 2009), which backgrounds the power dynamics brought to bear in sexual assaults. The analyses show that the pastors are not activated in material processes but are participants in roles that give them less agency such as existent, relational and senser or are passivated. The lesser degree of agency by pastors in these posts has the potential to obscure their role in sexual abuse of women in the church.

b) Women as cakes (*kuku*)

Table 7.1 shows that women are objectivated and impersonalised by references to *'kuku'* (vagina). In Botswana culture, euphemisms and metaphors are used instead of explicit sexual

terms, which, being as taboo, attract corporeal punishment when used in public. According to Lakoff (1994: 208) ''metaphor enables language users to delimit and reify abstract concepts in particular terms and it should be considered as a mode of thought and reason''. That is, metaphors enable us to talk about and understand abstract concepts in terms of concrete ones. Koller (2022) proffers that metaphors that express embodied sex acts and arousal also have an interpersonal function, rather than only an ideational one, which is to talk about taboo topics in non-offensive ways. The metaphor *'kuku'* (cake) is a euphemistic expression for vagina but it also conveys meaning about the role of the vagina/woman in heterosexual sex, e.g. as passive. Research on eating and food as sources for naming sexual organs and sexual practices abounds (Hiraga, 1991; Hines, 1994; Emanatian, 1995; Makoni, 2015; Maalej, 2001). Khajeh and Abdullah (2012: 71) opine that the prevalence of the 'sex is eating' metaphor across cultures might be due to the prominence of food in everyday life as a specific source of nourishment and pleasure. Emanatian (1999) submits that sex and eating are the most salient ways in which the inside of the body permeates and is permeated by the outside world or another body. As carriers of ideology (Koller, 2022) metaphors highlight certain aspects of our sexuality and hide others. For example, the role of vagina/a woman as a passive object being eaten is a male-centric view. A different and perhaps feminist perspective could frame the vagina as enveloping the male organ in heterosexual coitus (Braun and Kitzinger, 2002). In the following examples, the heterosexual male viewpoint is hegemonic because both female and male commenters alike position women as food.

[female]

> Barutinyana ba ba fire ba santse ba tlile go ja dikukunyana tse tsa bone gore ba bake!

161.   *Baruti**nyana**[39] baba fire* [these 'tiny' i.e. fake fire pastors—**actor**] *ba santse ba tlile* [are still going— **material L6**]

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[39] *'**Barutinyana'*** is derogative and implies the pastors are fake, while '**dikukunyana'** appraises the women as insignificant (see section 6.2.1)

162. *go ja[40]* [to 'eat' —**material L6**] *dikukunyana tse tsa bone* [their 'tiny' cakes-—**goal**]

163. gore [until—**circumstance**] *ba* [they-**senser**] *bake* [learn—**mental L3**] their lesson [**phenomenon**]

In (162), pastors are active agents 'eating' the women's 'tiny' cakes, the goal, while the women's agency is only moderate — expressed as a cognitive mental process (163). The *'kuku'* (cake) does not only reference female genitalia but a woman as well. Reducing women to just parts of their bodies is also documented by Diabah (2020: 111), who reports women being addressed as 'ɛtwɛ' (vagina) by members of a male residential block at the University of Ghana. The pattern shown in examples (155), (157) and (158) is repeated here in that the women are represented in mental processes as conscious beings, which gives them less agency compared to the pastors but still suggests they have an active role in their sexual abuse to some extent.

[male]

> bone barutinyana dithako tse di leletse le di sutu tsedi phatsiman thy r players ba ja kuku ka leina ga jesu(make luv 2 me in jesus name)

164. *bone barutinyana* [these tiny (fake) pastors—**identified**] *dithako tse di leletse le di sutu tse di phatsiman* [with shiny shoes and sleek suits—**circumstance**] thy [**token**] r [**relational-L2**] players [**value**]

165. *ba* [they—**actor**] *ja* [eat—**material L6**] *kuku* [the cake—**goal-subjected**] *ka leina ga jesu* [in Jesus's name—**circumstance**]

The SAR analysis shows pastors are personalised, while in the transitivity analysis they are actors (165). They are also identified as 'players' (164), meaning their interactions with women are framed as games or sport, in which they 'play' the women. Contrastively, women are impersonalised and objectivated (162, 165) as well as being goals in material processes.

c) Women as children

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[40] '*Ja'* [to eat] is metaphor for vaginal-penetrative sexual acts

Finally, I analyse comments for how women are positioned as children by the commenters.

[female]

o tshwenya bana ba phuthego...

166.   O [you/pastor—**actor**] *tshwenya* [are illtreating—**material L6**] bana [children—**goal subjected**] *ba phuthego* [belonging to/of the church—**circumstance**]

[male]

Yah mosadi ke ngwana o dumela a dirisitswe,ke gone a tlaabo a go bolelela gole bothoko,o sa bolo go mmolelela ka kereke tse tsa bone.

167.   Yah *mosadi* [a woman—**identified/token**] *ke* [is—**relational L2**] *ngwana* [a child—**identity/value**]**,**

168.   o [she—**senser**] *dumela* [believes/accepts advice—**mental L3**]

169.   *fa* [after—**circumstance**] *a* [she—**goal**] *dirisitswe* [has been used/abused—**material L6**]

170.   *Ke gone* [only then—**circumstance**] *a* [she—**sayer**] *tlaabo a go bolelela* [will report to/tell—**verbal L5**] you [**receiver**]**,** *gole* [when—**circumstance**] it [**senser**] botlhoko [hurts, i.e. of feelings —**mental L3**]

171.   *o* [you—**sayer**] *sa bolo* [long after—**circumstance**] *go mmolelela* [warned—**verbal L5**] her [**receiver**] *ka dikereke tse tsa bone* [about these churches—**verbiage**]
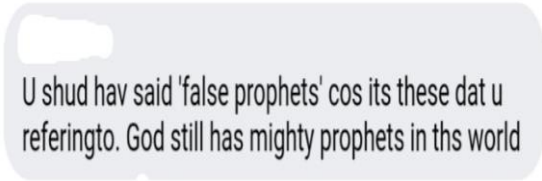
The powerlessness of women is not only demonstrated in them being infantilised, but also by being positioned as subjected goals of pastors (166, 169). The relational clause (167) 'a woman is a child', transfers onto women the attributes of naughtiness and rebellion. That is, as a child, a woman experiments with the world and heeds a warning (168-171) only after she has suffered a ruinous consequence. Discourses of women as children are quite common in

Botswana.[41] Earlier research such as the Women's Affairs Department study (1999: 76) found that newly-wed women were being told that they were children in their marriages and should listen to their husbands. Almost a decade later, Ellece (2007) reported that the groom was advised by other married men to view his wife as a small child, who needs his guidance. Makoni (2015) also noted in her study of labels given to female genitalia by university students in South Africa that infantile labels were common. She concluded that not only the vagina was being perceived as a child, but also the woman was being represented as fragile and powerless in heterosexual coitus. The transitivity analyses of the verbal and visual data show young Christian women in submissive positions, e.g. kneeling before male pastors with their eyes closed, whereas the pastors are active desiring beings, touching them and/or directing their gaze to various parts of their bodies (cf. chapter 5).

7.1.3 Appraisal analysis

In this section, I reproduce the comments used in the transitivity analysis and code them for appraisal. The lines are given the same numbering but with an (a) to distinguish from the transitivity analysis.

[female]

U shud hav said 'false prophets' cos its these dat u referingto. God still has mighty prophets in ths world

147a. U shud hav said **'false** prophets'** [**-veracity**] cos its these that you referring to. God still has **mighty** prophets [**+capacity**] in this world

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[41] As a child, I always heard adult women refer to themselves as children. When my father passed away in 1993, my mother delegated the role of head of the household to my eldest brother, 29 years at the time. She referred to herself as just a 'child' and would not take any decision without consulting him.

[male]

> Ke mathata, but there a few true Pastors still arround, who genuinely care about the spiritual wellbeing of our nation.

151a*. K*e *mathata* [it is a problem], but there are <u>a few</u> **true** <u>Pastors</u> [**+veracity**] still around, <u>who **genuinely care**</u> [**+veracity/+propriety**] about the spiritual wellbeing of our nation

As can be seen in these examples, pastors are appraised through the category of judgement, which assesses their character. Evangelical pastors are mostly negatively appraised as untruthful but also receive a positive evaluation in three instances. Given that in the SAR analysis, only 22.3% of appraisement is positive, these comments show some of the voices that resist the newspaper's subject position. The resistance is mitigated though in (147a, 151a) as graduation by quantification 'a few' is applied to lower the interpersonal force of what is meant. Yet again, the commenters employ graduation (intensification) to raise the force of the proposition in that the few pastors who exist are of high quality.

[male]

> Jeso yo bonolo, aoh bathong, le raya gore kereke ya Christ e senyegile jaana. Let us learn to differentiate false prophet and real prophet. mathata ke rona batho, ga re itse gore re batla eng. kereke ga e na molato, mathata ke rona.

154a*. Jeso yo bonolo, aoh bathong, le raya gore <u>kereke ya Christ</u> e senyegile jaana* [Jesus Christ, wow fellows, so the church of Christ is <u>so corrupt</u>] [**-propriety**]

155a. Let us learn to differentiate <u>false</u> prophet and <u>real</u> prophet [**-/+ veracity**]**.**

156a**.** *Mathata ke rona, batho* [The problem is us, people/followers or we followers are the problem] [**-reaction**]

157a. *ga re itse gore re batla eng* [we <u>don't know</u>] [**-capacity**]

158a. what we <u>want</u> [**+inclination**]

159a. *Kereke ga ena molato* [The church is not a problem] [**+reaction**]

160a**.** *mathata ke* rona [the problem is us/we are the problem] [**-reaction**]

The stance taken by this commenter is similar to the first two; first, he acknowledges the dominant position, e.g. negatively evaluating the church as corrupt and then shifting to an alternative viewpoint. This reader focuses on followers of evangelical churches, whom he refers to through the collective pronouns 'us/we' as a means to create solidarity and inclusive identity. He, however, evaluates the 'us' negatively in two of the three sub-types of attitude, i.e. (-capacity), (-reaction [2]) and (+inclination). On the contrary, the church receives a balanced evaluation; constituted by one instance each of positive judgement and appreciation, and two negative judgements. The negative evaluation of followers is consonant with their roles as sensers in the transitivity analysis. That is, they are viewed as active social actors with some degree of agency and therefore accountable for their sexual assaults or for enabling pastors to abuse power against third parties (see synopsis for 'pastors on the prowl' cartoon, Figure 7.2).

The foregoing analyses of SAR and transitivity have shown that representations of women as food are a form of impersonalisation, which represents women not only as objects, but also as passive goals of male actors, who consume them as food. The examples are reproduced below and coded for appraisal.

[female]

> Barutinyana ba ba fire ba santse ba tlile go ja dikukunyana tse tsa bone gore ba bake!

161a. *Baruti**nyana*** [**-veracity**] *ba ba fire ba santse ba tlile go ja dikuku**nyana*** [**-valuation**] *tse tsa bone* gore *ba bake* [these **'tiny' i.e. fake fire pastors** are still going to eat **their 'tiny' cakes i.e. worthless/useless** until they learn their lesson]

[male]

> bone barutinyana dithako tse di leletse le di sutu tsedi phatsiman thy r players ba ja kuku ka leina ga jesu(make luv 2 me in jesus name)

164a. *bone baruti**nyana*** [**-veracity**] *dithako tse di leletse le di sutu tse di phatsiman* [**impact +quality**] these **tiny (fake) pastors)** with shiny shoes and sleek suits thy r **players** [**-propriety**] *ba ja kuku ka leina ga jesu* [they eat the cake in Jesus's name] [**-veracity**]

We have seen that in the transitivity analysis, pastors perform material actions that affect women's lives negatively. The appraisal analyses above show that such actions are disapproved of as pastors are judged negatively as dishonest. These commenters fit the newspaper's ideal reader, who shares the view of evangelical pastors as false. However, their evaluation of the sexual victims of pastors is also negative and objectifying. This may explain the lack of affective evaluation in these comments; objects have no feelings and cannot be felt for either.

To conclude this section, I analyse the following comments for how women are positioned as minors in comments.

[female]

o tshwenya bana ba phuthego...

166a. ***tshwenya* bana** *ba phuthego* [you/pastor are illtreating [**-propriety**] kids/children [-**capacity**] belonging to/of the church.

[male]

Yah mosadi ke ngwana o dumela a dirisitswe,ke gone a tlaabo a go bolelela gole bothoko,o sa bolo go mmolelela ka kereke tse tsa bone.

167a. Yah *mosadi ke ngwana* [a woman is a child] [**-capacity**], o *dumela fa a diritswe* [she believes/accepts things as true after she has been used, i.e. abused] [implicit -**propriety**]

The infantile identity ascribed to women positions them as powerless against those who abuse them. Yet, from a critical perspective, infantilising women is not only disempowering,

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but denies them the wisdom that comes with age, and supports patriarchal systems that subject women to male guardianship.

7.2 Sexual abuse of underage girls (the interface of gender, age and class)

One of the two cartoon texts in this category was found to have no comments. As such, I analyse comments on a text titled 'Bringing sexy back', which is about a girl who is 'bedded' (as used in the text) by a poor younger man. The girl's mother then files a case of defilement to the police, which the perpetrator and his sister contest by suggesting sex was consensual. Besides, they argued, the girl enticed the man with her clothes. Additionally, they posit her mother barters her to rich older men in exchange for groceries. Thus, she is already sexually experienced.

Figure 7.3: Cartoon illustration of ''Bringing sexy back'

The word 'bedded' is understood as a euphemism for sexual intercourse. '*Dikobo'*, which means blankets/bedding, is a metonymy for sexual intercourse in the Setswana language. If sex is consensual, then we say '*go tlhakanela dikobo'* (to share bedding). When it is defilement, we say '*go tlhakanela dikobo le bana ba ba ko tlase ga dingwaga* (to share bedding with underaged children). Rape is expressed as '*go tsaya dikobo ka dikgoka'* (to forcefully take blankets/bedding). The euphemism 'bedded' as used in the text suggests consensual sex because as can be seen above, defilement does not contain the phrase 'take forcefully' (***tsaya***...***dikgoka***) but it is expressed as 'sharing blankets' (***tlhakanela***), which

reflects beliefs of sexual abuse of minors as 'consensual sex' unless force is used. Having given a synopsis of the cartoon text, I now turn to the comments posted in reaction to the text.

61% of commenters rejected the subject position given in the text, choosing to condemn the actions of the man rather than blaming the girl for her choice of dress. Surprisingly, there are no comments that castigate the mother for allegedly selling off her child to rich men in exchange for groceries. Perhaps readers find this representation of a mother unrelatable or normal. However, there are comments that call upon mothers but not fathers to teach their sons to behave, and their daughters to dress modestly, pointing to a general trend of fathers being absent in their children's lives in Botswana (Molokomme, 1991). As observed in sections 5.3.2 and 6.3.1, mothers are included in stories about the sexual abuse of their daughters while fathers are suppressed. This is a window into Tswana social expectations about motherhood and the responsibility that mothers carry in raising children in Tswana societies. This attests to the Setswana proverb *'mosadi ke thari ya setshaba'* meaning a woman gives birth to a nation and carries it on her back (Ellece, 2010).

There are three recurring themes in the comments which I analyse for SAR, transitivity, and appraisal. These are the representation of men as dogs and women as bitches, the argument that men are un(able) to constrain their sexual feelings, and representation of girls as unripe fruits.

7.2.1 Social actor analysis

The next section presents results of the social actor representation.

Table 7.2: Social actor representations in the readers' comments

Appraisement [women + girls]	Functionalisation [women + girls]	Identification [women + girls]	Appraisement and dehumanisation [men + boys]	Identification [men + boys]
*Lekgela/*makgela [unripe fruit/s [2] -mad woman [1] -seductive women [1] *-mo go mamina* [snotty faced/minors] [1] -*Mabelete* [bitches/prostitutes] [10]	-Prostitute [1]	-(poor/little) girl [12] -(young) girls [5] -a woman [4] -(elderly) women [5] -*ngwana* [child] [10]	-*Pudi* [goat] [2] - boofhead [1] -pervert *e lo eruileng* [a **bred** pervert] [1] -D*ipheke* [male dogs/donkeys] [1] -Dogs [4]	-Some men/ those men [8] -Man [4] -the male child/boy [5] -(older) people/men [3] -Guys [2]
Objectivation + dehumanisation -*Dilo tse* [these things] [1] -*Lekgela/*makgela [unripe fruit/s [2]		**Relational identification** -Mothers [2] -ur dota [your daughter [2] -ur girlfriend [1] -their own children [1]	**Nomination [men]** - Ditiro Leero [a local musician jailed for defilement] [1]	**Relational identification** -your sons [1] -your brother [2] -my boy [1] -the brother [1]

Nomination [women]		-his six month old baby girl [2]	Functionalisation	-yo dad (2)
Beyonce *le* (and) Rihanna [1]		-your lil sister/ My sister/ ur sister [3]	-Rapists [2]	**National identification**
		-*stogolo* [your niece] [1]		-Batswana men [2]

The table above shows that comments reacting to this cartoon employ identification by gender as a form of reference more than other categories. Identification by gender accounts for 67% of the way social actors are categorised. Breaking this figure down further, women and girls are classified by gender more than men, at 53%. But what is more, girls are referenced 75% more than adult females. In a marked difference from this representation of girls, it is men who are referenced more than boys, making up for 77% of the total. What can be gleaned from these results is that adult males and young females co-occur in texts about abusive sexual relations, while the same is not true for older females and younger males. The visual depictions in the cartoon column also echo this, e.g. men in cars and/or flashing cash are depicted gazing at girls on the streets. However, the girls are not depicted as innocent actors either, as they are sexualised and shown to be asking for men's attention via their dress, gaze and facial expressions. Be that as it may, research on sexual exploitation of younger girls by older affluent men in Southern Africa has shown that such relations are fuelled by both social and economic inequalities between men and women, and between urban and rural dwellers. Young, poor and rural girls are more vulnerable to this exploitation than other social groups (LeClerc-Madlala 2003; Mojola 2015; Nkosana et al., 2015).

Additionally, such exploitation is perpetuated by cultural practices found in some ethnic groups in Botswana. Recently, a ruling party councillor in the northwest was reported to have married his wife when she was fifteen and claimed she was given to him by her father before birth.[42] Although the Children's Act holds that anyone under the age of 18 is incapable of consenting to marriage or sex, tribal identification and practices are also protected in the constitution of Botswana. The clashes between tradition and modern law result in the abuse of girls.

Table 7.2 also demonstrates that women and girls are appraised 60% more than men. However, it is the different and gendered appraisements that shed light on societal expectations of male and female sexuality. For example, women and girls are appraised through the label '*mabelete*', an equivalent of prostitute/bitch/slut/whore in English. In Setswana, to be sexually promiscuous is *'go'* (to) '*beleta*' (prostitute), therefore *'le-belete/ma-*

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[42] https://news.thevoicebw.com/2021/03/councillor-defends-child-marriages/amp/

belete' refer to a woman or women practising prostitution.[43] Thus, appraisement as *'le-/ma-belete',* (prostitute/s or bitch/es), derives from the sexual and gendered roles female social actors are thought to be performing, albeit transgressively. I have therefore classified *'mabelete'* as categorisation by functionalisation as well in line with the explanation given above. Women's resistance to this social label that appraises even girls as prostitutes is also objectifying as they call underage girls *'le-/ma-kgela'* (unripe fruit/s). This implies that once considered to be ripe, girls are sexually available to men.

80% of evaluative terms reference men as animals, typically domestic animals such as dogs, goats and donkeys. Although nowadays '*mabelete*' can also refer to men, women who perform their sexuality in ways deemed unorthodox are subjected to stiffer cultural sanctions than men even today. Hence, animal metaphors are used to describe men's sexual transgressions rather than the explicit *'mabelete'* label. Alimi and Arua's (2008) study amongst University of Botswana students on labels given to male and female lecturers who initiate sexual relationships with students on the one hand, and those given to male and female students who initiate sexual relationships with lecturers on the other, confirmed that both female lecturers and students were disparaged as *'mabelete'* among other derogative labels. Contrastively, male lecturers and students were endearingly honoured for their sexual exploits. Therefore, animal metaphors are implicit evaluations that need cultural knowledge about how male sexuality is conceptualised in Botswana. That is, like animals that mate even with members of their family, men are constructed as lacking the capacity to think like humans and therefore have no moral compass. Yet, one also needs to pay particular attention to the sex of the animals as well, e.g. *'di-pheke'* refers to male dogs/donkeys and *'phoko'* is an uncastrated male goat. I surmise that male sexuality is conceptualised in terms of virility, suggesting a strong sexual drive is seen as a performance of hegemonic masculinity, which however, is disparaged here. Perhaps this could be a sign that past attitudes and beliefs about female sexuality still prevail, while those about male sexuality might have changed since Alimi and Arua's (2008) study.

In the next section, I analyse comments for transitivity.

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[43]Commercial sex work is illegal in Botswana. Therefore, a prostitute is a woman who has many sexual partners or one who is perceived as immodestly dressed, not necessarily a person who trades in sex.

7.2.2 Transitivity analysis

a) <u>Gendered sexual identities: men are dogs and women are bitches</u>

The thread that is analysed here was selected for analysis because it is conspicuous for its use of offensive and evaluative language against girls and women, and especially for legitimating the rape of children. What is more, it showed that verbal violence, just like physical violence, can be used to silence women. The following is the opening comment of the thread.

Turn 1 [male1]

> Mabelete emisang go apara short skirt n dress your lil bitches the same in public.

172.   *Mabelete* [Bitches − **actor**] *emisang go apara* [stop wearing−**material L6**] short skirt [**scope**]

173.   n dress **[material L6]** your <u>lil bitches</u> **[goal]** the same **[circ.]** in public **[circ.]**

The user ascribes women and girls a denigrating social label *'mabelete'*, which insinuates that they trade in sex and/or have multiple sexual partners. Though represented as active, the women's actions do not impact other people negatively, rather young girls are their goals (173). This user's hostility and misogyny are also not hard to find as he refers to both women and their daughters as bitches, despite the minors having no sexual experience. Herring (2004) alludes to 'rough' male language in internet discussion groups, which is used to intimidate and harass women who speak straightforwardly and assertively or those construed to be critical of men. This thread is hogged by three males who weaponise the gendered insult *'mabelete'* against female users. For example, let us consider the response in (turn 4) to turns 2 and 3 below.

Turn 2 [Female1]

> emisa go roga batho

174.   *Emisa* [stop] <u>*go roga*</u> [insulting−**verbal L5**] *batho* [people−**receiver**]

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Turn 3 [female2]

> men are by nature dogs they wea
> their shots bt we dont rape them

175.   Men [**token**] are [**relational L2**] by nature [**circumstance**] <u>dogs</u> [**value**]

176.   They [**actor**] wea [**material L6**] their shots [**scope**] bt we [**actor**] <u>dont rape</u> [**negated material process L6**] them [**goal**]

Turn 4 [male1]

> Mabelete...

177.   <u>Mabelete</u> [Bitches]

In turn 2, a female user assumes an authoritative voice, instructing male1 not to insult people, while female2 constructs an identity for men, a rather stereotypical one which gives all men the identity of dogs (175). The 'men are dogs' metaphor is suggestive of a male sexuality that is uncivilised and out of control, and therefore subordinate to female sexuality. Conversely, it can be argued that the addition of 'by nature' could excuse and thereby perpetuate rather than subvert male sexual violence against women under the guise that they have no control over their sexual instincts. This places responsibility for men's sexual behaviour with women. In response to these authorial and adversarial contributions by the two females, male1 employs verbal violence. He either is referring to these users as *'mabelete'* or any woman/girl who wears a short skirt. The extracted conversations demonstrate that contesting female voices disappear when this disparaging word is used, while male contributors create solidarity around it as in the following comment.

Turn 4 [male2]

> Wat if it was ur brother wena a garogile pelo cos of kapari ee sa nnang sentle an u say men are dogs, even ladys are dogs(bitches) hope u know the meaning an they are fucked by anithn that passes by....#mabelete

178.   Wat if [**circumstance**] it [**token**] was [**relational L2**] ur lil brother [**value**]

179.   wena *a* [who − **carrier**] *garogile pelo* [was − **relational L2**] broken-hearted [**attribute**] cos of *kapari ee sa nnang sentle* [because of immodest dressing [**circumstance**]/who [**goal**] was enticed [**material L6**] by immodest dressing [**circumstance**].

180.   And you [**sayer**] say [**verbal L5**] men are dogs [**verbiage as embedded relational clause**],

181.   men [**token**] are [**relational L2**] dogs [**value**]

182.   even ladys [**token**] are [**relational L2**] dogs (bitches) [**value**]

183.   They [**goal**] are fucked [**material L6**] by anything [**actor**] that [**actor**] passes by [**material L6**]

It is striking in this contribution that, unlike the *'mabelete'* label, there are dissenting voices to the 'men are dogs' identity in this thread (180-183) and indeed in other comments not analysed here. This shows how entrenched and taken for granted the *'mabelete'* label is. Yet, even when they are being castigated as bitches, women are passive objects of *anything* that passes (183). This evasive strategy of protecting male actors whilst positioning women as loose, is also visible in the way the user conflates sexuality with romance (179). Thus, a man who cannot control his sexual urges and sexually abuses a girl is said to have been broken-hearted (*a garogile pelo*) as if to suggest they are romantically involved. Thus, romance as a euphemism for sexuality waters down the gravity of the man's actions and reduces his culpability. What is even more puzzling is the legitimation of raping children (in the next example), which is not only inhumane but also criminal.

Turn 5 [male3]

184. *Go apara* [wearing – **material L6**] *di mini skirt le di hot pants* [miniskirts and hot pants – **scope**] *ke ga eng* [why – **circumstance**] *mo mmolong kgotsa di strateng* [in malls and streets – **circumstance**] (why wear miniskirts and hot pants in malls and streets?)

185. *Dilo tseo* [such things (attire) – **scope**] *di aparwa* [are worn – **material L6**] *mo lapeng* [at home – **circumstance**]

186. *eseng* [not when – **circumstance**] *o* [you – **actor**] *tswela ko ntle* [go out- **material L6**]

187. *Ke* [it – **actor**] *go ithekisa* [is prostituting – **material L6**] *golo moo* **[**oneself – **goal**]

188. *Tlogelang* [Let] *ba* **[**them – **goal**] *thubediwe* [get raped – **material L6**]

Female sexuality, femininity, and spatiality are inextricably intertwined in this thread (cf. Thetela 2002; Makoni 2011; Diabah 2013). Women's dress codes are represented as connected with their sexual behaviour, e.g. wearing a short skirt or hot pants in public is viewed as a covert performance of one's sexual desires (187). Thus, a woman/girl who performs her sexuality this way deviates from the traditional ideology of femininity. Hence, they should be raped (188). This view is echoed, albeit by a minority, in a Gender Links survey in which 34% females and 38% males agreed or strongly agreed that ''if a woman wears a short skirt she is asking to be raped'' (Morna et al., 2016: 24-27).

Grammatically, women and girls are consistently positioned as goals of unnamed actors (188), and when activated in this context, they either act on clothes or the material process is negated, e.g. 'they (men) wear their shorts but we (women) **don't** rape them' (176). Of interest is how the female user below names the actors who rape children (190), while all

male contributors choose not to, showing a motivated interest to protect members of their ingroup.

Turn 6 [Female2]

> men are dogs o kare ba rape their own children

189.   Men [**token**] are [**relational L2**] dogs [**value**].

190.   *o kare* [because – **circumstance**] *ba* [they – **actor**] rape [**material L6**] their own children [**goal**]

The belief perpetuated by male1 and male3 that girls face the danger of being sexually molested outside the home only, and by strangers, is denied in this comment. It is important to deconstruct myths about the home being a haven from sexual violence because violence against women and girls in Botswana is mostly carried out by people they have close relations with than it is by strangers (Botswana Women's Affairs Department, 1999).

The next theme I consider in this section is the positioning of men as unable to control their sexual urges.

(b) Men as (un)able to control their sexual urges

Comments analysed below show that some readers place the blame on the girl for wearing short dresses while others are ambivalent. Others unflinchingly reject the 'victim-blame' frame and argue that men can control their desires and should be held accountable for rape. I chose comments by female users in order to highlight that social change can be championed by women but they can also hold it back.

[Female]

> #pudi e hula fa e #huneletswen teng...o huneletse maikutlo a yo mongwe mo ena.

191.   *pudi* [a goat – **actor**] *e hula* [feeds – **material L6**]

192. *fa* [where – **circumstance**] *e* [it – **goal**] *huneletswen* [is caged – **material L6**]

193. *o* [she – **actor**] *huneletse* [has taken hostage/captured – **material L6**] *maikutlo a yo mongwe* mo ena [of his feelings/him – **goal**]

In this comment, the man who defiled the girl is represented as a goat with no power over the girl, who is activated through the process 'captured' (193). This representation positions him as a subjected goal (192, 193). This, combined with the animal metaphor (191) that suggests he is less rational than his victim, places responsibility on the minor. Privileging men's sexual interests over girls' (and women's) freedoms and rights is echoed again in the next contribution. I analyse only the underlined lines.

[Female]

> i was raped whn i was 10years old it tought me nt to ever wear short clothes,becuaze a men gets temted whn thy see those thighs just out thr so every parent should teach their children how to wear its nt right for us wonen to wear those miniskirt,short pants and crop tops walkin alone and i fil a women who wers this kind of clothes does nt respect her body and us women so take care of what u wear

194. i [**goal**] was raped [**material L6**]

195. whn [**circumstance**] i [**carrier**] was [**relational L2**] 10 years old [**attribute**]

196. it [**actor**] tought [**material L6**] me [**goal**]

197. nt to ever [**circumstance**] wear [**material L6**] short clothes [**scope**] becuaze [**circumstance**]

198. a men [**senser**] gets temted [**mental L3**]

199. whn [**circumstance**] thy [**senser**] see [**mental L3**] those thighs out thr [**phenomenon**]

200. it [**carrier**] s [**relational L2**] nt right [**attribute**] for us women [**actor**] to wear [**material L6**] those miniskirt, short pants and crop tops [**scope**]

Unlike in the previous example, where the victim is activated and agentive, this user positions herself as a goal (194) of unnamed actors when she was a minor (195). Despite being a victim,

the user takes responsibility for her sexual assault (196, 197) by the way she positions male sexual perpetrators. The grammatical choices made here background men as actors but foreground their sexual desires (198, 199), which are believed to be uncontrollable. Therefore, it is the responsibility of women and underage girls to keep men's feelings under control by not wearing certain clothes (200).

The following example is ambivalent.

[Female]

> Le ga o ikaparetse sentle fela stil monna ke monna o kgaolwa pelo ke dibaka.....!!! le mo a bonan hela gr mo go santse gole mamina o ikella go pholapholetsa nna a ikaparetse gole summer....!!!!Defilemnt ke defilemnt aba mo ise Zanting....wat if it was ur own kid ngwana wa gago a re

201.   *le ga o* [even when you [woman/girl – **carrier** *ikaparetse* [are – **relational L2**] dressed – **attribute**] *sentle fela* [modestly – **circumstance**]

202.   stil [**circumstance**] *monna* [a man – **token**] *ke* [is – **relational L2]** *monna* [a man – **value**].

203.   *O* [he – **carrier**] *kgaolwa* [is – **relational L2**] *pelo* [broken hearted – **attribute**] *ke dibaka* [by anything – **actor**] (euphemism for a man gets sexually excited easily)**,**

204.   *le mo* [even when – **circumstance**] *a* [he – **senser**] *bonan* [sees – **mental L3**] *hela gr* [clearly – **circumstance**]

205.   *mo go* [these – **identified**] *santse go le* [are – **relational L2**] *mamina* [children – **identity**] with snotty faces [**circumstance**]**,**

206.   *o* [a man – **actor**] *ikella* [wants – **mental L3**]

207.   *go pholapholetsa* [to touch/fondle/assault – **material L6**]

208.   Defilement [**token**] *ke* [is – **relational L2**] defilement [**value**].

209.   *Aba* [they – **actor**] *mo ise* [should take– **material L6**] him [**goal**] Zanting [to jail – **circumstance**]**.**

210.   Wat if [**circumstance**] it [**token**] was [**relational L2**] ur own kid [**value**]

This female commenter uses 'the broken heart' euphemism, which fuses sexuality and romance. As we have seen earlier, such references position the perpetrator as a victim. For instance, line (203) shows that a man is a carrier of a broken heart. Thus, even when a woman/girl is dressed modestly, a man is a man (202), he will 'naturally' lust after women and even underage girls *(mo go mamina)* (205)*.* This inherent weakness, which is articulated in the phrase *'monna ke monna'*, explains away men's sexual misdemeanours as normal and legitimates the abuse of girls (206, 207). These comments are evidence of women's acquiescence to an entrenched culture that constrains female dress codes as just one way of subjecting women to male power. By saying men lack self-control or that women provoke them with their clothes, these women perform emphasised femininity (Connell, 1987) by failing to recognise sexual violence as an act of domination by men exhibiting toxic masculinities.

Now let us consider the comments by women who explicitly condemn sexual abuse of children.

[female]

> cotrol your self or go o jail . full stop .
> woman have freedom of wearing
> watever thy want . can u rape a mad
> woman coz. she was naked .

211.   cotrol [**material L6**] yourself [**goal**]

212.   or go [**material L6**] o jail [**circumstance**].

213.   woman [**carrier**] have [**relational L2**] freedom [**attribute**] of wearing [**material L6**]

214.   watever [**scope/phenomenon**] thy [**senser**] want [**mental L3**]

215.   can you [**actor**] rape [**material L6**] a mad woman [**goal**]

216.   coz [**circumstance**] she [**carrier**] was [**relational L2**] naked [**attribute**]

[Female]

> law defines defilement as the act of having sex with a girl under 18, full stop. wether she is a prostitute or not . law is law .its wether u control yourself or go tojail full st

217. law [**sayer-instrumentalisation**] defines [**verbal L5**] defilement as the act of having sex with a girl under 18 [**verbiage**]

218. wether [**circumstance**] she [**token**] is [**relational L2**] a prostitute or not [**value**]

219. law [**token**] is [**relational L2**] law [**value**].

220. its wether [**circumstance**] you [**actor**] control [**material L6**] yourself [**goal**] or go [**material L6**] to jail [**circumstance**]

The users in the above examples assertively call for men to have self-discipline (211, 220), at the same time pronouncing that women have freedom of choice (213, 214). These readers' perspectives are shaped by their knowledge of the law (217, 219) and faith in the justice system of the country (212; 220), contradicting the impression given in the original cartoon text that the police dismissed the defilement case without investigating it. Positioning the police as being on the side of the male perpetrator is perhaps meant to discourage victims of sexual abuse from reporting cases the same way the label *'mabelete'* deprecates and faults the victim. Thus, voices such as these are essential in giving the abused hope of getting justice.

Finally, I analyse comments for how they conceptualise the defiled girl as an unripe fruit and all girls below the age of consent as *'makgela'* (unripe fruits).

(c) Girls as *'lekgela/makgela'* (unripe fruits)

The comments analysed below were posted by females, but this is not to say men do not objectify girls. Comments analysed earlier proved that both men and women conceptualise sex as eating, in which case, women are the objects eaten.

[female]

> banna ba bangwe ba rata go kgetha makgela abo bare kana mme lene le nketsha pelo. Mxmm people should grow up. Defilement ke defilement

221.　*banna ba bangwe* [Some men – **senser**] *rata* [like – **mental L3**]

222.　*go kgetha* [to harvest – **material L6**] *makgela* [unripe fruits – **goal**]

223.　 *abo* [and then – **circumstance**] *bare* [say – **verbal L5**]

224.　*kana le* [it (the fruit) **actor**] *ne le* [was] *nkentsha* [enticing – **material L6**] *pelo* [my heart – **goal**] (It was enticing me)

[female]

> Heela mosimane o jele lekgela jaanon yaa ko go go tshwanetsen,ekar o bna diropenyana tsa ngwana o bo o lepeletsa pelo,o ta go mo susumetsa maswabi...mxm!

225.　*Heela* [hey] *mosimane* [the boy – **actor**] *o* [he – **actor**] *jele* [ate – **material L6**] *lekgela* [an unripe fruit – **goal**]

226.　Jaanon [now – **circumstance**] yaa [go – **material L6**] *ko go tshwanetsen* [to the right place (jail) – **circumstance**]

227.　*ekar* [how come – **circumstance**] *o* [you – **senser**] *bona* [see – **mental L3**] *diropenyana tsa ngwana* [a child's tiny thighs – **phenomenon**]

228.　*o bo o* [you – **actor**] *lepeletsa* [hang – **material L6**] *pelo* [your heart – **goal**] (i.e., how could you sexually desire a child)

229.　*o ta* [you – **actor**] *go mo* [on her – **goal**] *susumetsa* [force – **material L6**] *maswabi* [shrivelled/old manhood – **scope**]

The commenters use more material than mental processes to signal the agency of the abuser and the powerful role he has as an adult male (222, 225, 226, 228, 229). However, lines 222 and 225 both show that the girl is conceived of as an unripe fruit that is 'harvested' and eaten by the man/boy, hence a goal of their processes. The food metaphor inadvertently undermines and trivialises the rape of a minor despite the commenters' desire to condemn

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it. The words that encapsulate the actual crime such as 'rape or sexual assault' are not used, rather gendered metaphoric language such as *'jele'* (ate) is used. Additionally the use of *'pelo'* (heart) in the context of sexuality needs to be challenged. The data shows that commenters who speak for the girl as above and those on the man's side, as in (179) and (203), both merge romance with sexuality. This might be reflective of Botswana cultures and their conceptions of sexuality and romance. For instance, Wood and Jewkes' (1997) research amongst girls in South Africa note that ''at the outset of the relationship, the men encouraged their partners to understand love as necessarily involving penetrative intercourse'' and that ''sex was the purpose of love'' (p.42). Consequently, any resistance to sex resulted in both physical and sexual violence. In fact, Wood and Jewkes quote the girls as saying ''he forced me to love him'' meaning he beat and forcefully had sex with her (p.44). Therefore, the cultivation of sexual violence as love not only decriminalises but also normalises gender-based violence.

7.2.3 Appraisal analysis

The results of the appraisal analysis show that both men and women are judged more than they are appreciated. For example, judgement accounts for 81.3 % of evaluations in this section. Out of this percentage, 74.5% are judgements of propriety. However, it is impropriety that social actors are evaluated for, as positive propriety makes up just 13% of the total. Further, the findings show that women and girls bear the brunt of being judged negatively as evidenced by the repeated use of the *'mabelete'* label. For instance, women and girls are negatively evaluated for propriety at least 54.8%, in contrast to men and (boys), who are judged negatively only 32.3%. This is concordant with the transitivity analysis, in which male actors are not named in the material processes that affect girls, while women and girls are often explicitly named as actors even when their actions have no goals.

When it comes to judgement of social esteem, men are judged more in the category of capacity than women. For example, 75% of the time, men are judged as lacking control of their sexual desires. There is no reference to women and girls as unable to control their sexual urges. It seems that the readers are of the view that women cannot only control their feelings but are also capable of 'capturing' men's (192, 193). Thus, as argued before, women are held responsible for male sexual behaviours, whereby the girl and the perpetrator are evaluated differently for capacity.

[female]

> #pudi e hula fa e #huneletswen teng...o huneletse maikutlo a yo mongwe mo ena.

191a*. pudi e hula fa e huneletswen teng* [a goat feeds where it is caged] [**implied -propriety /+capacity**–girl/ **implied -capacity**–goat/man]

192a. o *huneletse maikutlo a yo mongwe* mo ena [she has taken hostage of him/captured his feelings] [**-propriety/+capacity** –girl/ **-capacity**–man]

Evaluation by appreciation and affect only make up 18.7% of the total, with both genders appraised equally for affect. 80% of the time, women are evaluated via the category of appreciation as socially insignificant, i.e. devalued but also as needing protection, to men's 20%. The link between the three methods of analyses employed in this chapter shows that when girls and women are represented impersonally as cake, unripe fruits or just things, they tend to be passive and subjected goals of others, while in the appraisal analysis they are appreciated for their value or lack thereof (also see section 7.1.3).

[female]

> banna ba bangwe ba rata go kgetha makgela abo bare kana mme lene le nketsha pelo. Mxmm people should grow up. Defilement ke defilement

221a. *banna ba bangwe* ba **_rata_** go **kgetha** **_makgela_** [Some men <u>like</u> to harvest <u>unripe fruits</u>/i.e. sexually desire underage girls] [**+inclination &-propriety**–men/**-valuation**–girl]

[female]

> Heela mosimane o jele lekgela jaanon yaa ko go go tshwanetsen,ekar o bna diropenyana tsa ngwana o bo o lepeletsa pelo,o ta go mo susumetsa maswabi...mxm!

225a. *Heela mosimane o <u>jele</u> <u>lekgela</u>* [hey the boy <u>ate an unripe fruit</u>] **implied-propriety** boy/**-valuation**–girl]

220a. *ekar* o *bna <u>diropenyana</u>* tsa ngwana *o bo o <u>lepeletsa pelo</u>* [how dare you let your <u>heart hang in desire</u> at seeing a child's <u>tiny thighs</u>/how could you lust for a child] [**+inclination & propriety**–boy/ **-valuation**–girl]

Eggins (2004) suggests that we might think of reaction, composition and valuation in relation to mental processes, i.e. the way we look at things (our gaze); reaction is related to affect (emotive – 'it grabs me', desiderative – 'I want it'); composition is related to perception (our view of order); and valuation is related to cognition (our considered opinions). As can be seen in these comments, the perpetrator (and some other men) are evaluated for affect, specifically for their lustful reactions at seeing girls' bodies. Contrastively, the girl (and young girls in general) are subjected to the readers' ideation and therefore, appraised for what is thought to be their sexual market value (Krendel, 2020).

The next section presents results of comments reacting to how gendered professional identities are constructed in the cartoon column.

7.3 Representations of gendered professional identities

The cartoon text for which I analyse comments is about female gender activists who are mocked and disparaged by two males, a Combi driver and conductor, as petty, immature and too invested in physical appearance to take advantage of the job opportunities available.

The cartoon illustration is decontextualised and does not show the represented women in an office or as engaged in any productive work. Rather, two women are shown as astonished and laughing behind another's back as shown below. This foregrounds the hostility between them and backgrounds their professional identities.

Figure 7.4: The 'Women are their own worst enemies' cartoon

49% of the commenters are aligned to the thesis that women pull each other down while 46% disagree and 5% are ambivalent. I analyse the comments first for insinuations that women cannot hold high positions in the workplace, unless they have slept with powerful men. Secondly, I analyse comments that suggest backbiting, gossiping, and hating are innately female traits and hence markers of femininity. The narrow margin between readers who believe women are responsible for their lack of progression career-wise and those who dispute it is evidence of a hotly contested topic.

7.3.1 Social actor representation analysis

First, let us examine the SAR table below.

Table 7.3 social actor representation in the readers' comments

Identification by gender [women]	Functionalisation [women]	Appraisal [women]		Identification by gender [men]	Functionalisation [men]	Appraisal [men]
-Women [54] -Woman [17] -Lady/Ladies [5] -Mami/mummy [2] -Girl [1] -Baby girl [1]	-Manager [2] -Leaders [1]	-Fat and shapeless [1] -[Not] fat [4] -Creatures [1] -Beautiful [4]		-Men [25] -Man [8] -Guys [3]	-Engineer [2] -Cartoonist [1] -Journalist [1]	-Chauvinist [1] -Intellectual [1] -*Ntsa*/dog [1] -*Podi*/goat [1] -Ugly [1]
Relational identification	Identification + functionalisation [women]	Objectification + dehumanisation				
-Our children/girls [1] -My sisters [1] -Your mother [3] -Our slaves (women) [1]	-Woman president [1]	-Anaconda breasts [1] -Creatures [1]				

Social actors are mainly identified by gender, at 69% for women and 31% for men. I am intrigued by the way gender determines and shapes social actors' professional identities in the comments. Therefore, I focus on the highlighted categories in Table 7.3 which, although not frequently used to categorise social actors in the comments, reveal something about how gendered professional identities are constructed by commenters. Koller (2022) asserts that ideologies are cognitive structures (of beliefs, norms, values and expectations) that are socially acquired. This means they are socially agreed and shared in the community. Since women are marginalised in patriarchal ideologies, commenters might expect women with jobs outside the home to occupy low-ranking roles. When these expectations are countered, they explain the 'anomaly' by referencing patriarchal and heteronormative ideologies that define women as sex objects. Hence, when women are functionalised as managers in the comments, their ascendence to these professional roles is problematised. For example:

Turn 1 [male1]

> if you see a woman at the top myb a manager just know that tiro eo oe kreile ka serope.he slept wit a man to get that job.women are not born leader they will always depend on us men.thats for real!

As can be seen in the example above, a woman can allegedly only be a manager by engaging in transactional sex and not through meeting the qualification and skills requisite for the role. The reason why it is atypical for a woman to be in a senior role is given by utilising gender beliefs such as 'women are not born leaders', which seek to frame these social constructions as natural. By contrast, the user above does not problematise his and other men's professional identities (see the next example).

Turn 2 [male1]

> im not at de bottom FYI!...bettr ask sisy...   im an intelect dear...i knw so many women who aprched me ba batla go reka tiro ka dikobo..tryn to seduce me!..im an engineer

He asserts that he is not at the 'bottom', i.e. not occupying a subordinate role but an 'intelect' (intellectual) and an engineer. The fact that he positively evaluates himself for intellectual capacity points to the view that he believes he earned his position via academic qualifications and not sex.

However, we also see the consistency in the appraisement of women in terms of their bodies e.g. as 'fat and shapeless', or reference to sexualised parts of their bodies, e.g. 'anaconda breasts' while men are categorised as goats and dogs (see section 7.2 above), showing perhaps wider cultural debasement of men in contemporary Botswana. Along with the dehumanisation of men, the word 'chauvinist' is used to disapprove of the cartoonist's bias against female professionals and women in general. Such prejudice is evident in the category 'woman president', whereby a woman's gender prefaces the presidential role, pointing to the idiosyncrasy of a woman holding that office.

Finally, women are also referred to as 'creatures', i.e. as mysterious beings distinct from normative humans, e.g. men. Its intriguing that male commenters who object to sexism and misogyny as well as those who post misogynistic comments both classify women as just things, e.g. 'creatures'.

7.3.2 Transitivity analysis

In this section I focus on representations of women as using sex to get jobs and grades and on the marginalisation of men who gossip as unmanly.

a) **Women are not born leaders**

The polarisation of commenters according to sex (i.e. as male or female) is also clear as only female commenters defend themselves against the opening comment by a male user suggesting women only have their bodies to access power in the workplace. Below, I present the opening comment and the subsequent comments that react to it.

Turn 1 [male1]

> if you see a woman at the top myb a manager just know that tiro eo oe kreile ka serope.he slept wit a man to get that job.women are not born leader they will always depend on us men.thats for real!

230. If [**circumstance**] you [**senser**] see [**mental L3**] a woman [**phenomenon/token**] at the top [**circumstance**] myb a manager [**value**]

231. just know [**mental L3**] that *tiro eo oe kreile ka serope* [she got that job via sexual favours][**projected clause as phenomenon**]

232. she [**actor**] got [**material L6**] that job [**scope**] via sexual favours [**circumstance**]

233. he [**actor**] slept [**material L6**] wit a man [**circumstance of accompaniment**]

234. to get [**material L6**] that job [**goal**]

235. women [**token**] are not born [**relational negated L2**] leader [**value**]

236. they [**actor**] will always [**circumstance**] depend on [**material L6**] us men [**scope**]

Turn 2 [female1]

> You are just so stupid..ke mang a go reetse jalo.?

237. you [**carrier**] are [**relational L2**] just so stupid [**attribute**]

238. *ke mang* [who–**sayer**] *go reetse* [told –**verbal L5**] *a* [you –**receiver**] *jalo* [so – **verbiage**]

Turn 3 [male1]

> it dsnt mattr realy.my point is a woman wl do wat she cn do to seduce sm1 in order to be a manager whereas us men we work hard to get thata position! it hapns al ova evn u urslf knws it.just be realistic for now

239. […] a woman [**actor**] wl do [**material L6**] wat [**goal**] she [**actor**] cn do to seduce [**material L6**] sm1 [**goal**] in order to be a manager [**circumstance with a relational embedded clause**]

240. to be [**relational L2**] a manager [**value**]

241. whereas [**circumstance**] us men we [**actor**] work [**material L6**] hard [**circumstance**] to get that position [**circumstance**]

242. to get [**material L6**] that position [**goal**]

243. it [**actor**] hapns [**material L6**] al ova [**circumstance**]

244. evn [**circumstance**] urslf [**senser**] knws [**mental L3**] it [**phenomenon**]

245. just [**circumstance**] be [**relational L2**] realistic [**attribute**] for now [**circumstance**]

In turns 1 to 3 the terms 'woman/women' occupy the role of actor four times, while 'man/men' is activated in this role only twice, which might suggest that as professionals, women have more power and agency than men. However, the co-text proves otherwise as women are not represented as performing anything that has an economic impact (cf. chapter 5 and 6 for the same findings). Rather, they are given negative agency as they 'sleep', 'seduce', or get a job via sexual favours (232, 233, 239), whereas men are activated as 'work[ing] hard' to get a position (241) and as being depended upon by women (236), which depicts women as incapable of doing anything for themselves without the help of men. Yet, as if to hide the agency of men as active participants in office sexual transactions, in (233) a man is given the role of a circumstance of accompaniment, which makes him a mere associate. The same motivated interest to hide the identity of powerful men who may be giving jobs for sex is visible in clause (239), where the person seduced is in the form of an indefinite pronoun 'someone'. We observed in section 7.2.2 that male and some female commenters employ

agent deletion, passivation and indefinite pronouns in the rape of a minor to protect a male perpetrator. In the same vein, the girl in the story and girls in general are positioned in active roles more than the perpetrator and men in general.

Women also feature in identifying relational clauses in the above examples. However, the identities they are ascribed are negated (235) or cast as inauthentic (230, 240).

Next, I analyse comments that oppose this positioning of women by male1. What drew me to these comments is that there is a quasi-admission rather than a total repudiation of women using sex to get promotions and grades.

Turn 4 [female2]

246.   Is not [**relational-negated L2**] every woman [**identity**]

247.   who [**actor**] sleeps [**material L6**] for the job [**circumstance**]

248.   that [**carrier**] s [**relational L2**] an insult [**attribute**]

249.   dont make [**negated-verbal L5** (material metaphor)] a blanket statement [**verbiage**]

250.   those [**identified**] who [**actor**] approached [**material L6**] u [**goal**] for *dikobo* [sex] in exchange for a job [**circumstance**]

251.   *ba go utlwaletse* [had heard-**mental L3**] *oe fana ka serope* [that you give jobs in exchange for sex-**projected clause as phenomenon**]

252.   *o* [you –**actor**] *fana* [give –**material L6**] *e* [jobs –**scope**] *ka serope* [in exchange for sex – **circumstance**]

Turn 5 [male1]

253. hahahaha @ female 2, *nna* (me) i [**identified**] m nt [**relational-negated L2**] that kinda man [**identity**] mama[44] (i.e. woman)

254. i [**senser**] respct [**mental L3**] ma slf as wel as women [**phenomenon**]

255. sorry if [**circumstance**] u [**senser**] felt [**mental L3**] offendd [**phenomenon**]

256. i [**sayer**] usd [**verbal L5**] a general term [**verbiage**] *mami* (i.e. woman)

257. *gone mme* [but] *ke* [I –**sayer**] *bua* [am telling **verbal L5**] *nnete* [the truth – **verbiage**]

258. evn [**circumstance**] u urself [[you –**senser**] *oaitse* [know –**mental L3**]

259. *ke gr* [really –**circumstance**] *ga o* [you –**senser**] *batle* [just don't want –**mental negated L3**] *go dumela* [to admit it **phenomenon**] *homie* [e.g. homegirl]

Turn 6 [female2]

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[44] 'mama/mami' which mean 'mummy' are affectionate terms for woman/girl. In this context, they might also indicate a desire by the author to appear/be friendly and calm down the other speaker as also evidenced by the use of 'homie', which shows a shared identity.

No I dont know dat, I worked hard to get my degrees, start n maintain my business. I know a lot more women who did the same and are on top not cos of sex with a man. As much as a lot more men who abuse their position to have sex with women for a job or promotion which is not sustainable. You can get there that easy but will fail to maintain -those on top worked hard for it and those who tried to have it the sex way got there but didnt maintain

260.   No I [**senser**] don't know [**mental L3**] dat [**phenomenon**]

261.   I [**actor**] worked [**material L6**] hard [**circumstance**] to get my degrees [**circumstance**]

262.   start n maintain [**material L6**] my business [**goal**]

263.   I [**senser**] know [**mental L3**] a lot more women who did the same [**embedded material clause as phenomenon**]

264.   a lot more [**circumstance**] women who [**actor**] did [**material L6**] the same [**goal**]

265.   and are [**relational L2**] on top [**circumstance as attribute**] not because of sex with a man [**circumstances**]

266.   As much as a lot more [**circumstances**] men who [**actor**] abuse [**material L6**] their position [**scope**]

267.   to have [**material L6**] sex [**scope**] with women [**circumstance**] for a job or promotion [**circumstance**]

268.   which [**carrier**] is not [**relational-L2**] sustainable [**attribute**]

269.   those [**identified**] on top [**circumstance as attribute**] worked [**material L6**] hard [**circumstance**] for it [**scope**]

270.   and those [**identified**] who [**actor**] tried to have [**material L6**] it [**scope**] the sex way [**circumstance**]

271.   got [**material L6**] there [**circumstance**] but did not maintain [**material L6**] it [**goal**]

It is important to note the deployment of mental processes in male1's contributions in contrast to other process types. For example, mental processes account for 47.3% of his contributions in turns 1, 3 and 5. He uses the cognitive process 'know' three times in an attempt to present his opinions about women as objective truths. Interestingly, resistance by female2 rejects the common-sense world projected by male1 (231, 244, 258) and uses a different mental process type, 'heard', which is more evidence based, i.e. ''those who approached you for sex in exchange for a job had *heard* (rather than just *knew*) you give jobs for sex'' (251). Compared to male1, female2' s comments are characterised by 80% of material rather than mental processes. What is even more important is that her comment bears iconic resemblance to her identity as an educated and successful businesswoman (261, 262). Unlike for male1, her comment is mostly in standard English. In the comments, misogyny and sexism is displayed more by men who write in Setswana, abbreviated text language, and in sub-standard English, suggesting limited education.

Career women are re-positioned as at the 'top' due to their hard work (263, 264, 265, 269) and not by sleeping with men (265). Unlike male1, who hides male agency, this user apportions some responsibility to men who give sex for jobs by giving them the role of actor in (266, 267). Thus, she steers away from gender stereotypes and gives a balanced assessment that holds both men and women who trade sex for jobs to account. The commenter rejects the stereotype that 'all' women sleep their way up, meaning that she partly agrees with it (246-249). Yet, she also asserts that women who use sex to get to the top can never maintain those positions (268-271). Thus, her stance is: there is no power in sex.

What can also be noted is that the idea that women can never be as good as men in public offices is a gender belief entrenched in the country. For example, male1 asserts that female2 knows it is true and just does not want to admit it (258-259). In turn 3, he insists that it is a fact happening all over, and that female commenters should be realistic (243-245). This shows how ideological beliefs can over time be taken as the truth such that those who challenge them are believed to be unreasonable. However, the exchange in this thread demonstrates that ideologies can be disputed by those they misrepresent and defended by others, who benefit from their circulation. Even more, resistance could lead to those who use stereotypes admit being wrong in their representations of the 'other'. For example, male1 admits using a general term is wrong. Perhaps with this realisation, there can come a change in attitude and

a sense that educated and powerful women are not threats. On the other hand, a persistent representation of women as sexual objects marginalises them and seeks to limit their participation in the public sphere.

In the section that follows I analyse a thread in which female users resist stereotypes of women as gossip mongers and back-stabbers but also marginalise men who gossip as 'women', which inadvertently disparages the female self.

b)'Men wear panties these days'

I use this quote by a female user as a sub-title to highlight the feminisation of men via reference to female underwear (panties). In traditional Setswana ideology, panties are a symbol of weakness and frivolity but also an embodiment of dirt and 'evil' powers. For example, a man who is viewed as weak and petty is said to wear panties, but a man who has no control over his wife can also be said to have been whipped with his wife's panties. In the latter case, the panties cast a spell on him and render him 'stupid', i.e. controllable, not physically violent, not in control of the family finances, not going to bars with friends, talked down to by his wife or doing domestic duties in the house.

Turn 1 [female1]

He he he .... Lol don't say the obvious 💤💤💤. Talk about guys who waste time with gossip, back stabbing and competitive too, men wear panties these days if you didn't know! 😹😹😹😹😹 😹😹😹😹😹

272.   Hehehe…Lol don't say [**verbal-negated L5**] the obvious [**verbiage**]
273.   Talk [**verbal L5**] about guys [**verbiage**]
274.   who [**actor**] waste [**material L6**] time [**goal**] with gossip, backstabbing and competitive too [**circumstance**]
275.   Men [**actor**] wear [**material L6**] panties [**scope**] these days [**circumstance**]

Turn 2 [female2]

ba batla go segelwa dkhiba borre ba
ten cz ba worse dan bomme

276. *ba* [they – **goal-beneficiary**] *batla go segelwa* [must have cut/designed – **material L6**] *dikhiba* [dresses – **goal-subjected**] *borre ba ten* [for them – **goal-beneficiary**]

277. *cz* [**circumstance**] *ba* [they – **carrier**] are [**relational L2**] worse [**attribute**] *dan bomme* [than women – **circumstance**]

In these examples men are given the participant role of verbiage (272). When they are activated, their actions do not have any meaningful impact on the physical world as their goals are inanimate objects such as clothes and time (274, 275). This positioning of men as powerless is buttressed by being positioned as the beneficiated goals of others (276), most likely women, as sewing is traditionally viewed as a female job. It is essential to comment on the humour that characterises this thread, which is unlike other comments I have analysed hitherto. For example, the light-heartedness in turn 1 is marked by laughter, laughing emojis, the repeated 'z' sound and the abbreviation 'lol'. I think laughter mitigates against the discomfort of self-deprecation but also intensifies attitude (judgement) against men in that 'wearing panties' emasculates them and therefore should be a great source of shame. Likewise, *'dikhiba'* (276) symbolises the quintessential feminine woman, a typical rural, home-bound wife, who spends time doing house chores and gossiping. At the same time, female1 could be using laughter to mitigate her comment which insults men by implicitly insulting women (Sunderland, 2020).

Patriarchal ideologies do not expect men to remain at home and gossip, rather they should be spending their time engaged in meaningful economic activities (274). Thus, when compared to women, who are positioned as inherently gossips and backstabbers, men are represented as 'worse' (277). Below, male1 takes the banter a notch up by talking about '*bolumara'* and not just panties.

Turn 3 [male1]

> Lanhla ke utlwa gotwe monna o apara bolumara
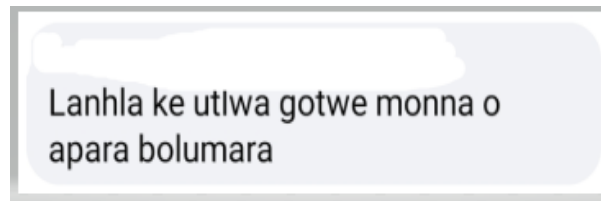
278. *Lantlha* [The first time – **circumstance**] *ke* [I – **senser**] *utlwa gotwe* [have heard – **mental L3**]

279. *monna* [a man – **actor**] *o apara* [wears – **material L6**] *bolumara* [bloomers – **goal**]

Turn 4 [female1]

> 😹😹😹😹😹😹😹😹 just saying, they behave like women!! 😹

280. just saying [**verbal L5**] they behave like women [**verbiage**]

281. they [**behaver**] behave [**behaviour L4**] like women [**comparative circumstance**]

The commenter (turn 3) is being sarcastic. *'Bolumara'* (bloomers) refers to big high-waist panties which are believed to symbolise the backwardness of the wearer. The user expresses surprise that a man would wear panties in using the circumstance 'the first time'. This sarcasm is in itself resistance to the positioning of men as feminine and hence weak, as well as a targeted jibe at women that they are unsophisticated. To which female1 responds with laughing emojis and an explanation of what she meant. While the commenters may be out to outwit each other, humour is also crucial in minimising coming out as a homophobe, feminist or misogynist in this thread. The last comment in this thread shows that masculinity is also performed by marginalising gay men.

Turn 5 [male2]
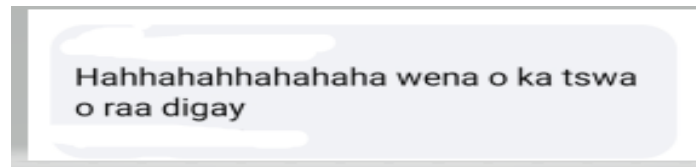
282.	Hahaha *wena o* [you –**sayer**] *ka tswa o raya* [must be talking –**verbal L5**] *digay* [about gays –**circumstance as verbiage**] (i.e. as wearing panties and therefore behaving like women)

The feminisation of gay men is also framed humorously as shown by the laughter. Gay men take a passive participant role of verbiage. Thus, in the view of this user, gay men and not heterosexuals are suited to wearing panties and displaying feminine behaviour. There is a conflation of gender and sexuality: a masculine man is straight and a feminine man is gay (Baker, 2008). As a summary, this thread demonstrates male users perform their masculinity by marginalising other men and women, while female users turn the joke on men and position talk of women as gossips as a tired joke. However, their affirmation of the gossip stereotype and disparagement of men through referencing feminine behaviour is also self-deprecatory and perpetuates patriarchal hegemony.

In the next section, I analyse the above comments for how they evaluate professional women and men.

7.3.3 Appraisal analysis

The threads analysed in the transitivity analysis show that social actors are evaluated mostly for in/capacity and then im-/propriety. In fact, the two forms of judgement are so linked that women's capacity to attain leadership positions at work is believed to be determined by their sexual power over men with high positions. Unlike social and economic power, sexual power is judged as immoral. Therefore, women's rise in social power is linked to their sexual immorality. This finding is replicated in the verbal appraisal analysis, where professional women are evaluated for their incapacity and immorality (see chapter 6). I present the following examples to analyse how women's professional identities are represented as contingent on their sexual power and on men's social power.

[Male1]

> if you see a woman at the top myb a
> manager just know that tiro eo oe kreile
> ka serope.he slept wit a man to get that
> job.women are not born leader they will
> always depend on us men.thats for real!

230a. If you see <u>a woman at the top myb a manager</u> [**+capacity**]

231a. just know that *tiro eo oe kreile <u>ka serope</u>* **[**she got that job via the thigh, i.e. sexual favours] [-**propriety**]

232a. he <u>slept with a man</u> to get that job. [-**propriety -woman/implied +capacity -men**]

233a. women are <u>not </u>born <u>leader</u> [-**capacity**]

234a. they <u>will always</u> depend on us men [**+capacity -men/ -capacity -woman**]

As already mentioned, being a manager is problematised if one is a woman. As such, the ability to attain corporate power is linked to her sexual power (231a, 232a) and dependent on a man's capacity to give her a job. Thus, there is a binary in the way social actors are evaluated: women as possessing sexual capital while men have social and economic power (232a, 234a). Worth noting too is how epistemic modality expresses a high degree of assertion via the modals 'will always' appraise men as capable and women as dependents. The next example demonstrates how the principle of hard work is also gendered.

[Male1]

> it dsnt mattr realy.my point is <u>a
> woman wl do wat she cn do to
> seduce sm1 in order to be a
> manager</u> whereas us men we work
> hard to get thata position! it hapns al
> ova evn u urslf knws it.just be
> realistic for now

239a. a woman will do what she <u>can do</u> <u>to seduce</u> someone in order [-**propriety**]

240a.<u> to be a manager</u> [**+capacity**]

241a. whereas us men we <u>work hard</u> to get that position [**+tenacity**]

The connection between female sexual power, sexual immorality and attainment of public authority is pursued in (239a, 240a), while in (241a), holding a high position at work is attributed to hard work if that position is held by a man. This implies that women are not as hardworking as men. However, this averment by male1 is resisted by female commenters and potentially subverted, as in the following contributions by female1, who links women's career achievements to educational qualification and hard work, rather than sexual power. For example,

[Female1]

No I dont know dat, I worked hard to get my degrees, start n maintain my business. I know a lot more women who did the same and are on top not cos of sex with a man. As much as a lot more men who abuse their position to have sex with women for a job or promotion which is not sustainable. You can get there that easy but will fail to maintain -those on top worked hard for it and those who tried to have it the sex way got there but didnt maintain

261a. I <u>worked hard</u> to get my degrees [**+tenacity**] started

262a. and <u>maintained</u> my business [**+tenacity**]

263a**.** I know <u>a lot more women who did the same</u> [**+tenacity**]

264a. and <u>are on top</u> [**+capacity**] <u>not because of sex with a man</u> [**+propriety**]

265a. As much as <u>a lot more men who abuse their position</u> [**-propriety**]

266a. to <u>have sex with women for a job or promotion</u> [**-propriety**]

267a. which is <u>not sustainable</u> [**-tenacity**]

268a. those <u>on top</u> [**+capacity**] <u>worked hard</u> for it [**+tenacity**]

269a. and those who tried to <u>have it the sex way</u> [**-propriety**] got there

270a. but <u>did not maintain it</u> [**-tenacity**]

In this example, we see that positive tenacity is linked to positive capacity, i.e. perseverance leads to women's educational and business achievements (261a, 262a, 263a, 268a). Also noteworthy is how graduation of quantification 'a lot more' is used to intensify positive evaluation of those women on top of their careers (263a) as well as to draw attention to men who abuse their power to exploit women (265a). This is important deconstructive work as in the transitivity analysis (section 7.3.2) such men's agency is hidden by being given the role of a circumstance of accompaniment or represented via indefinite pronouns. It is interesting that while in Male1 contributions, there is more negative than positive evaluation of women, in just this one comment, there are more positive evaluations than negative ones. The link between sexual power and career progression is dismantled as the user insists that ill-gotten positions are not sustainable (266-267a, 269a-270a).

In the final section of this appraisal analysis I examine how effeminate men are evaluated.

'Men wear panties these days'
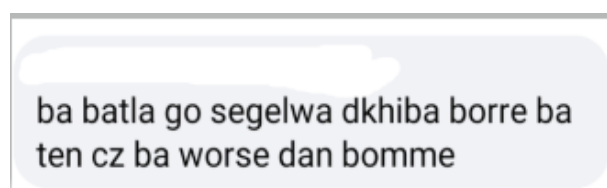
[Female1]

272a**.** Hehehe…Lol don't say <u>the obvious</u> [**reaction -impact**]

273a. Talk about <u>guys who waste time with gossip, backstabbing and competitive</u> too [**-propriety**]

274a. Men wear panties these days [**-social significance**]
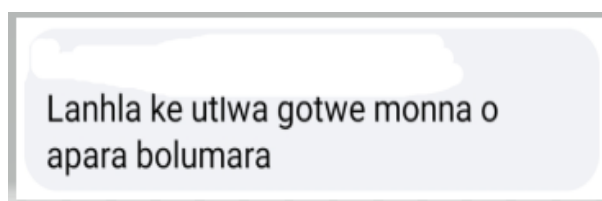
[Female2]

276a. *ba batla go segelwa dikhiba borre ba ten cz ba worse dan bomme* [they must have dresses cut for them **[-social significance**]

277a. cz *ba* worse *da*n *bomme* [they are worse than women] [**-social significance**]

The comments above show that appreciation is frequently deployed to appraise men more than they are judged for social esteem and social sanction. In section 7.2.3, it was noted that girls and women were objectified and therefore appraised through the category of appreciation. This section sheds light on how sarcasm and indeed female self-deprecation also devalues men. That is, by being represented as effeminate and weak their rank in the gender hierarchy is lowered, and with it, their social value. What is more, in (277a), they are ranked even lower than women, which means women are low already.

The following comments demonstrate how this evaluation of (heterosexual) men is resisted by referencing gay men**.**
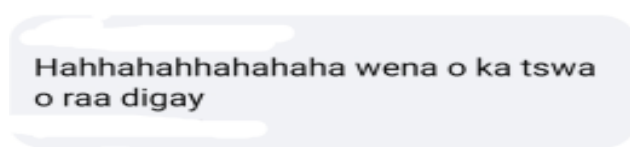
[Male1]

Lanhla ke utlwa gotwe monna o apara bolumara

278a. *Lantlha ke utlwa gotwe <u>monna o apara bolumara</u>* [The first time I have heard a man-wears bloomers [**implied -social significance (men)**]

[Male2]

Hahhahahhahahaha wena o ka tswa o raa digay

282a. Hahaha *wena o ka tswa o raya digay* [you must be talking about gays] **[-social significance (**gay men**)].**

I coded line (278a) for negative social significance in line with the argument I advanced above that to be feminised is to be emasculated, resulting in a diminished social status. However, the irony of this is that by referencing 'bloomers', rather than panties, male1 suggests that

men who gossip would have gone back several years in fashion just as bloomers are believed to be outdated underwear. Therefore, it is unheard of for a man to stoop that low, i.e. devaluing himself by behaving like backward women. It is my considered view and interpretation that female1 either misses this sarcasm and hence offers an explanation or uses the explanation to mock male2's 'lack of intelligence' and create mirth at his expense at the same time devaluing men (see examples 280, 281). In the last example, the user (and other heterosexual men) position themselves as having a higher social ranking in the patriarchal gender order than gay men, who are perceived as effeminate and thus socially insignificant (282a).

The last category analyses comments about dating across generations and classes.

7.4 Intergenerational and interclass relationships

One of the texts in this category is about materialistic younger women (so-called Ma-14) who allegedly date rich older men and indeed any men for money. However, comments focused on mocking the depicted woman's voluminous bottom rather than showing concern for her as materialistic. I decided not to include these comments for analysis as they did not relate to the theme.

The second text concerns older middle-class women who either date, and sometimes cheat on their husbands with younger, and or working-class men. The findings show that 70% of the commenters are aligned to the view of women as unfaithful, yet older and middle-class women are not condemned for this behaviour; instead it is younger and unskilled men who are disparaged for dating outside their class or generation.

Illustration of middle-class women dating younger and/or working-class men

Figure 7.5: Women, please your men cartoon

In this section, I am interested in analysing threads that present something different from the patterns seen before. For example, 35.7% of the readers focus on the idea that it is non-normative for an older woman, let alone of a higher social class, to date a working-class or younger man. The comments also present men in binary positions, not only in relation to their social class but also in terms of their sexuality.

7.4.1 Social actor representation analysis

Table 7.4 below shows how social actors are represented

Relational identification [women]	Appraisement [women]	Relational identification [men]	Appraisement [men]
-the wife (5)	-a bitch [1]	-the husband [3]	-*bo ramoshwe* [nobodies] [1]
-the boss' wife [1]	-A poor woman [1]	-*bo* hubby/husbands [2]	-smelly feet (low skilled men) [10]
-his wife [1]	-*manamagadi* [2] (females, usually used in respect of animals)		-*phoko* (an uncastrated goat) [1]
			-*ntsa* (dog) [1]
			-*tshwene* (baboon) [1]

			-*naked*i (skunk) [1] -Ben 10 [1] -a non-working/unworking man [2]
Functionalisation -Maid/domestic worker [3]		**Functionalisation** -the gardening boy/s [5] -herd boy/s [6] -postmen [1]	

Social actors are represented through appraisement, functionalisation and relational identification. In the functionalisation category, we see that social actors perform low-skilled jobs such as gardening, herding and domestic work. This shows how social class fashions out meanings in the comments about dating. Congruent with this, unskilled men are also categorised via appraisement through both domestic and wild animal metaphors, which I suppose seeks to capture their low status in society such as *nakedi* (skunk) or *tshwene* (baboon). The metaphor of *nakedi* (skunk), for example, suggests they reek of unhygienic odours due to the nature of their work. Such reference is buttressed by the repeated use of the phrase 'smelly feet' to appraise either a garden boy or herd boy in the comments. Let us examine the comment below.

[Female]

> hahahah le maswe lerato motho o kgona go tsaya <u>nakedi </u>a e tsenya mo dikobong ao banna <u>phuuu</u>!!!!!

283.   *hahahah le maswe lerato motho o kgona go tsaya <u>nakedi a</u> e tsenya mo dikobong ao banna <u>phuuu</u>!!!!!* [...that is love for you, one/a woman can go to bed with <u>a skunk</u>, so <u>reeky</u>]

There is less appraisement of women in the comments as depicted in the table above. I surmise that class acts as a mediator, mediating who gets judged more as acting inappropriately. For example, it is the herd/garden boy who is degraded for punching above their weight. We also find comments that reference a cartoon character, Ben 10, to characterise younger men dating older women, demonstrating gravitation towards condemning generational relations between older females and younger males rather older males and younger females, which perhaps are perceived as the norm.

[Female]

True love is rare in dz era...both men and women arent honest t each other...so dnt point fingers t one direction...a man cn stil walk out f de door nd slip arund inspite f hw cute n humble his wife cud b....same applies t a woman hu is bng provided wth evrythn nd go out t spend money wth Ben 10 hu is a broke ass...

In the transitivity and appraisal analysis, I will focus on the dichotomy between middle-class and working-class men in order to show that to a limited extent men are also sexually objectified.

7.4.2 Transitivity analysis

There are comments that position low-income earning men as preferred by married middle-class women because of the sizes of their penises, as the comment below suggests.

a) 'garden boys have horse pipes'

[female]

akre di garden boy ba tshwere di horsepipe thats bo married ba batla bne bo hubby gongwe ke dololo

284.   *akre* [true that] *di* garden boy [garden boys — **carrier**] *ba tshwere* [have — **relational L2**] *di* horse pipe [horse pipes, (large penises) —**attribute**]

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285. *bo married* [married women — **senser**] *ba batla* [want/desire — **mental L3**]
      bone [them — **phenomenon**]

286. *gongwe* [maybe — **circumstance**] *bo hubby* [their husbands — **carrier**] *ke*
      [have — **relational L2**] *dololo* [nothing i.e. tiny/small penises — **attribute**]

This comment compares garden boys and middle-class men in terms of their physical manhood. In (284) the user puts it as a matter of fact that garden boys have 'horse pipes' whereas in (286), she surmises middle-class men may have tiny penises. Unlike in other sections analysed so far, women are positioned as sensers, desiring men of low income. I view this positioning of working men as both marginalisation and social upgrading. For example, it can be argued that what these men do not have in terms of money and material wealth, they make up for in sexual attractiveness, i.e. they are more desirable. However, they are also marginalised in that by being represented as having giant penises, they are stereotyped in accordance with colonial gendered and racial discourses on black bodies (Makoni, 2016) as uncivilised and sexually wild (Hill-Collins, 2005). Let us examine the next example.

[male]

> Ba maswe banwa omahere,ba ago
> kwalolola,ba a kotlama,bakhabarisa,
> batlhaba go utlwala .

287. *Ba* [they —**carrier**] *maswe* [are —**relational L2**] deadly **[attribute]**

288. *Ba* [They —**actor**] *nwa* [drink —**material L6**] *omahere*[45] [**goal**]

289. *ba* [they —**actor**] *a* [you —**goal**] *go kwalolola* [destroy —**material L6**]*,*

290. *ba* [they —**actor**] *a* [you —**goal**] *kotlama* [ride —**material L6**]*,*

291. *ba* [they—**actor**] *tlhaba* [stab, i.e. sexually violent—**material L6**] *go utlwala*
      [hard —**circumstance**]

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[45] Omaere refers to sour milk prepared by women of the Baherero ethnic group. When doing national service at a clinic in Sehithwa, a village in the northwest, where the Baherero ethnic group is found, I would see women carrying gourds of Omaere around. They occasionally would pass the gourd around amongst their group or pour it in cups. So omaere is viewed as a drink that makes someone strong and retain lots of energy. This contribution echoes racist colonial beliefs that black men have sexual inexhaustible energy that makes them marry many women and as having a predilection for rape.

Following from the analysis of the example above, working-class men are classified and described as deadly (sexually). They are also mainly activated as actors in clauses (288-291) performing sexual acts. It is easy to deduce from the co-text that the goals 'you' are middle-class women who leave their husbands for working men. In line with the characterisation of these men as having bigger penises, and as physically strong, there is the use of violent metaphors (Koller, 2022) such as 'destroy' and 'stab' (289, 291), which represent sexual interaction as an attack. That is, sexual intercourse between a working man and a middle-class woman is depicted as a battle, with each on the opposite side rather than as a team. Ultimately, this represents the penis as a weapon of destruction and a woman as the weaker party who gets hurt, signalling inequality and (hetero)sexual domination of women. Yet, there is also an implication that women enjoy violent sex because they prefer aggressive herd boys to their husbands. Kadenge and Ndlovu (2013) in their research on penis enlargement adverts in South Africa found that some of their male interviewees expressed beliefs of the penis as a tool of discipline. Thus, the adverts of penis enlargement appealed to them because a larger penis instils discipline in women who are disrespectful.

In (290), women are represented as vehicles or animals that are ridden. The deployment of the 'sex is riding' metaphor (López Rodríguez, 2009) was found to be rampant in the comments. Below I explore further 'the woman is a vehicle/sex is riding' metaphor.

b) <u>**Women as vehicles/animals**</u>

[female]

Gape gore mosadi aska cheata ke gore
omokgotsogatse tota kago dira jalo
otlabona mosadi a itumela gape o
change di stayl oska palama mosadi o
kare tonkie.

292.   *Gape gore* [again for — **circumstance**] *mosadi* [a woman — **actor**] *aska cheata*
[to not cheat — **material L6**]

293.   *o* [you — **actor**] *kgotsofatse* [must satisfy — **material L6**] *mo-* [her — **goal**]
tota [really — **circumstance**]

294. *ka go dira jalo* [that way — **circumstance**] *mosadi* [a woman — **carrier**] *a* [will be — **relational L2**] i*tumela* [happy — **attribute**]

295. *gape* [additionally — **circumstance**] change [**material L6**] *di stayl* [style/position — **scope**]

296. *o [you — **actor**] ska* [shouldn't] *palama* [ride — **material L6**] *mosadi* [a woman — **goal**] *kare* [as if — **circumstance**] o [she — **token**] were [**relational L2**] *tonkie* [a donkey — **value**]

In this comment, the female poster who constructs herself as the authority on heterosexual sex, positions men as actors (293, 296) and women as goals. She justifies cheating by women as a result of sexual dissatisfaction. At the same time, she demonstrates an awareness of the woman as animal metaphor and resists it, cautioning against 'riding a woman as if she were a donkey' (296). This oppositional meaning is not found in the next comment (see underlined sentences).

[male]

> Gare lorato ke ko ntlong......if u dnt satisfy her in bed she its goin to cheat on u....if o batla a gorata palama A1 o tla nna fela fa..ere phakela a go leba abo a utlwa a sellega.....gape o change sum sex positions <u>sumtyms o mo tseele mo koloin kana o palame sehlare o e jele</u> koo.....gape faole monna gare o kgome kobo pinking o tla bona mosadi ga akake a go tsietsa......<u>thapolla mosepele mosadi ga aye gope</u>...if o tshameka e tlare ore tlisa a bo are o lapile a itsi gr ene o tswa go kgotsofadiwa ke smelly feet...

297. if [**circumstance**] u [you—**actor**] dnt satisfy [**material L6**] her [**goal**] in bed [**circumstance**]

298. she [**actor**] is goin to cheat [**material L6**] on you [**circumstance as goal**]

299. If [**circumstance**] *o* [you—**senser**] *batla* [want — **mental L3**] *a* [her — **phenomenon**] *rata* [to love — **mental L3**] *go* [you — **phenomenon**]

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300. *palama* [ride — **material L6**] A1 [the A1 — **scope**] meaning take a drive on the A1[46]

301. *Sumtyms* [sometimes — **circumstance**] *o* [you — **actor**] *mo tseele* [should take — **material L6**] her [**goal**] *mo koloing* [in the car — **circumstance**]

302. *kana* [or — **circumstance**] *o* [you — **actor**] palame [climb — **material L6**] *sehlare* [a tree — **goal**] and

303. *o* [you — **actor**] *e*[47] [it — **goal**] *jele* [eat — **material L6**] *koo* [there — **circumstance**]

304. *thapolloa* [take — **material L6**] *mosepele* [the journey — **scope**] [a little further — **circumstance**] i.e. make the sexual activity last a little longer]

305. *mosadi* [a woman — **actor**] *ga a ye* [does not go — **material L6**] *gope* [a long way, i.e. last long — **circumstance**]

306. if [**circumstance**] *o* [you — **actor**] *tshameka* [play — **material L6**] i.e. don't sexually satisfy her

307. *ene o* [she —**carrier**] *tswa* [will be made — **relational L2**] *kgotsofadiwa* [happy — **attribute**] *ke* [by smelly feet — **attributor**]

The conditional clause 'if' in (297) gives the circumstances in which a woman would cheat on her husband. Her role as an actor (298) is dependent on him satisfying her sexual needs (300). The position of a woman as a subjected goal is found in (301, 303). The relative lack of agency of a woman despite her social status in comparison to a man is reinforced when she is represented as inanimate, e.g. 'it' (303) and as a road that one drives/rides on (300). The journey metaphor is also utilised in (304, 305) to conceptualise sexual intercourse as a journey. Interestingly, the commenters who on the surface seem to be foregrounding women's sexual interests, grammatically position them as powerless and objectify them. Thus, by positioning women as vehicles, roads or animals, they erase their positive sexual experiences and inadvertently frame the sexual act as being about the men's skills as drivers/riders.

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[46] The A1 is a 490km road that links the two main cities in Botswana, those being the capital Gaborone, in the southeast, and Francistown in the northeast.

[47] *e* (it - the vagina)

7.4.3 Appraisal analysis

The final section in this category examines the ways in which working class men are evaluated in relation to middle-class men and women. What is of interest to analyse here is the representation of sexual performance as a moral obligation, upon which women's fidelity and happiness depend, as in the comment below.

[female]

> Gape gore mosadi aska cheata ke gore omokgotsogatse tota kago dira jalo otlabona mosadi a itumela gape o change di stayl oska palama mosadi o kare tonkie.

292a*. Gape gore aska cheata* [again for <u>a woman not to cheat</u>] [**-/+propriety**]

293a*. omokgotsofatse tota* [you <u>must</u> satisfy her sexually [**+propriety**]

294a*. ka go dira jalo mosadi a itumela* [that way a woman will be <u>happy</u>] [**+happiness**]

295a*. o ska palama mosadi* o kare tonki [you <u>should not</u> ride a woman as if she were a donkey] [**+propriety**]

Through deontic modality (should not, must) married (middle-class) men are advised on how to or not to execute sexual activities (293a, 295a). In these particular comments, women's infidelity is not immoral as was seen in earlier sections because it is a man's responsibility to keep her happy (294a) and therefore faithful (292a). This is also echoed in the example below.

[male]

> Gare lorato ke ko ntlong......if u dnt
> satisfy her in bed she its goin to cheat on
> u....if o batla a gorata palama A1 o tla
> nna fela fa..ere phakela a go leba abo a
> utlwa a sellega.....gape o change sum
> sex positions sumtyms o mo tseele mo
> koloin kana o palame sehlare o e jele
> koo.....gape faole monna gare o kgome
> kobo pinking o tla bona mosadi ga akake
> a go tsietsa......thapolla mosepele
> mosadi ga aye gope...if o tshameka e
> tlare ore tlisa a bo are o lapile a itsi gr
> ene o tswa go kgotsofadiwa ke smelly
> feet...

297a. if u you dnt satisfy her in bed [**-capacity**]

298a. she is goin to cheat on you [**-/+ propriety**]

299a. If *o batla a go rata* [you <u>want</u> [**+inclination**] her to <u>love</u> you [**+happiness**]

300a*. palama* A1 [take a drive on the A1]

In this example, a man who desires a woman's love has to keep her sexually satisfied. While these examples foreground women's sexual interests, the contradiction is that they are dehumanised. As vehicles taken on a journey, sexual satisfaction is not for them but the driver, the man. Such objectification is rejected by a female commenter (line 295a).

The analysis shows that low-skilled men are evaluated mainly through appreciation, suggesting that they are objectified. This collaborates the transitivity analysis, in which they are represented via relational attributive processes, i.e. as having giant genitals. When given the role of actor, they are represented through violent metaphors. In the example below, the label Ben 10 evaluates a man as not only young but also broke (311a).

[female]

> True love is rare in dz era...both men and women arent honest t each other...so dnt point fingers t one direction...a man cn stil walk out f de door nd slip arund inspite f hw cute n humble his wife cud b....same applies t a woman hu is bng provided wth evrythn nd go out t spend money wth Ben 10 hu is a broke ass...

308a. Both men and women aren't honest [**-veracity**]

309a. a man cn [can- **+capacity**] still walk out f the door and slip around [**-propriety**] inspite f hw cute n humble [**+aesthetics/+propriety**] his wife cud be

310a. same applies to a woman hu is bng provided wth evrythn [**-propriety woman**] / [**+capacity** man]

311a. nd go out t spend money with Ben 10 hu [who] is a broke ass [**valuation -social significance/-capacity** Ben 10] [**-propriety woman**]

Women and men in relationships are evaluated in similar ways, e.g. as dishonest (308a), but also contradictorily. For instance, a wife is appraised aesthetically as 'cute' and 'humble', which might be the desired qualities in a woman (309a). A man, on the other hand, is implicitly evaluated for his ability to provide (310a) or disparaged for being economically incapacitated and socially insignificant (311a). We have also observed in Table 7.4 above that the evaluative coined phrase 'smelly feet' is the most frequent one in the comments, suggesting that working men are viewed as socially insignificant. This debasement is also visible in the use of animal metaphor such as baboon, which not only depicts this social group as less intelligent and uncivilised but also draws on racist colonial stereotypes.

7.5 Summary

After reporting the findings of how readers react to the cartoon texts, I now synthesise the results below in relation to the readers reaction to the conversations and cartoons.

My analysis using the SAR, transitivity, and appraisal analytical frameworks show a nuanced outcome whereby gender and sexuality are not the only determining factors of how social

actors are represented. The interface between ethnicity, religion, gender and sexuality in the cartoon texts about foreign evangelical men reveal xenophobic tendencies and nationalist ideologies that unite readers against foreign pastors. The 'Us' versus 'Them' positions foreign prophets as false and as using the church to fleece the nation. Readers who adopt this positioning of evangelical pastors activate them in material clauses as acting on younger women in the church. Yet, even then we saw that women in these representations are either impersonalised and objectified as food or infantilised. Other readers (mostly male commenters) resist this point of view by depicting women in mental processes as sensers or carriers of attributes. As conscious beings, women are represented as capable of changing the status quo, i.e. they should differentiate a true pastor from a false one. Relationally, they are said to be 'the problem' for enabling pastors to abuse their power on third parties. The pastors are represented only as the church, which hides their real identity.

In responding to texts about the sexual abuse of underage girls, more than 61% of commenters show opposition to traditional patriarchal ideologies that suggest that wearing a mini-skirt is the cause of rape. However, there is also a minority who deploy sexualised and gendered misogynistic comments that appraise all females as *'mabelete'* (bitches). Despite this negative appraisal as actors, women only ever act on themselves or the clothes they wear. When positioned as goals, those acting on them are represented as 'anything' or not mentioned at all. This is found in the comments that blame women and girls for their own rape. However, the conflation of romance and sexuality is found in comments that legitimate rape of a minor as well as those that condemn it. Thus, to constantly refer to the perpetrator as being broken-hearted at the sight of a girl in a miniskirt is to minimise his criminal actions by framing them as love. Similarly, the men are dogs metaphor dehumanises men and frames male sexuality as beastly and uncivilised but also lays responsibility for male sexual behaviour with women and girls. I noted too that animal metaphors are not as explicit as the 'slut' label given to women. This shows that culturally, male sexuality could not have been problematised. If the dog (and other animal metaphors) are a sign of changing attitudes and a move towards regulating male sexuality, then we should be critical of such metaphors as they could be reproducing conservative ideologies about male sexuality as uncontrolled and insatiable.

It is not only their sexuality that is problematised, but women's professional identities are also cast as unauthentic. For example, they can only be managers if they had slept with men in higher positions, while men earn these positions through hard work. Men's social and economic power on the one hand, and women's sexual capital on the other, are linked but also presented as mutually exclusive. That is, women only have sexual appeal but no intellectual ability, while men's sexual appeal derives from their financial power. However, female commenters construct their resistance by giving agency to men who sleep with women for jobs (e.g. as actors), while in the contributions of men they are activated as a circumstance of accompaniment or referred to in indefinite pronouns. Such positioning ensures they are equally judged as immoral. The female commenters also link women's success to hardwork and evaluate them as capable and tenacious, rather than as sexual objects. But we also note that women's resistance is framed by feminising men and thereby implicitly denigrating themselves, which confirms negative stereotypes about women.

Finally, the last section of analysis focused on intergenerational and interclass dating. The findings show that working-class men are stigmatised and evaluated as socially insignificant. We see a reproduction of colonialist and racist tropes of black men's sexuality in the representation of working-class men. They are represented relationally as wild animals and as having giant penises. Their sexual acts are constructed via violent metaphors, suggesting beast-like and uncivilised personas. In the same vein we see the deployment of the 'sex is riding' metaphor to conceptualise women as vehicles and animals that are ridden in heterosexual coitus.

Chapter 8 links the textual analyses to the meso (the text-interaction) and macro (socio-cultural) levels of analyses and identify sexuality, gender and other ideologies articulated by the cartoon column and readers.

CHAPTER 8: Ideologies articulated in the cartoon column and readers' comments

This chapter connects the micro-analyses in chapters 5, 6 and 7 to the discourse practice and the social level. First, I summarise the major findings and then move on to discuss some gender and sexuality ideologies expressed in the cartoon column and readers' comments. Last, I link the findings to the context of production, distribution and reception before explaining whether the findings reflect the social contexts in Botswana.

8.1. Summary of major findings

The main aim of this research was to uncover gender and sexuality ideologies that were articulated in the cartoon column 'Conversations from a Combi' and the reactions it elicited from the readers. Drawing on critical discourse studies as an overarching framework (Fairclough, 2015), feminist critical discourse analysis (Lazar, 2005) and on feminist poststructural discourse analysis (Baxter, 2008), I explored how gender and sexuality were represented in the cartoons and readers' comments. The findings of the three analysis chapters were organised by social categories in order to explore the richness of the data in terms of how gender and sexuality intersect with socio-economic class, age and ethnicity. Therefore, each of the three chapters is constituted by the following sub-sections:

a) Representations of foreign evangelical pastors
b) Representations of sexually abused underage girls
c) Representations of professionals
d) Representations of men and women in intergenerational and interclass relationships

In Chapter 5, I used van Leeuwen's social actor framework (2008) and the transitivity system in systemic functional grammar (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014) to examine the social actions social actors are represented as engaging in. The findings show that religious leadership positions are represented as occupied by foreign males only while women are churchgoers and victims of their sexual violence. Classification of evangelical pastors as 'foreign pastors' or 'Nigerian pastor' implies that Batswana pastors are excluded from this representation, which evokes an 'Us' and 'Them' dichotomy along national lines. Foreign

evangelical men are characterised as miracle-faking profiteers who financially exploit and physically abuse local churchgoers. However, famed foreign evangelical leaders such as Bushiri and T.B. Joshua are contradictorily represented as individuals in their own right — personalised, nominated and semi/formalised but also impersonalised and objectivated. For example, Bushiri is metaphorically represented as 'the new flavour of the season', which characterises him as a trendy product with a short shelf life.

Regarding the representation of sexually abused girls and perpetrators, ideologies about socio-economic class and female sexuality are brought into play to characterise sexual abuse as a class issue. This is achieved by categorising a working-class perpetrator relationally as 'my/your younger brother', which locates him in a family, and by referencing the sexual act euphemistically as 'bedded' to downplay or even hide the coercion and unlawful aspects. Traditional ideologies of female sexuality and femininity are brought to bear in characterising the victim as a temptress signalling her sexual desires through her dress, which draws on patriarchal gender roles of an active male and a passive female, who does not explicitly express her sexuality. Additionally, the victim is characterised as sexually experienced as her mother allegedly traded her to rich men. On the other hand, another, middle-class perpetrator is distanced by categorising him as a 'councillor' and appraised as a 'prominent figure'. He performs only material processes such as 'defiling', 'impregnating' and 'infecting' the victim with HIV. The girl is characterised as young, vulnerable, poor and a passive goal of an older male. However, none of the perpetrators are represented as being held accountable by the criminal justice system. The police allegedly dismissed the defilement charge in the case of a working-class man and in the second case, no action is taken and the speakers suspect that the police may have been bribed. Moreover, there is conflation of sexuality and romance in both caricatures, blurring the lines between male sexual depravity and consensual sex in a romantic relationship.

Considering female professionals, women are either excluded altogether from the public transport industry and the police service and represented negatively in sectors where they are included. For example, women are represented as outsiders in medicine and politics through gender identification and functionalisation/classification as in 'female doctor' or 'woman MP'. The transitivity analysis found that rather than being represented as involved in work-related activities, female professionals are stereotyped as chattering, gossiping and

back-stabbing each other, which compares unfavourably with the seriousness and productivity of men. For example, a male doctor attends to a patient in one cartoon that shows his female counterpart chattering while in another, three male police officers attend a crime scene in which a woman is a suspect. Whereas male violence is suppressed in the cartoon column, female violence is foregrounded by referencing a heinous crime of murder, suggesting a desire to distract from everyday male violence and therefore protect men's interests.

The final sub-section concerns how social actors in intergenerational and interclass relationships are represented. The findings show that young people and working-class men are categorised through appraisement and perceived negatively compared to older generations and middle-class people. For example, younger women are referenced through the coined term 'Ma-14', which appraises them as materialistic. It was found that 'Ma-14' are activated more than they are passivated, suggesting they are viewed as agents capable of destabilising heteronormativity. They are not represented as seeking marriage or a life-long commitment in relationships but as assertive and moving on to the next man with money. Thus, they are perceived as deviating from traditional feminine values of being a submissive, supportive and faithful partner, values older women are lauded for. Similarly, a relationship between a younger man and an older woman is represented as based on objectification and fun (Baker, 2008) with the younger man represented as a possession, e.g. 'the mum's Toy-boy'. A 'toy-boy' is passivated more than he is activated in material clauses. For example, 55% of the time he is a goal of his partner and her aggressive sons. However, older female partners are also subjected to violence, suggesting that relationships between older women and younger men are viewed and punished as non-normative. Concerning relationships between unskilled men and middle-class women, it is the former who are passivated and objectified as 'smelly feet'. However, heteronormative values can also be gleaned from these non-normative relationships. For example, older women are also represented as domestics and sex objects 'ridden' in sexual acts, which erases their consent and sexual experience and dehumanises them, while perpetuating male sexual dominance.

In Chapter 6, I drew on Martin and White's appraisal framework (2005) and Economou's visual appraisal model (2006; 2009) to analyse attitude in the verbal and visual texts. I also applied Kress and van Leeuwen's social semiotics (2006) to examine how the depicted participants

interact with one another and the viewers. The quantitative results show that judgement is the most frequent way of appraising social actors. Especially, social actors are negatively evaluated for propriety, suggesting that conforming to societal values is central to the construction of social identities in the cartoon column. Women do not only receive more negative evaluations than Batswana men and foreign evangelical men but also attract the highest number of different judgement types. Moreover, women have the highest frequencies for appreciation and attract the broadest range of appreciation categories, which points to a tendency to view women as objects. Meanwhile, more than women, Batswana men are ascribed feelings of a broad range in the affect category while foreign evangelical men are not ascribed feelings at all, which depersonalises them.

The qualitative results indicate foreign evangelical men are negatively appraised for veracity and propriety. They are characterised as luring younger women into their churches with false promises of marriage and overpricing anointing oil. It appears embracing traditional femininity comes at a cost for younger women as the pastors exploit their desires to achieve the 'womanly' goal of marriage. For instance, younger women are allegedly enticed to their pastors' houses for prayers only to be raped. However, the representation of sexual assault as exclusively perpetrated by foreign religious men is indicative of underlying negative feelings towards African immigrants believed to be using religion to seek economic opportunities in the country. Thus, the representation of foreign evangelical men in this way could be informed by xenophobia. Yet, there is evidence in both the verbal and visual analyses that the victims are represented as compliant and submitting themselves to be used, which seems to discount the unequal power relations in the pastor-follower relationship. Thus, even in this negative representation of foreigners, patriarchal and heteronormative ideologies lurk in the background.

Concerning the appraisal of sexually abused underage girls, it was found that the typical abuser is represented as older, middle-class and not family. The social actor is positively appraised for his financial, social and political power which is linked to his immorality. In the same vein, abused girls are differentially evaluated too. The councillor's victim is ascribed emotions, sympathetically viewed and constantly appraised for negative capacity, e.g. as a 'minor,' 'underage', 'a child'. However, the tables turn in the second scenario where a younger, working-class man is appraised for negative capacity, e.g. as unable to buy groceries,

and as immature and therefore not accountable for his actions. The abused girl is appraised for negative propriety for the way she dresses and in the visual analysis, she is represented as not only having power over her abuser but as acknowledging the sexual attention she gets. However, the visual appraisal analysis found that sexual abuse is glossed over while male sexuality is foregrounded in that the victims are represented as objects of both the male abusers and viewers. Using romance as a euphemism for lust suggests sexual abuse is not viewed as violence, showing a strong link between patriarchy, heteronormativity and classism in this discourse on child sexual abuse.

Professional women are appraised through what Sunderland (2020) calls the 'discourse of the ineffectual woman'. The findings indicate that female professionals are represented as unproductive in their workplaces and appraised negatively for capacity and propriety. Further, women are represented as trivial and concerned with physical appearance through representing them as 'competing to wear the best lipstick colour' and 'fighting silly lipstick wars'. They are ascribed negative emotions, e.g. as capable of 'hating another woman for a new hairstyle' and as 'looking down upon others' when holding a public office. By contrast, the column promotes the belief that it is men's role to work outside the home with them being portrayed as effective in their different areas of work. To protect this male space, women are also characterised as criminals, e.g. as illegal taxi operators. Whilst policemen are perceived as corrupt for (ab)using their power over male taxi drivers, when their actions affect women negatively, the police are positively evaluated.

Lastly, the appraisal analysis found that in intergenerational and interclass relationships, younger partners and unskilled men attract more negative evaluation than older and middle-class partners. While younger women are appraised as materialistic via the ageist and gendered term 'Ma-14', younger men are objectified and represented as just 'toys' possessed by their older female partners. Whereas relationships between older women and younger men are not uncommon today in Botswana, they are still viewed as non-normative and a threat to the patriarchal order. Traditional Tswana ideologies of a masculine man include norms of being the sole provider or at least, the main income contributor in the household, hence, there is constant association of men with work or money in the column, e.g. 'men with money', 'rich men who drive expensive cars' or 'husband going to work'. On the contrary, sexual power is represented as the only currency women have over men, e.g. 'Ma-14' are

represented as sexually tempting men with their dress whereas older women please men by making themselves sexually available and doing housework. Consilient with this, the column does not represent low-skilled men and younger men as seeking financial benefits in their relationships with older and/or middle-class women but foregrounds their sexual relationships. For example, the 'toy boy rides the woman' and 'a garden boy/herd boy is bedded by the middle-class woman'.

Chapter 7 examined the readers' comments on the conversations and caricatures. I analysed the comments using a combination of SAR, transitivity and appraisal methods. Starting with the foreign evangelical men, the findings reveal that 60% of the commenters adopt the dominant reading position of the cartoon column, which represents foreign evangelical pastors as fake profiteers and sexual predators. The SAR results show that 63% of the appraisal terms are negative with this social group being disparaged as *'makwerekwere'* (foreigners), 'false/evil prophets' or *'maherehere'* (crooks). They are also given a special identity that distinguishes them from other pastors, e.g. they are labelled 'pastors of miracles' or 'pastors of fire churches'. The readers draw a dichotomy between pastors and the nation; with the latter being referenced as 'our nation', 'nation of ours', 'Batswana' and 'your fellow countrymen'. However, the hegemonic heterosexual male perspective shows up in the infantilisation and objectification of women who are referenced as *'bana'* (children) and the metonymy *'kuku'* (cake) in heterosexual acts. Other readers (mostly male commenters) view women as responsible for being sexually assaulted, e.g. they should differentiate a true pastor from a false one.

In response to a cartoon on the sexual abuse of girls, 61% of commenters show opposition to traditional patriarchal ideologies that suggest that wearing a mini-skirt can be the cause of rape. However, some male commenters deploy sexualised and otherwise misogynistic comments that appraise all females as *'mabelete'* (bitches) and blame women and girls for being raped. The conflation of romance and sexuality is found in comments that legitimate rape of a minor as well as those that condemn it. The users constantly ascribe emotions to the perpetrator, e.g. as 'broken-hearted' at the sight of a girl in a miniskirt, a euphemism which minimises his criminal actions by framing lust as love. In a bid to problematise male sexual depravity, female commenters use a dehumanising metaphor, 'men are dogs', to frame male sexuality as beastly, uncivilised and subordinate to female sexuality. However,

this metaphor normalises male sexuality as aggressive and hard to control, which means it is the responsibility of women and girls to modify their own behaviour. Additionally, the animal metaphor is not as explicit as the *'mabelete'* (bitches) label given to women. This shows that culturally, male sexuality is not problematised. If the dog and other animal metaphors are a sign of changing attitudes and a condemnation of male sexual depravity, then we should be critical of such metaphors as they could be reproducing conservative beliefs about male sexuality as uncontrolled and insatiable.

Women's professional identities are cast as inauthentic by 49% of the commenters. For example, there is a view that women can only be managers if they have slept with men in higher positions, while men earn these positions through hard work. Men's social and economic power on the one hand, and women's sexual capital on the other, are linked but also mutually exclusive. That is, women only have sex appeal but no intellectual ability, while men's sexual appeal is linked to their financial power. However, female commenters construct their resistance by giving men who sleep with women for jobs negatively evaluated agency, e.g. as 'men who abuse their positions', while in the contributions of men they take the role of a circumstance of accompaniment 'she slept **with a man**' or referred to in indefinite pronouns 'a woman will seduce **someone** to be a manager'. Such positioning by women ensures men are equally judged as immoral. The female commenters also link women's success to hard work and evaluate them as capable and tenacious, rather than as sexual objects, e.g. 'those (women) who are at the top worked hard for it'. But we also note that women's resistance is framed by mocking men as feminine and in turn denigrating themselves. For example, men who gossip are said to 'wear panties', meaning that they have taken on what the female commenters believe to be inherently female traits.

Finally, the last section on intergenerational and interclass dating found that 70% of the users expressed views that approve of such relationships. However, the analysis suggests young and unskilled men are not expected to date older middle-class women. Using the objectifying term 'smelly feet' to appraise unskilled men as unhygienic and socially insignificant stigmatises this social group through classist ideologies about working men's sexuality and appropriation of colonial racist beliefs of black men's sexuality. These men are represented via metaphors of wild animals, e.g. 'skunk' and 'baboon', and as having giant penises. Their sexual acts are constructed via violent metaphors, e.g. *'ba tlhaba go utlwala'* (they stab hard),

which frames consensual sex as a violent confrontation in which a female partner is violated. When considered together with the 'sex is riding' metaphor that conceptualises women as vehicles and animals, they show that even women of a higher social class are marginalised via dehumanising language that sustains heteronormative ideologies.

Following this summary, the next section further discusses the ideologies identified in the findings.

8.2 Ideologies articulated in the cartoon column and readers' comments

The findings show that the cartoon column 'Conversations from a Combi' subscribes to ideologies of patriarchy and heteronormativity, xenophobia, classism and ageism. In the comments, some users align with the ideologies expressed in the cartoon column while others reject them and show more egalitarian ideologies. In this section, I discuss these ideologies by focusing on their structure, contents, functions and origins.

8.2.1. Patriarchy and heteronormativity

Patriarchy and heteronormativity, which are the dominant ideologies in the cartoon column, are inextricably linked. As a gendered power system, patriarchy ensures male power by affording men control of female labour, reproduction and sexuality and guarantees them a higher social status, more privileges and rights than women in society (Kalabamu, 2006). On the other hand, heteronormativity relates to discursive phenomena that stipulate (certain forms of) heterosexuality as normal, preferable, or natural, and that privilege essentialist gender binarism discourses (Motschenbacher, 2013). Both are dependent on male-female relationships that are binary and hierarchical and represent a structural dichotomy of 'Us' versus 'Them'. The findings from the present analysis show that older women and young Christian women are noticeably represented as the in-group that embraces traditional female dress codes, submits to the authority of men and seeks the heterosexual goal of lifelong marriage. The out-group is constituted by the so-called 'Ma-14', professional women and some underage girls, all of whom are represented as deviating from traditional ideologies of femininity. For example, 'Ma-14' are represented as seeking material gains rather than commitment in relationships, professional women allegedly use their sexual power to access

managerial positions while some underage girls are negatively viewed for dressing in mini-skirts.

Having discussed the structure of the ideologies and how they are exhibited in the data, I now show their ideological contents, i.e. the values, norms and beliefs of patriarchy and heteronormativity. Traditional ideologies about womanhood include displaying powerlessness, submitting to male authority, seeking to attain the heterosexual life course of marriage, vulnerability and childishness. Sexual availability is desirable in women but they should also be sexually passive. Otherwise, sexual agency in a woman is viewed as prostitution. Beliefs about female rivalry, domesticity, financial dependence on men and other-centredness are promoted. What is believed to be not desirable in a woman is seeking a public role or to advance in one's career, intellectual capability, assertiveness, materialism and unfaithfulness.

The traits desired in women are rejected in men, e.g. unlike women, men are expected to demonstrate financial, physical, social and political power over women rather than be subordinate to them. High educational and career attainment and demonstrating leadership qualities are also represented as desirable traits in men. Male sexual agency, be it as dominant partner in heterosexual coitus or as the desiring subject, are foregrounded as positive elements of hegemonic masculinity. Contrastively, it is not desirable for men to show feminine traits as that would be a sign of weakness and, in a conflation of gender and sexual identity, may be interpreted as being gay.

The next thing is to trace the origins of these evaluative beliefs and their formation. It is reasonable to argue that representations arise from stereotypes, i.e. generalisations formulated about social groups, without any one member necessarily displaying the traits attributed to them. I, therefore, follow Gee (1992) that most representations of men and women have no factual basis, especially, the belief that women are less intelligent and ineffectual leaders. In Botswana, academic assessments by the Botswana Examination Council have consistently shown that girls outperform boys right from primary to high school, making them take more spaces at universities and, eventually, the job market.

Abstracting is another process by which representations of women are formed. Metonymic representations of women via parts of their bodies ensure they are not seen as full human

beings like men, e.g. a woman is a vagina *'kuku'* (cake) meant to be consumed by men. Anchoring is another way in which ideologies of women come into being in my data, e.g. they are compared to children (infantilised) to justify the need to control them. Having discussed the structure, elements, and genealogy of patriarchy and heteronormativity, I now address their possible functions. I surmise that the ideological goal of the cartoon column is to reproduce the power imbalance between men and women by promoting in-group favouritism and out-group derogation based on traditional heteronormative values. The cartoon column seeks to construct the public space as exclusively male by denigrating female professionals. In this way, it desires to advantage men by making them access employment, power and finance to the detriment of women despite women's superior academic achievements. Similarly, rationalising and legitimating child sexual abuse as provoked by the victim's dress constrains the victim's freedoms but protects some working-class men who abuse children.

8.2.2 Xenophobia and nationalism

Xenophobic and nationalistic ideologies are interconnected because the ideological goal of nationalism is to build national solidarity by showing up foreigners as outsiders whose behaviour threatens the security of the citizens. Thus, the ideology also presents itself in the form of a dichotomy of 'Us' versus 'Them'.

The nationalist ideology comprises of the following: (1) beliefs about group unanimity. In the case of the data analysed, nationalism is linked to linguistic homogeneity, e.g. the group identifying itself as Batswana speaks Setswana as a national language; (2) nationalist ideologies represent the in-group as human, e.g. *'ba-'* in '*Batswana'* denotes humanity while the other is objectified and dehumanised, e.g. *'ma-'* in *'makwerekwere'* denotes objects. Following this distinction, the in-group is characterised as hospitable and caring whereas the out-group is mainly cast as rapists, fraudsters and profiteers. It is only in rare contestations by some readers that a section of this group is believed to be truthful and caring as well. Taking the perspective that the function of representations is to make sense of something unfamiliar, it can be argued that xenophobic ideologies come about via anchoring. That is, the unknown (the foreigner's way of life) is compared to the known, which is one's own values, norms and beliefs. A mismatch between the evaluative beliefs of the dominant group and

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foreign immigrants gives rise to conflicts, rationalisations of excluding them from economic participation and even expulsion from the country.

Nationalist and xenophobic ideologies are interwoven with those of patriarchy and heteronormativity. It can be argued that younger working-class men fear losing sexual control of younger women to foreign evangelical men with money, whose religious background is likely to present them as non-violent. However, I posit that women are also a pawn in the game of men's power politics. For example, women are excluded from pastoral leadership, caricatures of pastors portray them with hanging tongues and gazes directed at women's intimate parts, which objectifies them. Finally, the pastors' moral depravity is excused by conflating lust with love, suggesting that the sexual crimes against women are not taken seriously but used as a façade for the real fear and hatred of foreigners, namely, the competition for economic resources.

8.2.3 Ageism and classism

An ageist ideology which intersects with classism can also be identified. The ideological goal of these two is to marginalise younger people and unskilled men in relationships with older people and middle-class women, respectively.

The ageist ideology is formed by the following beliefs: (1) younger women date older men for money (2) younger men in relationships with older women are powerless and (3) unskilled men are primitive and sexually violent. These beliefs are interwoven with patriarchy, heteronormativity and in the latter case, draw on classist ideas about working-class men's sexuality and racist colonial ideologies of black men's sexuality. The first two beliefs put the blame on younger partners; younger women for seeking financial benefits in relationships while younger men for inverting gendered power dynamics. It follows that age-gap relationships are undesirable. Regarding the last belief, it disapproves of interclass relations by fostering colonial discourses of the 'sexual, primitive black man', seen in the conceptualisation of garden boys and herd boys via wild animal and violence metaphors. We have seen in the case of women that these ideological beliefs objectivate members of the marginalised group, e.g. unskilled men are represented as 'smelly feet', with the emotional effects being an expression of disgust and dislike.

8.2.4 Resistant ideologies

Resistance to patriarchy and heteronormativity is displayed in the comments data, where it was found that female commenters were critical of the column and of other commenters displaying misogyny. However, the findings in chapter seven demonstrated that resistance to dominant ideologies was articulated by referencing negative stereotypes about women which reproduced the very power imbalances that were resisted.

Resistance is constituted by 'counter' yet reproductive beliefs about female sexual objectification and availability, mainly realised in conceptual metaphors such as 'sex is eating'. Secondly, the 'men are dogs' metaphor disparages male sexuality but also conceptualises it as primitive and uncontrolled, further reproducing norms of women and girls as needing to adjust their behaviour. Finally, contestations insult men by affirming sexist stereotypes about women being gossips. All these beliefs paradoxically foreground patriarchal and heterosexual male viewpoints that dehumanise women while trying to advance a counter-view.

Despite the hegemony of patriarchy and heteronormativity in the foregoing stances, some comments seemed to subscribe to egalitarianism in the representation of women. For example, some female commenters argued that like men, women have achieved good results at school and ascended to leadership positions through hard work and not sexual favours for men. Judging by the use of language, e.g. consistent use of English, standard punctuation and grammar, it would be reasonable to postulate that much resistance may have come from educated women. This could mean that the education of women is essential in realising gender equality.

In the last two sections of the chapter, I interpret the findings by relating them to the processes of production, distribution and consumption before linking them to the social situation in Botswana.

8.3 Text-interaction level

The cartoons and online comments analysed in this study can be accessed on the newspaper's website and Facebook page. The cartoons also appeared in the print version of the newspaper, making them available for public consumption on- and offline.

The Voice claims to be the most read newspaper in the country and puts its sales per week's edition at 60,000 copies. The audited figures from the Audit Bureau of Circulation in South Africa for 2011 put circulation at 26,794 (Rooney, 2012). A Gender Links and the Media (2007) survey demonstrates 50% of the readers of The Voice have some tertiary education and are represented proportionately by gender (53.8% males to 47.2% females) with a slight urban bias of 48% to peri-urban at 33.3% and rural at 18.7%, respectively (see Chapter 4). The largest group of readers are younger adults between the ages of 20 and 35. A survey of newspaper reading preferences among people in Botswana found that 80% of the respondents reported reading The Voice more than any other newspaper (Lesitaoka et al., 2014).

Looking at the readers' demographics, I advance the argument that to appeal to readers between 20 and 35, heterosexual relationships and money take centre stage in the cartoon production because it is likely what most young adults are preoccupied with, i.e. trying to establish careers and relationships that could lead to marriage. For those who have graduated and are looking for jobs, financial anxiety is ever-present in an economy that has very high unemployment rates. Additionally, posting the cartoons on Facebook and opening for unmoderated comments may have been designed to attract young (mostly urban) readers with access to the internet, who through their smartphones, laptops and institutional computers can view the cartoons. While the cartoon column refrains from using explicit derogative language, such is ubiquitous in the comments, suggesting social media give space for the expression of misogyny, sexism and xenophobia.

The texts, which are between 244 and 584 words, are written in basic English and presented as drama with a caricature illustration. This makes for an easy read for some of The Voice's readers, half of whom have no tertiary education. One can link this to the prevalence of Setswana in the comments, yet this could also be explained as the readers' language of preference or some form of linguistic identity, given that Setswana is a national language. There is also code-switching between Setswana and English, and occasionally, one finds comments in English only with standard punctuation and grammar. Assuming that commenters on Facebook are young, male, fairly educated and urban, suggests that rather than moving away from traditional ideologies of gender and sexuality, these young male readers embrace them. Hiding behind pseudonyms and non-face to face communication, they throw vile slander at women who deviate from these ideologies. With a male youth

displaying signs of toxic masculinity and female commenters reproducing patriarchal-heteronormative ideals in counterarguments, gender equality is still a long way to come. The fact that the production of sexist content prevailed in a media platform that at the time had two women at the helm of power, one as owner and publisher, and another as chief editor, is suggestive of hegemonic male-centric views and/or hidden (male) power, probably of the advertisers the paper relies on. However, in an interview with the Editor's World Forum in 2014 Beata Kasale, the publisher, owner and former editor of The Voice, described women editors ''as their own worst enemies as once in power they forgot about gender mainstreaming'' (Rooney, 2018: 102). The findings demonstrate that the depicted participants are presented to viewers as objects rather than subjects to engage with, suggesting entertainment as the possible discourse goal of the cartoon column.

8.4 Text-social context

Botswana can be described as a patrilineal and heteronormative society (Bojosi, 2004; Dube, 2009; Schapera, 1955). It is therefore plausible that the dominant ideologies articulated in the cartoon column and the readers' comments might echo these sentiments. Below, I give a synopsis of the social situation in Botswana and later explain the findings in respect of this social context.

Although historically work outside the home and leadership roles was the preserve of men while women were largely regarded as children under their patronage (Schapera, 1955), studies have shown that more and more women are educated and gainfully employed, which makes them active participants in the nation's economy (Mookodi, 2004). However, in politics, women's numbers remain low as politics pit them against their male counterparts, who are generally accepted as 'natural' leaders by society. Modesto (2016) observes that the progress made in the private and public sectors is not replicated in Botswana politics with women's representation below the Sothern African Development Community (SADC) target of 30%.

Except for politics, literature contradicts the ideologies articulated in the cartoon column and some male readers' comments about female professionals. For example, Grant Thornton's Women in Business International Business Report (2019) shows that the percentage of businesses in Botswana with at least one woman in senior management stands at 72%, a step

closer to the global average percentage of 87%.[48] The number of women in managerial positions is attested to by a recent survey by the World Economic Forum, which ranked Botswana third for having 54.5% share of managers who are female.[49] To prove that women have been steadily accessing managerial positions in the workforce, a report by Grant Thornton's Women in Business International show that in 2012, 39% of senior management positions in Botswana were held by women.[50] This contradicts the exclusion of women from certain professions and the negative evaluation they receive when depicted in professional settings. The findings show that women are excluded from traditionally male spheres such as the police even though the police service has had female officers since 1971. If women really neglected their duties, spent time chattering, gossiping and pulling each other down, then they would not be promoted to positions of responsibility. The mismatch in the literature and the data give rise to questions about why women are represented this way. Women who are employed are financially independent, which strips men of power over them. Further, a woman in a managerial position is viewed as a threat to patriarchy because traditionally, women are children under men's patronage. Hence, being managed by a woman is seen as men's emasculation (Cockerton, 2009; Nasha, 2018; Modongo, 2021). I argue that the column performs a symbolic exclusion of female professionals in an attempt to distort social reality. It is a form of resistance that Coates (2013) attributes to men who are relatively low down in the heterosexual hierarchy. Such men (a Combi driver and conductor in this case) compensate for this position by sexualising and stereotyping women. Additionally, the media reifies and re-affirms dominant ideologies in their representation of the world and often represents women as victims and sex objects (Morna, 2005). Women who do not fit these stereotypes are 'cut down to size' via insulting cartoons.

However, there is consonance between the representation of sexual abuse of girls and the social situation. Violence against women and girls has become an epidemic in Botswana. Ramabu (2020) shows the extent of this scourge in her research on child sexual abuse, reporting that in the year 2013, 97 children were sexually abused and 901 school-going girls dropped out of school pregnant. This paints a grim picture about the scale of child sexual

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[48] https://www.mmegi.bw/business/more-botswana-women-join-senior-management/news
[49] https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2021/02/women-gender-roles-manager-global/
[50] https://genderlinks.org.za/barometer-newsletter/botswana-country-tops-the-region-in-womens-representation-in-senior-management-positions-2012-04-05/

abuse if we assume that high numbers of cases are not reported. Studies show that a culture of rape is perpetrated by beliefs about a passive female sexuality and active male sexuality that is uncontrolled (Ramabu, 2020; Seloilwe et al., 2009; Phorano et al., 2005). Additionally, these studies show that rape is often blamed on victims' forms of dress. For example, Ramabu (2020: 3) quotes a source saying the police joked ''what was she doing not dressed properly'' about an underage girl who was sexually abused. Informed by these beliefs that she enticed the assailant, the authorities failed to protect the victim and prosecute the perpetrator. The Report of the Study of Rape in Botswana (1999: i) states that sexual violence ''is firmly and clearly situated on a continuum of violence'' with other forms of misogyny, such as street harassment of women and girls being dismissed as not serious enough to warrant prosecution. Research shows that over the years rape cases in Botswana have surpassed the global average, with the country being ranked as having the highest rape cases in 2021 and second highest in 2020.[51] Studies show that that the perpetrators of sexual and physical violence against women are predominantly younger, single and working-class between the ages of 19 and 39 (Dube, 2009; Botswana Police Service, 1999). As this age group constitutes The Voice newspaper's largest audience, an argument can be made about the connection between the linguistic violence in the comments and physical violence as evidenced in the literature.

I argue that the dehumanisation of women through violence, food, animal and vehicle metaphors reflects the sexual violence against them in real life. The findings show that male sexual violence is conflated with romance in an attempt to re-frame sexuality and love as mutually inclusive to protect all men from prosecution. Conversely, as Dube (2009) opines, all women become victims of this violence, even those who do not physically experience it as it infringes on their constitutional rights to dress and move as they please. The ideological goal of patriarchy is to keep women in a subordinate position, and Wren rightly points out that "a few men commit rape, but all benefit from the violence of those who do, since it instils in women the need for male protection, thus keeping them in a subordinate place" (1989:42).

Next, I discuss the relationship between the literature and the ideologies of nationalism and xenophobia expressed in the findings. Campbell (2003: 71) points out that Batswana wish to

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[51] https://botswana.unfpa.org/en/news/much-more-needs-be-done-ending-gender-based-violence-botswana

preserve the fruits of economic prosperity for citizens only, yet as Campbell (2003) observes, Europeans, Americans and South Africans are not viewed with suspicion. Lesetedi and Modie-Mokoka (2007) interviewed immigrants in Botswana and found that Batswana are viewed as xenophobic especially by Zimbabweans, who expressed concerns about being labelled *'amakwerekwere',* which according to them means 'dogs and hyaenas'. A recent study by Adeoye (2018) reinforces these beliefs, concluding that Zimbabweans have been particularly blamed for crime and social ills in the country. Although there are no studies on foreign evangelical men in Botswana, local newspaper articles suggest they have been the target of deportations. The crimes they are alleged to commit range from money laundering to rape to subverting the government's efforts to fight HIV/Aids through instructing congregants to discontinue anti-retroviral medication.[52] In light of this, it is reasonable to conclude that the derogation of foreign evangelical pastors mirrors the social exclusion of foreigners in general in the country.

Before I conclude, I explain what might inform the resistant ideologies in the comments data. There is some iconic resemblance between the writing of women with strong views against patriarchal-heteronormative ideals and their self-construction as educated professionals; this could mean that education is a window through which a new world opens for women. Although there are no mentions of gender equality movements and activism in the data, some gender movements were born in the period 2013-2017, the time covered in the data. These are the #*I wear what I want* and #*I shall not forget* movements*.* These movements were a response to violence against women and girls, which might have had a bearing on this resistance. For example, the #*I wear what I want* movement staged a protest march in 2017 after a young woman was physically and sexually violated by men at a Gaborone bus and taxi rank for wearing a miniskirt. Following that, women and girls and male sympathisers walked to the bus/taxi rank in miniskirts in protest. In the wake of that, police arrested five suspects on charges of indecent assault, a much smaller charge than sexual assault. It is not known if the suspects were successfully convicted.[53]

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[52] https://voicesofafrica.co.za/botswana-clamps-down-on-foreign-pastors/ – Voices of Africa; https://www.thegazette.news/news/government-will-not-de-blaclist-foreign-pastors
[53] https://deeply.thenewhumanitarian.org/womenandgirls/articles/2017/09/06/botswana-activists-march-in-miniskirts-to-fight-gender-based-violence

In 2016, there was outrage when Facebook communication alleged to have taken place between an MP and a village councillor seemed to indicate the councillor had had a sexual relationship with a schoolgirl which resulted in pregnancy and exclusion from school. Gender activists, opposition parties, child protection and human rights organisations organised country-wide marches named #*I shall not forget* in a bid to force the two politicians to resign and the police to investigate the matter.[54] However, it later emerged that the victim was 16 years at the time she got pregnant and as such the perpetrator could not be charged with defilement. Questions remained, however, about when the sexual relationship started. Following that, gender activists and child protection organisations lobbied for Penal code section 147 (1), which states that defilement applies to minors under the age of 16, leaving children between 16 and 18 years vulnerable to abuse to be aligned with the Children's Act of 2009, which defines a child as someone under the age of 18. The penal code has been amended to include children under the age of 18 in the new defilement law.

In conclusion, the 'Conversations from a Combi' cartoon column disseminates various sexist and xenophobic beliefs in an attempt to uphold heteronormative and patriarchal norms as well as advance its commercial agenda through denigrating foreign evangelicals, and sexually objectifying women for the entertainment of its target male readership. As the findings have demonstrated, the participants in the caricatures do not interact with viewers, which suggests they are not represented as subjects but objects to be consumed by audiences. I argue that the column draws on racial and colonial ideologies to entertain audiences and sell papers by depicting women and girls as having protuberant bottoms, that are often the object of male lust in the same way that Saartjie Baartman's gigantic bottom made her an object of entertainment in some parts of Europe in the 19th century. Thus, the commercial goals of the cartoon column are intricately woven with patriarchal and heteronormative ideologies and, to some extent, nationalist ideologies.

The next chapter concludes the thesis and suggests areas for further investigation.

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[54] https://www.mmegi.bw/news/ditshwanelo-press-statement-regarding-the-protection-of-children-in-botswana/news

Chapter 9: Conclusions

In the previous chapter, I summarised the major findings of the textual analyses conducted in chapters 5-7, identified and discussed some ideologies articulated by the cartoon column and audiences and linked the findings to the discourse practice and broader social contexts in Botswana. In this final chapter, I will draw some implications from the findings, point to some contributions this research makes, as well as to report its limitations and recommend areas for further research.

9.1 Implications of the study

This study showed the limits of the regulation of social media platforms by media institutions, in this case, The Voice newspaper. The lack of moderation of comments and interaction with audiences by producers made the newspaper's Facebook page a site for the expression of misogyny, sexism and xenophobia. Comments on these cartoons cannot be dismissed as inconsequential because the exchanges were anything but light-hearted mirth. Therefore, I argue that some comments constituted verbal violence and have the potential to incite physical violence against foreigners and women. Thus, they should have been censored. Without a clear policy on social media use, these platforms can flourish as sites of violence rather than places for robust debates by the public. If debates are stifled, marginalised groups without access to mainstream media will be rendered voiceless. As Akpabio (2008) asserts, online resistance to hegemonic ideologies is important as it can be preserved and made accessible via search engines in the future. Even today when I go through the comments on news posted by various Botswana newspapers, I still see verbal aggression directed at posters whose views may not be popular.

The study also highlights how gender organisations and the media oversight committees might not have seen these cartoons as sexist as they did with some cartoon impressions of identifiable middle-class actors in broadsheets. For instance, while there was public outrage at Mmegi newspaper's cartoonist, Billy Chiepe's depiction of Kathleen Letshabo's loss of a presidential party seat as a battered bull being castrated, there has been no condemnation of the caricatures that I analysed that are overtly sexist and xenophobic. The reasons could

be that (1) these are not political cartoons, (2) they do not resemble real people and (3) The Voice is a working-class paper known for selling salacious content. All these factors make it escape scrutiny from gender activists, women and other marginalised group organisations. This is despite research on tabloids showing that their "content reproduces the dishonest cliché that male adulterers are 'virile', while female ones are 'sluts' or 'whores'" (MacDonald, 1995: 50). This resonates with my findings, especially the characterisation of girls who get raped as '*mabelete*' (prostitutes/bitches) and the legitimisation of child sexual abuse on the basis that rapists cannot control their lust, which is euphemised as romance. However, in the case of the *Mmegi* newspaper cartoon, Akpabio (2008: 45) reports that Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA), Botswana Media Women Association (BOMWA) and Gender Links produced 71% of material contesting the cartoon, while the newspaper in question only created 11.8% after the publication. GEMSA and BOMWA complained to the Botswana Press Council (BPC) among other protests. But picking up the justification by the newspaper that the cartoon encapsulated the Setswana proverb *'Ga go poo pedi sakeng',* meaning there cannot be two bulls in a kraal (i.e. there can only be one dominant figure in a place at any given time), ''The Media Compliant Committee eventually ruled that the cartoon was not demeaning to women'' (Akpabio, 2008: 46). Nevertheless, the saying itself implies power is inherently male by the use of a gender-marked term *'poo'* (bull) not the neutral term *'kgomo'* (cattle). Akpabio notes the campaigns by GEMSA, BOMWA and Gender Links had raised so much public awareness that the audience reacted negatively to the cartoon more than supporting it. Concerning the cartoon column in The Voice newspaper, it seems there was no scrutiny even when the caricatures became increasingly sexist. Yet, this could potentially undo the gains made in the case above because my findings show that women politicians, gender activists and professional women are demeaned in the cartoon column and readers' comments. Thus, the implication of a non-inclusive approach that rebuts sexism of elites on elite papers could see discrimination festering in working-class papers and among the young, working-class males as my findings demonstrate.

My research findings are supportive of media and gender literacy in education. The Gender Links and media study (2007) found that 50% of The Voice's readers have no tertiary education, suggesting they may not engage with content critically. We noted in chapter 7 that the most resistance to patriarchy and heteronormativity was by female readers who self-

identified as educated and financially independent and saw themselves as not subordinate to men. This shows that education is a liberator and offers alternative viewpoints. Therefore, an introduction to critical media theory or gender, the media and society at upper primary and secondary school could empower more readers to analyse media content and deconstruct harmful ideologies. For example, that may result in more readers rejecting the blame-victim frame perpetrated in child sexual abuse and rape in general.

9.2 Contributions to research

This research lends empirical evidence to feminist critical discourse analysis's position (Lazar 2005; 2007) that a triangulation of feminist studies with critical discourse studies to investigate gender can deconstruct patriarchal norms. The research demonstrates that sexism in media discourse can be effectively destabilised through the application of linguistic frameworks such as social actor representations, process types and appraisals. Additionally, a combination of the theoretical framework with these linguistic methods showed that sexist media representations intersect with other identities to position social groups such as women, girls and foreign men disparagingly, while younger working-class men are favourably represented.

This study contributes to media and gender research in Botswana and in Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly the examination of cartoons from a linguistic perspective. To the best of my knowledge, no study in Botswana has examined cartoons using CDS, FCDA and FPDA. Rapoo (2013), who includes one political cartoon (that I have already alluded to in visual appraisal, chapter 4, Figure 4.8) in her study of ideologies surrounding womanhood in Botswana myths and pop culture, uses a narrative inquiry approach. Also, studies on representations of gender have tended to be on broadsheets rather than in tabloid newspapers in Botswana (Phili, 2011; Phili and Ellece, 2013) and some studies focused on both (Bagai and Faimau, 2021, Exner and Thurston, 2009). By selecting a tabloid newspaper and more importantly, by analysing non-political cartoons, this study has shown that the lack of scrutiny of tabloid content could undo the gains made in gender equality in the country as young, working-class men seem to aggressively resist social change, while less educated women tend to embrace patriarchal ideals as natural.

My study also contributes to social media and audience research in Botswana. Social media have become prime public sites for moral arguments and the construction of values and ideologies. Social media platforms like Facebook are used to lure the youth to follow breaking news on their phones and make comments wherever and whenever. My study supports the findings of researchers around the world that social media allows users to hide behind pseudonyms and asynchronous communication to use hateful and impolite language (Hardaker, 2010; Reader, 2012; Santana, 2014). Despite the fact that during the period of my study, Facebook became stricter about the use of real names, users find ways to disguise their identity by misspelling their names or using a combination of characters that make no sense. Other research has found that hateful speech can still be expressed by non-anonymous users (Chaudhry and Gruzd, 2019). This study shows that social media platforms can also be sites for the contestation of sexist and xenophobic ideologies much as they give space for their expression.

Finally, this research contributes in a small way to the analyses of Setswana using analytical frameworks such as SAR and appraisal, which were specifically designed for English. With most of the comments being in Setswana, I used my knowledge of the language to show that prefixes and suffixes in Setswana can be used to allocate people to social categories. For example, we found that prefixes (*ma*-) e.g. *marapo* (bones) and (*di*-) *diphologolo* (animals) that normally denote objects and animals can be used to objectivate people. Rather being referred to through the prefix **'ba-'** as **'bana ba ba** *ko tlase ga dingwaga' (underage girls)*, which humanises them, they are objectified as '**ma**-kgela' (unripe fruits) and instead of '**batho ba ba** *gay' (people who are gay)*, they are dehumanised as '**di**-gay'. Similarly, we found that the suffix **'nyana'** in the contexts it was used represented the social actors (foreign male pastors) by appraisement and, in appraisal analysis, these social actors were being devalued as socially insignificant.

9.3 Limitations of the study

This study is based on one newspaper only and therefore does not make any generalisations to other newspapers and audiences not studied. The data analysed are written texts and the results and conclusions made are based on the linguistic methods described in chapter 4.

From a critical discourse perspective, any language and visuals are constituted by and constitutive of society, therefore written language and images are also suitable for analysis. Be that as it may, an interview with the cartoonist and editor could have shed light on the purpose of the column, reasons for ending their publication and the methods used to moderate comments if any moderation was done.

Another limitation is that the data set for this thesis is relatively small comprising 12 cartoons, 429 posts and 30 threads. As I had to write the thesis in 70,000 words, I excluded all posts constituted by just images, without language. Additionally, there were also comments about the cartoonist, the editor and the newspaper, which I did not analyse as they were not relevant to the scope of the thesis. However, if I had conducted interviews with the editors and writers of the newspaper, then some of these responses could have formed part of the analyses, i.e. whether such criticism led to the column being discontinued.

9.4 Further research

There is a need for more research into cartoons using linguistic methods and CDS because cartoons are not just entertainment; they are as socially constitutive as language and should therefore be analysed for ideologies that may be harmful to society just as those that may subvert hegemonic ideals and bring about social change. For example, a comparative study could be done between the cartoonist's work in The Voice and his work in other newspapers such as The Weekend Post, a broadsheet newspaper. Since the latter is a quality newspaper, it would be interesting to find if elite women are also sexually objectified or not. Additionally, future studies could compare cartoons published before the 2013-2017 period by other cartoonists under the same feature column in The Voice as that could highlight the independence of the cartoonists from the newspaper editorial.

Social media research needs to be intensified, i.e. there should be more research on other newspapers' social media platforms' comments sections so that there is empirical evidence about language use on social media and whether media institutions have any mechanisms that deal with information control/filtering of comments. The cumulative research findings could be presented to the country's press council to inform a national social media policy of

mainstream media. For example, rather than use social media as a quick way to break stories, accumulate followers and entice readers to buy hard copies of the newspapers or subscribe to online ones, the media can also put in the resources to ensure that debates are productive and civil, e.g. moderating the comments and censoring offensive/irrelevant posts.

Having observed the overwhelming use of Setswana in comments in my data, I propose that there be a development of a SAR framework for the language and/or other languages in Botswana. This could serve as a standard reference point for future studies on Setswana language data in general.

9.5 Concluding remarks

The aim of this research was to find out gender and sexuality ideologies that are articulated in The Voice newspaper's 'Conversations from a Combi' cartoon column publications between 2013 and 2017 and the readers' reactions to the cartoons. My research has found that the cartoon column espouses sexism and counters social change supporting women's empowerment and gender equality. Sexism is fostered through visual representations of women and girls as objects of the male gaze and commodities sold to audiences. In both the cartoon column and readers' comments, evidence suggests that patriarchal-heteronormative ideologies intersect with xenophobic, classist and ageist ideologies to marginalise foreign evangelical men, some working-class men and younger people in heterosexual relationships. This study has shown that cartoons, which may be taken at face value as inconsequential representations of gender, can be carriers of potential harmful gender and sexuality ideologies, some of which are validated by readers. Yet, it is also notable that an analysis of such representations gives insights into who resists harmful gender and sexuality ideologies and how, pointing to social transformation, even at a small scale.

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Appendices

Appendix 1:Social actor representation tables (Cartoon texts)

Category 1: Texts about foreign evangelical pastors/prophets

Appraisement	National identification + Functionalisation	Functionalisation	Nomination
-So-called men of God [3] -So-called prophet [2] -fake prophets [1] -(if) a true man of God [1] -pastors on the prowl [1] -wolves in sheep's skin [1] -considered to be holy [1]	-A Nigerian pastor [3] -A South African pastor [2]	-Pastor [10] -Pastors [3] -Prophets [1] -The Police [1]	-T.B. Joshua/him [2] -Bushiri/he/him [14]
Appraisement + identification -Desperate wives [1]	**Identification (classification by age + gender)** -younger women [1] -a young woman [6] -an elderly woman [1]	**Relational identification** -husbands [1] -Bushiri's followers/the Bushirians/they [5] -My sister [1] -female members of his church [1] -members of his congregation [1]	**Functionalisation + nomination (titulated)** -Prophet Bushiri [3]
	Identification (gender) -woman/she/her [5] -female members [1] - (30) women [1]		**Appraisement, nomination + objectivation** -new flavour of the season, Bushiri (metaphor) [1]
Identification (religion) -Christians [1] -Non-Christians [1] -God [5] -Jesus [1] -The Devil [1]			**Impersonalisation Objectivation** -profiteering churches [1] -a church/the church [2] -pastors on the prowl [animal metaphor implying predators] [1] -the government [3]

Category 2: Texts about the sexual abuse of girls

Appraisement + identification	Identification (age + gender)	Identification (gender)	Relational identification
- an under-aged girl/a minor/the poor girl [3]	-young girl/the girl child [4]	-the girl [1]	- My/your younger brother [5]
-rich older men/the fittest and rich [2]	-Men [2]	**Identification by membership**	- the mother [8]
-the irresponsible councillor [1]	**Functionalisation**	-the councillor [5]	-the girl's mother [1]
-a prominent figure [1]	-combi drivers/we [5]		-my neighbour's daughter/her daughter/her child [10]
Appraisement	-the police/police officers/they [8]		
-the poor [1]			

Category 3: Texts about professionals

Appraisement + functionalistion	Functionalisation	Nomination (titulated)	Identification (gender) + functionalisation
-Corrupt police officers [1]	-Doctors/they [2]	-Inspector Morris/he/him [14]	-A female doctor/she/her [7]
Appraisement	-the other doctor [2]		
-An innocent little child [1]	-(Combi) driver [5]	**Identification (gender)**	
-Frustrated patients [1]	-(Combi) conductor [2]	-woman/the lady/woman/she/her [21]	
-The poor man [1]	-we/us/combi driver and conductor [4]		**National identification**
-Bunch of jokers (women) [1]	-taxi drivers [4]	-Women/they/them [20]	-Batswana/they [4]
Relational identification	-Police officers/they/them [4]	-Men/us [5]	
-Her supervisor/Her boss [1]	-Cop/he/him [9]	-a man/he [6]	**National identification + functionalisation**
-his love [1]	-Cops/they [2]		-Foreign doctor [1]
-The kid's father [1]	-Civil servants [2]		
-The poor boy's stepmother [1]		**Identification (age)**	**Identification (classification by membership + gender)**
		-11 year old boy/a child/him [4]	-Woman MP [1]

Category 4: Texts about intergenerational and interclass relationships

Identification (gender)	Relational identification	Identification (age)	Appraisement
-Men [8] -man [9] -women [4] -woman [5] -the boy/boys [4] -girl [13] -boy/boys [5]	-his partner [1] -mother of his kids [1] -mother of my child [1] -my cousin [1] -her man [1] -other men's children [1] -your men [1] -the husband [1] -Her younger lover [1] -their mother [4] -his wife [1] -his children/his/her boys/his sons/the sons [5] -their father [1] -her boyfriend/her other boyfriend [3]	-a younger man [1] -young/younger women [4] -an older woman [1]	-a mature lady [1] -an elderly experienced woman [1] -toy boy[1] -Ma-14 (gold diggers) [6]
		Association -Men with money [1] -an older woman with 6 children [1] -men with smelly feet (garden boys/herd boys) [1]	**Functionalisation + identification** -garden boy [1] -herd boy [1]
		Objectivation -smelly feet (garden boys/herd boys) [1]	

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> x <- matrix(c(168,159,59,36,27,30,35,52), ncol=4)

> x.test <- chisq.test(x,correct=F)

> x.test

Pearson's Chi-squared test

data: x

X-squared = 9.0455, df = 3, p-value = 0.02869

> sqrt(x.test$stat/sum(x))

X-squared

0.1264178

```
> fisher.test(x)

Fisher's Exact Test for Count Data

data:  x

p-value = 0.02852

alternative hypothesis: two.sided

> x.test$residuals

          [,1]         [,2]        [,3]        [,4]

[1,]  0.07998800   1.506588  -0.3900472  -1.413692

[2,] -0.08170223  -1.538875   0.3984063   1.443989
```

Appendix 3: R log (significance tests for attitude types)

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Comparing women and men versus attitude types

```
> x<-matrix(c(48,18,114,111,6,49),ncol=3)

> x.test<-chisq.test(x,correct=F)

> x.test
```

Pearson's Chi-squared test

data: x

X-squared = 47.045, df = 2, p-value = 6.086e-11

```
> sqrt(x.test$stat/sum(x))
```

X-squared

0.368738

Comparing Foreign evangelical men, Batswana (men and women) versus attitude types

> x<-matrix(c(0,48,18,44,70,111,2,4,49),ncol=3)

> x.test<-chisq.test(x,correct=F)

> x.test

Pearson's Chi-squared test

data: x

X-squared = 81.703, df = 4, p-value < 2.2e-16

> sqrt(x.test$stat/sum(x))

X-squared

0.4859372