Keeping an eye on the campaign: Monitoring Media Coverage of the 16 Days of Activism: No Violence Against Women and Children Campaign

May 2005

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Key Findings

- Unprecedented high number of female sources: 46% women: 54% men;
- Dramatic increase in number of gender-based violence, woman and child abuse stories than in previous MMP research in 1998;
- 55% of all stories were told by female journalists;
- 20% of all topics were about child abuse;
- 6% of topics focused on positive advocacy efforts;
- Overwhelming majority of violence against women items (35%) focused on sexual assault, femicide, domestic violence, murder, sexual harassment, and gender-based violence;
- A number of media outdid themselves in their support of the campaign, while others appeared to ignore it completely;
- Greater diversity of roles for women;
- Clear effort by the media to include men in the campaign;
- Positive partnerships between media, government and civil society made the campaign a success;

1. Introduction

Since 1993, the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) has undertaken numerous research projects into the representation of gender-based violence, woman and child abuse. As a result of these monitoring projects, the MMP has often levelled criticism against the media for the manner in which such issues tend to be represented. Previous MMP research has shown that gender-based violence and violence against women and children is often represented within the media in a simplistic and event-based fashion. Coverage tends to reinforce the victimisation that the women and children have already experienced during the instance of abuse. Previous research has also shown that gender-based violence and woman and child abuse receives significantly more media coverage during the annual 16 Days of Activism Campaign: No Violence Against Women and Children, with a sharp decline in coverage once the period is over.

In 2005, the campaign ran from the 25th of November 2004 (International Day of No Violence Against Women) to the 10th of December 2004 (International Human Rights
Day). For a summary of the 2004 16 Days campaign, see Section 12: A quick guide to the campaign. The MMP conducted a monitoring project, which aimed to analyse both the quantity and quality of the coverage afforded to the campaign, and instances of gender-based violence, and woman and child abuse in the South African media. As an organisation dedicated to the establishment of a human rights-focused media culture in South Africa, the MMP’s research was based in a human rights framework. One of the aims of this study was a comparison in media coverage of gender-based violence and woman and child abuse over the last seven years. The research anticipated some changes in the representation of women and children within news items that focused on gender-based violence and abuse.

1.1 The MMP’s Monitoring Methodology

The media were monitored over a twenty-day period, from the 24th of November - a day prior to the launch of the campaign - until the 13th of December, three days after the campaign ended. The 36 different media that were monitored reflect diversity across daily and weekly print media, radio and television media, different provinces and languages, as well as both community, commercial, and public service media. Each medium was monitored by a first-language monitor, who submitted the monitoring details to the MMP on a daily basis.

The print media monitors monitored one newspaper edition per day of publication for newspapers. All sections and supplements in the relevant paper, excluding letters, reviews, television schedules, and advertisements were monitored. If particular supplements were monitored due to their focus on the campaign and the related activities, the content was clearly marked as sponsored.

For television media, the MMP monitored the primetime news bulletins on a daily basis, including the weekend bulletins, for e-tv (English), SABC 1 (Xhosa), SABC 2 (Afrikaans and SeSotho bulletins), and SABC 3 (English). Two bulletins, primetime news in the early morning (between 06:00 – 09:00), lunchtime (between 12:00 – 14:00), or late afternoon (16:00 – 18:00), and a current affairs programme were monitored daily for radio stations.

The media were monitored using a range of criteria, including the topic, origin and sources of the item, the issues raised, details about who speaks in each story, as well as key messages in the item. The information from 830 items monitored was captured into a database, which enabled easy access to quantifiable data. Quantitative results were released regularly, in conjunction with qualitative analyses and updates on the 16 Days campaign. The updates aimed to typify media coverage of the campaign; identify trends, instances of best practice and outstanding examples, as well as areas of concern in the media’s coverage of instances of gender-based violence and child abuse.
1.2 Limitations

Some of the limitations of the project occurred in the monitoring of the radio media. The MMP's resources allowed for the monitoring of two prime time news bulletins and one current affairs programme daily. This did not allow for the monitoring of other programmes, discussions or debates that the relevant media may have devoted to the 16 Days campaign and the resultant issues and events. When the MMP was aware of them, any programmes specifically devoted to the campaign were monitored, but this was not always possible.

While 36 media were monitored, due to financial and resource constraints, the sample size from some of the media was insufficient for detailed monitoring by the MMP's standards, which rely on consistent, systematic monitoring. An overall constraint to the project was the delay and reduced funds received for the implementation of the research.

Additional problems were also experienced with Bush Radio. During the first week of the campaign, Bush Radio was successfully monitored, and performed well in comparison with many of its competitors. However, during the second week of the campaign, the MMP experienced some technical problems, which resulted in the loss of some data. The MMP and the relevant monitor both approached Bush Radio on a number of occasions in order to attain copies of the missing data, but the efforts yielded no positive results. This is a pity, as given the medium's performance during the first week, it would have been interesting to see if such an interest in the campaign and the relevant issues and events was sustained during the second week.
2. Sources to celebrate

One of the MMP's findings in particular needs to be highlighted: that of the male: female source breakdown during the campaign (see Graph A).

Graph A

The issue of sources, of who gets to speak, who is quoted and commonly asked for their opinion in news stories, is a common indicator of gender coverage in the media. International research, including the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) and the Southern African Gender Media Baseline Study (GMBS), showed that on average women comprise around 17% of all sources, while men account for 83% of sources. The MMP's numerous monitoring projects have shown that in South Africa, the best average achieved was during the 2004 national elections, where women accounted for 23% and men 77% of all news sources. The average breakdown of sources for the 16 Days campaign is 46% women to 54% men. This represents a more than double increase in female sources since earlier in the year.

On the surface it seems fairly obvious to suggest that there will be more female sources during a campaign that is focused on preventing violence against women. The assumption is a fair one, but has not, until now, been supported by patterns of how men and women are sourced. The MMP's research in 1998, which focused specifically on violence against women, showed that men dominated as sources. The GMBS, conducted by Gender Links, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and the MMP, showed that male sources dominated over female sources at 61% to 27%, in items about gender-based violence (GMBS South Africa Report, 2003, p. 11).
To see, a year after the GMBS, that the level of sources in gender-based violence stories is almost equitable is a spectacular achievement for the media. Could it be better? Undoubtedly, yes. Clearly the assumption that there would be more women sources on issues that focused directly on women would mean that in the future, the breakdown might be 80% female sources to 20% male. However, the media’s achievement during the campaign is even more impressive when it is considered that these results have been achieved not over one day (as often happens with National Women’s Day) but over a 16-day period.

2.1 How do the media fare on sources?

SABC 1, 2 and 3, and an SABC radio station, Umhlobo Wenene are in the top positions for the numbers of female sources. SABC 1 and 3 are tie in the top places with 67% of their sources female. The Sunday Tribune, a KwaZulu-Natal weekly paper, also fared well with 66% female sources. These media are to be commended for making such a positive effort in this regard. The Cape Times, The Citizen, the Sowetan Sunday World, Y-FM and the Independent on Saturday were some of the only media monitored that sourced less than 40% female sources.
Table A: Breakdown of sources per medium

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>%Female</th>
<th>%Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SABC 1</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABC 3</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Tribune</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Day</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABC 2</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umhlobo Wenene FM</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beeld</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Independent</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Sun</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sowetan</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukhozi FM</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-tv</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday Times</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Star</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaya FM</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFM</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Sun</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekend Argus</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Press</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily News</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday Star</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapport</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mail &amp; Guardian</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Burger</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mirror</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Times</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Citizen</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent on Saturday</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capricorn Voice</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y-FM</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sowetan Sunday World</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 What are the roles of the sources?

While the basic quantitative analysis revealed that the breakdown between male and female sources was fairly equitably distributed, it is interesting to assess the different roles attributed to men and women. Notably, and to be expected, given the focus of the campaign on woman abuse, the role of “victim” dominates the breakdown of female sources. Of the roles allocated to male sources, the role of “perpetrator” dominates more than any role. Another positive trend was the media’s sourcing of women as “survivors” not “victims” of abuse. This resulted in a far more positive and proactive representation of the women, in comparison the objectification that tends to accompany representations of victims. The media published and broadcast a number of experiential stories during the campaign. Women telling their own tales,
finding their voices in the media, their lives and society, served as an inspiration to other women, especially those women who endure abuse without speaking out.

While there is a positive trend in the number of women accessed as survivors, women are still represented as victims, and many of the source roles identified during the monitoring period reflect the findings of previous research. In line with other research, women dominated as entertainers and parents/caregivers, while men dominated as legal and SAPS representatives. Another interesting trend in the source roles was identified in how government was accessed. Table B demonstrates that the sex breakdown across government sources approximate reality, with 35% female sources. This is in line with the 30:70 ratio of female to male government representatives. However, that only a few government representatives tend to be most active during the campaign; Cheryl Gillwald, amongst others, it would appear that there is a need for government to be more pro-active in providing more female sources for the media to access, especially during this period.
Table B: Source roles for men and women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role/Occupation</th>
<th>Female %</th>
<th>Male %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academic/Researcher/Expert</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activist</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author/Journalist</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty contestant</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business person</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caregiver</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrity</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child (in terms of age)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community leader</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainer</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girlfriend/Boyfriend</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandparent</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Professional</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invisible victim</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal (lawyers, judges, court)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrator</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestor</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupil/Student/Learner</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAPS</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexworker</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibling</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son/Daughter</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spokesperson</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse/Partner</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supporter</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survivor</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witness</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table C reflects the top 5 source roles for women and men. The top roles for women comprise 54% of the total number of roles for women, while the top 5 roles for men comprise 63% of the total number of roles accessed for men. The roles that the female sources accessed occupy are more equitably spread across the list of possible roles, than those for men. Interestingly, men and women were accessed in the same roles; the numbers of male and female sources were spread amongst the same source roles. Previous MMP research has shown that the roles in which women are accessed tend to be limited. During the 2004 elections, the MMP's monitoring found that three individuals; Patricia de Lille (15% of the total number of female sources), Brigalia Bam (5%) and Pansy Tlakula (4%) comprised almost a quarter (24%) of the total number of women accessed by the media during the election period. Including the numbers of Female Citizens (15%), the four most accessed women during the period comprised almost 40% of the total number of female sources accessed during the period. In comparison, the number of male sources accessed during the 2004 elections was more equitably spread across a range of different people. The most accessed male sources comprise a range of political leaders, while the most accessed female sources are limited to one leader and unnamed women. The findings from the 16 Days monitoring can be seen as positive in comparison to the 2004 elections findings, as the roles that women occupy are more equitably spread across a range of different roles.

**Table C: Top 5 source roles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women: Top 5 Roles</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Men: Top 5 Roles</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Perpetrator</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activist</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>SAPS</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrator</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another positive finding that the table highlights is that while 29% of all women sourced were accessed as victims, the rest of the women accessed occupied roles other than victim in the items. Similarly, while 26% of all men sourced were accessed as perpetrators, the clear majority of men occupied roles other than that or perpetrator. The top five roles for men suggest that a number of men were also accessed as victims of gender-based violence.

### 2.3 Objects and victims of violence

One of the most significant changes in the media’s coverage of violence against women that the MMP has tracked across the years is in the representation of women in abuse and violence stories. Research undertaken by the MMP in 1998 together with Transformation for Women in the Media (TWM), an alliance of NGOs, focused
on the representation of violence against women in the media. One of the key findings of this research was the depiction of women as “victims”: victims of abuse, of men, and of society in general. This victimisation was accompanied by the media’s depiction of women as objects, not the subjects of stories, despite their violations being at the heart of the matter. In many instances, the violation or the perpetrator would be the focus of the media’s coverage of an instance of abuse, not the woman who had been abused. The use of passive language, perspective and stereotypes were some of the contributing factors to this objectification of women. This is one area in which the media has made positive development; in comparison with 1998, the findings of the 2004 16 Days monitoring show that women are more often sourced as “survivors” rather than “victims” of abuse. As mentioned above, this positive and proactive representation of women in the media is one of the highlights of the media’s coverage of the 2004 campaign.

In 1998, the MMP noted the tendency of the media not to access victims of the abuse in the articles that reported the violations. This lack of access often resulted in further victimisation of women, in addition to that received at the hands of the perpetrators. One of the most extreme examples of the marginalised manner in which women were depicted in abuse stories was in an article monitored by the MMP that was featured in the *Sunday Times* (14/12/1997), which described the killing of two women and a girl in violent terms. Most telling, however, was the perspective of the story, which was “that of the man, who miraculously survived being stabbed, and the suffering he went through hearing the dying screams of his fiancée” (*MMP Media Mask* Volume 3:1, 1998, p. 10). While there is no disputing the pain that this man must have felt, the violence was against the woman and yet her suffering and pain were portrayed as secondary to that of the man.

In 2004 such representations are rare. The majority of media have altered this depiction of women, who are regularly shown to be survivors of abuse and the subjects of the stories. For example, Anita Ferreira’s experiential tale of abuse was featured in the *Sunday Times*: “I killed him to stop him killing me” (*Sunday Times*, 21/11/2004, p. 18). Ferreira herself wrote the article and states, “I have decided to tell my story because I hope that in doing so I will help other women.” The article makes use of positive, empowering language to describe how Ferreira managed to escape the emotional, psychological, verbal, sexual and physical abuse that she endured at the hands of her partner. The title clearly posits Ferreira as the subject of the story, and she describes herself as “a survivor”. This development in the coverage of gender-based violence and abuse stories in the media is one of the most positive changes that the MMP has tracked. There is, however, still a tendency for many shorter items about crime to identify women only as victims.

2.4 Women: Caught between a rock and a hard place

A qualitative analysis of the monitoring results in 1998 revealed that women's position in society was highly contradictory. Women were depicted as vulnerable, relying on their male supporters and caregivers for protection. At the same time,
men were presented as the perpetrators of the many horrific and violent crimes against women. Women were represented as voiceless, helpless victims, who needed protection from men, while simultaneously being the objects of men, violence and society. This difficult position meant that women were violated, abused, and robbed of agency by those figures that patriarchal ideology dictated should protect them. This predicament further disempowered women from taking positive action, leaving their fate in the hands of men. Positively, this trend is hardly visible in media coverage of abuse in 2004. With particular emphasis on the 16 Days campaign, the MMP has noted the increase in the number of women telling their own stories; depicted as independent survivors, in stark contrast to their presentation in the late 1990s.

2.5 Bringing men to the fight

Changing Roles
Historically, gender-based violence has generally been considered the domain of women. Media, government and civil society organisations have tended to represent the abuse of women and children, the violation of their rights, as firmly located in the women's domain. One consequence of this misrepresentation of abuse is a unilateral portrayal of gender-based violence as a women's struggle only, where almost the only roles available to (all) men are those of perpetrator or policeman.

Positively, in the last few years, government, civil society organisations and the media have been pro-active in their approach to the fight against gender-based violence and child abuse, and now incorporate the active participation of both women and men. To this extent, the efforts of the 16 Days of Activism: No Violence Against Women and Children campaign, gender organisations and the media to include men and boys in the focus areas of the campaign is to be both welcomed and commended.

In 2004, the 16 Days campaign message, “to unite against woman and child abuse”, includes men in the campaign initiatives. However, there is still a glaring absence in the provision of alternative roles for and representations of men within the media, especially in relation to gender-based violence, woman and child abuse.

Positively caring
An initiative by the Human Sciences Research Council, the Fatherhood Project, aims to address the disparity in the representation of men as fathers. The project hopes to persuade government, NGOs, and the media to focus their attention on the need to highlight alternative roles for men, especially as caregivers. The Fatherhood Project aims to “influence social expectations and perceptions about men and their care for children [and] to create a shared sense of responsibility for children’s development among men and women.” These aims need to be achieved, not only within civil society, but also within the media, which is a powerful means of effecting and influencing change in broader society.
Snap, Crackle and Pop
Presently, the representation of fathers in the news media is narrow and tends to be extremely negative. Fathers tend to make the news when they snap, kill, abuse and violate. Fathers tend to be represented as the perpetrators of the violence against women or children, or as powerless bystanders. It must be noted that it does tend to be men who are guilty of these human rights violations, but just as the 16 Days campaign aims to empower women, children and men, there is space to suggest that instead of men being only abusers and perpetrating human rights violations, men can be positive in caring both of their children and their partners.

To include the representation of men as fathers and partners, who are equally involved in the fight against woman and child abuse has more than just a positive effect on the campaign, it indicates a clear action that men can take, other than simply not being violent.

3. Journalists: Who tells the tales?

The MMP’s findings with respect to the journalists of the items monitored, who contributed the stories, indicated a similar trend to that observed with the breakdown of male and female sources. Where the sex of the journalist or author could be identified, women accounted for 55% of all items (see Graph B). This finding can be seen as incredibly positive, especially considering that the results remained at a fairly equitable ratio throughout the campaign. Along the same lines, the media made a concerted effort to make use of journalists’, rather than agencies’, contributions to determine the news content. A substantial 68% of all items originated from journalists, with only 32% of items provided by agencies.

The MMP’s 1998 research found that male authors contributed most of the stories about rape, abuse and gender-based violence; women comprised less than 5% of the journalists, where the sex of the journalist was clear. While the sex of the journalist writing the story does not necessarily have a significant impact on the content, it is positive that more women are able to make their voices heard on these critical issues.
4. What were the items about?

Violence against women, including sexual assault, physical assault, sexual harassment, and gender-based violence, comprised 15% of all topics monitored in the relevant items during the period. Domestic violence alone comprised the focus of 6% of all items monitored. Child abuse, including neglect, and physical and sexual abuse comprised a relatively large portion of the items monitored at 20% of all topics. This figure reflects a decrease in the findings during the last week of the campaign, where there was a relevantly great emphasis on child abuse. Items on child rape, abuse and child prostitution dominated the news in early December 2004. Notable incidents were the refusal of treatment to a child rape survivor in the Eastern Cape (6/12/2004) and the police round up of a Nigerian child prostitute ring (8/12/2004).
Murder, including femicide comprised 14% of all topics, which gives an indication of the extent of the violence that it ends in murder in 14% of all instances reported in the media. On a more positive note, advocacy as the main topic of items was noted in 6% of all items monitored. The relatively high percentage of items devoted to advocacy would suggest that a number of media are aware of, promote or acknowledge the campaign, the related consciousness-raising activities and the key figures or participants.

4.1 Children

Child exploitation
One significant trend in the coverage over the last week of the campaign was the prevalence of child exploitation, including both physical and sexual abuse, and child neglect. A significant portion of the coverage tended to raise issues of child abuse, often in highly negative stories, with child rape mentioned in many instances. A number of media reported extensively on the denial of treatment to a 16-month old rape survivor in the Eastern Cape. The *Daily News* (6/12/2004, p. 3) and *The Star* both reported the story: “Doctor ’refused to treat raped 2-year-old’” (*The Star*, 6/12/2004, p. 2), while *Die Burger* devoted its editorial on crimes against children, this case in particular (*Die Burger, 7/12/2004*, p. 10). This coverage followed closely on the heels of *The Citizen’s* front-page story, which highlighted the plight of a woman who had been raped, “No emergency aid for abuse victim” (*The Citizen*,
The article related the woman’s frustration at the lack of aid and counselling available to her after hours, as few of the relevant organisations have the resources or capacity to be open over weekends.

In *The Star* report, the text opened with the cruelty that the little girl had already experienced: “She’s only 2 years old, but an Eastern Cape girl has already been victimised twice – first by a rapist and then by a state doctor who refused to treat her” (*The Star, 6/12/2004, p. 2*). According to the article, the girl was rushed to the Tailor Dequest Hospital in Mount Fletcher, where a doctor allegedly “refused to treat” the girl saying, “he was sick and tired of rape cases”. The abuse of the little girl was presented as horrific enough, but compounded when considered in relation to the brutality of the doctor. The doctor's alleged refusal to treat the child is in contravention of the Constitution and as much of an abuse as the rapist’s actions. Section 28 (1) c and d of the Constitution states, “Every child has the right to basic health care...and protection against abuse.”

**Frightening Statistics**

Statistics released by the Department of Safety and Security emphasised the pervasiveness of child abuse, especially rape, in South Africa. The headline in *The Star* noted one of the more shocking statistics “43 children raped in SA every day” (*The Star, 7/12/2004, p. 3*). Perhaps even more disheartening was the revelation by Safety and Security Minister, Charles Nqakula, that only “a paltry 4,5% of rape cases resulted in a successful conviction.” The figures in the minister’s report provide the factual and statistical evidence behind the abuse stories that make the news on a regular basis, and emphasise how many abuses remain untold and unreported. However, the statistics are merely stated, without the requisite analysis, explanation or suggestions from experts or from the media. While it is important and useful for the media to provide such statistics, it would have been helpful and more interesting had the articles addressed and interrogated what the statistics meant for society and survivors of abuse.

Another report released during the week, which was covered in a number of media monitored, emphasised the high occurrence of various forms of child abuse, including economic, physical and sexual, as well as the violation of children’s right in South Africa and across the world. The release of the Unicef (United Nations Children’s Fund) state of children report was covered in a number of broadcast media, including e-tv and Kaya FM, and noted the report’s findings that leaders across the world were failing children (*Kaya FM, 9/12/2004, 13:00 and e-tv, 10/12/2004, 19:00*). The release of these statistics presented the media with numerous additional story angles, including what the government is doing to meet its United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) obligations, and finding out the ways in which it has or has not failed children.
Justice
Many of the other stories about child abuse and exploitation were more positive, in that they reported on the apprehension of perpetrators of crimes against children. Articles such as the arrest of a 20-year old youth for the rape of 5 young girls (Beeld, 6/12/2004, p. 4 and Sowetan, 6/12/2004, p. 4) and “Hook of justice caught some big fish this year” (The Star, 7/12/, p. 7), which noted three of the biggest court cases of 2004, including that of the conviction of paedophile Fanwell Khumalo, were examples of the underlying awareness of the prevalence of child abuse in South Africa, which cannot be ignored.

Other stories reported on ranged from a Nigerian child prostitution ring being rounded up by police, “Police save girls from Nigerian sex slavery” (The Citizen, 8/12/2004, p. 3), to life sentences being awarded to accused child rapists, “Judge sentences baby-killer barbarian” (Daily News, 7/12/2004, p. 3). These sorts of stories can be seen as fairly positive in their coverage of the punishment of rapists, but many media made reference to findings of the Department of Safety and Security report. The report acknowledged that very few rapists actually make it to court, and even fewer are convicted: less than 5% of all reported cases. These are sobering statistics, which resulted in some media’s dismissal of the 16 Days campaign as pointless in the face of so much violence and abuse. One example of such coverage was noted in a Beeld editorial, “The 16 Days campaign is not really making a difference: this after various child rapes this weekend” (Beeld, 6/12/2004, p. 4). While many of the findings from the monitoring of the 16 Days campaign were positive in their subject matter, creating an awareness of the low conviction rate, while negative, is the first step to improving the record. In all fairness, the media cannot have a direct impact on the low conviction rate, as it is a challenge for the justice department and the courts to solve. However, the media can try to provide some explanation as to why the conviction rates are so low, and what some of the solutions may be.

Children have the right to be seen and heard
The fight against gender-based violence, as evidenced by the 16 Days campaign, requires not just the involvement of men and women, but also of children. The campaign aims to address and raise consciousness about violence against women and child abuse. There is a clear omission of children’s voices in the 2004 campaign. After more than a week of monitoring the campaign, the MMP’s results show that stories on child abuse are regular features in the media monitored. Notably though, children’s voices and opinions on this very real issue in South Africa are virtually absent from the media’s coverage of child abuse. Children are rarely accessed in stories about child abuse: an issue that directly affects them. This is not to suggest that the media should merely access or interview abused and traumatised children, but rather, that the opinions and voices of the millions of children in South Africa be heard, along with those voices of women and men in the fight against gender-based violence and abuse.
As some of the children who participated in the MMP's Empowering Children & Media project observed:

“The news made me feel left out. It's like children don't exist.”

“These guys they don't think our issues are important”

“In every news bulletin there are children ho are raped, street kids orphans and more. This is bad for children.”

5. Key messages

5.1 Monitoring key messages

A key part of the monitoring methodology that the MMP used during the monitoring of the 16 Days campaign was propositional/ key-message monitoring; a method that the MMP has successfully implemented in numerous other monitoring projects. For the MMP's purposes, a list of propositions or key messages was drawn up; determined by the monitor reading between the lines in a news item, beyond what was clearly stated, in order to determine any underlying messages or themes. The key messages used during the MMP's monitoring related to positive and negative social representations, generalisations, and common stereotypes around race and gender.

The advantage of propositional monitoring is that it allows for a standardised and quantifiable method of analysing a qualitative element of the news items. The monitors are able to scrutinise the discourses present in a news item, even if such discourses are not overtly stated in the quantitative information captured. Following specialist training, the monitors were asked to assess whether a news item strongly supported or strongly challenged any of the key messages that were compiled for this particular research. Key messages were selected only where the language and tone used in the headline and content of the item was clearly in support of or clearly challenges one or many of the key messages.
5.2 Key messages during the campaign

Table D: Top 10 key messages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Message</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children are the greatest victims and need special protection</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The system fails to protect women</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender-based violence is a crime</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men and women need to work together to eradicate gender-based violence</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender-based violence is a human rights abuse</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women need to be protected by men to be safe</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic violence is rooted in patriarchy</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survivors of gender-based violence are entitled to dignity</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are sexually passive</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic violence is just a lovers’ quarrel</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That child abuse is one of the most common subjects in news items is supported by the finding that one of the most-often raised key messages during the monitoring period was: “children are the greatest victims and need special protection”. 25% of all of the key messages raised in the items monitored were in support of this statement. The recognition of the vulnerability of children in South African society is one of the positive key messages raised during the campaign, although a number of negative messages were also raised. The media’s acknowledgement that gender-based violence is both a human rights violation can be viewed as positive, while the perpetuation of stereotypes such as “women are sexually passive”, “domestic violence is just a lovers’ quarrel”, and “women need to be protected by men to be safe” is concerning. It should be noted that these statements were both clearly supported and clearly challenged by different news items and in different media. While the instances where these messages were raised occurred less frequently than was monitored in previous years, something of which media can be proud, it is still a concerning finding that a number of the media monitored perpetuated such negative stereotypes during a campaign aimed at combating woman and child abuse.

The acknowledgement that gender-based violence is both a human rights abuse and a crime is positive, as in many instances the media tend only to highlight the criminal aspects of an instance of abuse, and do not mention the fundamental violation of human rights, as outlined in the Constitution. This recognition of the complex nature of gender-based violence in the media can be seen as positive, especially in comparison to previous studies that the MMP has undertaken, where gender-based violence was often trivialised in the media.
By perpetuating the message that women and men need to work together to prevent gender-based violence and woman and child abuse is another positive message that the media raised during coverage of the campaign. This is especially pertinent given that gender-based violence is often viewed as women’s fight, a women’s problem, women’s domain. Current advocacy efforts highlight the positive roles men can play in challenging gender-based violence. By acknowledging and promoting the need for both men and women to address this key social problem, the media goes some way to remove the stigma surrounding gender-based violence, and by sensitising men and boys, the typical perpetrators, goes some way to try to address this problem.

6. Origin of stories: Where do the stories happen?

As shown in Graph D, stories with a national focus comprised the largest proportion of the media coverage of the 2004 16 Days campaign, which is to be expected, given the national focus of the campaign. Previous MMP monitoring has shown that three provinces tend to be covered more regularly than other provinces. The 16 Days of Activism monitoring results were no different and Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape received 41% of the total media coverage. These results can be attributed to the urban bias of the media selected, as well as the focus of the media monitored. One of the challenges to the media, society, government, civil society, and the campaign organisers in future campaigns is to try to target provinces other than these three provinces. As is clear from the graph, there is an opportunity for the media to cover events, both instances of abuse and the efforts that activists and aid organisations are making in these areas, in future campaigns.
7. Which types of stories were used to tell the 16 Days campaign?

Graph E

In addition to looking at who spoke, the roles that the sources occupied, and where the stories originated from, the MMP also monitored the types of stories in which coverage of the campaign was depicted within the media. Most of the articles monitored during the 16 Days campaign were classified as news stories: 66% of all items monitored were classified as news stories (see Graph E). This finding is in line with a number of other research projects undertaken by the MMP, including most recently, the monitoring of the 2004 national elections, and a retrospective print media analysis for the Peri-natal HIV Research Unit (PHRU) and the Wits Graduate School of Humanities: Department of Journalism and Media Studies. The research findings from the 2004 elections monitoring, which consisted of the monitoring of more than 5000 items, show that 63% of all items monitored were news stories. Similarly, the PHRU monitoring, which monitored 850 HIV items from print media during 2000, 2002, and 2004, found that 66% of all items monitored were news stories. The 16 Days findings, with a predominance of news stories, therefore, are typical of other MMP research findings, where the reporting of nationwide issues and events dominate.

A particularly interesting trend in the types of items monitored for the 16 Days campaign was the relatively large number of briefs, or “shorts” and features. The 16 Days campaign monitoring yielded more than double the number of news briefs monitored during the 2004 elections, despite the great difference in the number of items monitored in each project. A possible explanation for this may be a conscious
effort by the media to highlight instances of gender-based violence and woman and child abuse, and in so doing, raise awareness of the need for the campaign. There was also a far greater number of features, or news analyses, during the monitoring of the 16 Days campaign than during the 2004 elections project. The 16 Days campaign yielded 8% features, while again, despite the greater number of items, the monitoring of the 2004 elections only yielded 4% features. Similar to the monitoring during the 16 Days campaign, the PHRU monitoring project also yielded a high number of features, at 9% of the total items monitored. The similarity between the results for the PHRU and the 16 Days monitoring shows that the issues of gender-based violence, woman and child abuse, and HIV/AIDS (specifically the prevention of mother-to-child transmission) is discussed and debated in in-depth analyses in a number of media.

The large number of features and news analyses monitored during the 16 Days campaign can in part be attributed to the Gender and Media (GEM) commentary service. The GEM commentary service is a project of the gender-focused NGO, Gender Links. The service provides a range of articles monthly that reflect on current events from a gendered perspective, and aim to provide insight into gender justice. The GEM articles were instrumental in providing mainstream media with fresh perspectives on how gender-based violence and woman and child abuse affects men and women in Africa, by making experiential stories available to the various media houses for publication and broadcast. These sorts of stories were very positive as they served to provide survivors of abuse with a direct means to express themselves and tell their stories. The experiential items also served an encouraging and inspirational function for those women who are trapped in abusive situations and who are able to gain confidence and hope from hearing other women affirm that there is a way out of the cycle of abuse.

8. You Magazine analysis

While the MMP monitored a range of print media for the 16 Days period, only newspapers, not magazines were monitored. Given the focus of the campaign on women and violence specifically aimed at women, the MMP also conducted research into the kinds of magazine publications, which it could be assumed, would make mention or acknowledgement of the campaign and its aims in their content. From a list of the top 30 magazine sale in the first 6 months of 2004, it is clear that the You and its Afrikaans counterpart Huisgenoot are at the top of the list. Huisgenoot's net sales for the six-month period topped the list with 353,853, while You came in at 232,744. Both of these magazines' net sales reach more than 100,000 more readers than other magazines, including the Cosmopolitan, Sarie, True Love and Fair Lady magazines. Given the extensive reach of these magazines and given the importance of the campaign for women, it could be assumed that these magazines would afford some coverage to the campaign and its aims. That the You and Huisgenoot are weekly media, and would, therefore, have two publications during the 16 days period, provided them with even more of a chance to cover the
One article, published a month prior to the campaign, acknowledged the 2003 campaign slogan to “break the silence”. “Beaten behind closed doors” (14/10/2004, p. 20) detailed a request from the You magazine for readers to send through their stories and/or letters to talk about abuse and break the stigma surrounding domestic violence, and other forms of gender-based violence and violence against women in South Africa; a positive initiative. This article consisted mainly of a list of letters from readers, some identified; others anonymous, who provided details of the abuse that they received, or provided encouragement to other sufferers of abuse to break the cycle of abuse by immediately reporting abuse. While the article may have had good intentions, especially in terms of raising awareness about abuse among its readers, there are some key absences. Firstly, and perhaps most concerning, the article is accompanied by a large photograph of an abuse survivor, whose identity has barely been protected by a strip across her eyes. Given that an abuse survivor’s identity may not be revealed without informed consent, the use of a pseudonym and the strip across the woman’s eyes would suggest that the woman concerned wished to remain anonymous. The woman’s injuries are clear from the photograph and an inset emphasises the violence she experienced: “He head-butted me and broke my nose”, which echo the other graphic and dramatic language used in the article to elicit emotional response from the readers. While the magazine has attempted to protect the woman’s identity through the use of a pseudonym, the strip covering her eyes is insufficient protection and constitutes a violation of the woman’s rights to protection and dignity, as enshrined in the Constitution.

Another problem with the article is the lack of contact details for aid organisations provided within the article. While the names of some of the organisations that provide support and counselling to survivors of abuse are listed within the content of the article, this information stems from one of the women interviewed for her experiences of abuse. This same woman provides “advice for abuse victims” within the article. It is positive that such advice is published, but the magazine would have done well to provide the contact details and information about the aid organisations listed by the interviewee. Similarly, the article would have been strengthened had the journalist investigated the violation of human rights inherent in instances of abuse, some of the relevant legislation currently being reviewed with regards to abuse, and consulted a professional psychologist or counsellor for advice for survivors of abuse.

Another concerning article that preceded the 16 Days campaign was “Desktop sex with my teacher” (4/11/2004, p. 8). The article details a teenage boy’s sexual abuse at the hands of one of his teachers. The female teacher is identified in a stereotypical manner as a “farmer’s wife” and “the mother of two daughters”, rather than as an individual in her own right. The title of the article suggests that the story
is written from the boy’s point of view, but neither he, nor any other children are accessed within the article; adults speak for the child and relate his story. The medium is to be commended for protecting the boy’s identity by neither naming nor imaging him within the article; Section 154 (3) of the Criminal Procedure Act prohibits the identification of a minor involved in criminal proceedings:

No person shall publish, in any manner, whatever information, reveals or may reveal the identity of the accused under the age of 18 years, or of a witness at criminal proceedings who is under the age of 18 years.

However, other international guidelines and laws, including the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the South African Constitution state the child’s right to participate in any meaningful way in any matter that concerns the child. The UNCRC states:

The right of children, including adolescents, to express themselves freely must be respected and promoted and their views taken into account in all matters affecting them... We will strive to promote meaningful participation by children, including adolescents, in decision-making processes.

While the South African Constitution presents a broad-ranging principle and right that directly addresses children:

A child’s best interests are of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child [Section 28(2)].

The article could have been improved had the journalist accessed the child, continued to protect his identity, but allowed him to tell his own story. Similar to the trends observed in the article discussed above, the article did not provide any discussion of the upcoming campaign, or the relevant legislation in place, including the amendment to the Children’s Bill, which directly addresses the protection of children from all forms of abuse. The article also lacked in its provision of information or advice; no contact details for organisations that deal with child abuse survivors were provided, although it should be noted that the views of a psychologist were provided within the article. Unfortunately, this professional opinion focused more on the perpetrators of the abuse, rather than the children.

During the 16 Days campaign, the You magazine provided little or no coverage to the campaign, its aims, and the surrounding events. One article that focused on abuse stood out from the rest of the content over the two-week period, but did not make a link between the instance of abuse and the campaign or its objectives. “Big day for brave Josie” (25/11/2004, p. 209) can be viewed as positive in the sense that it acknowledges what an abuse survivor overcame in order to finish her high-school education with distinction. The article tells the story of Josie Russell, who, as a young child was severely physically abused. The article is vivid in its description of the abuse that Josie suffered, making use of emotive and dramatic
language to describe the “psychopath” who murdered her mother and sister. “Horrific injuries” and “clubbed to death” leave the reader with no doubt of the violence of the attack. Again, however, the survivor herself is not accessed within the story, and the dramatic language trivialises her experiences. The magazine would have done well to link the story, which is a positive account of a young girl’s survival of abuse, to the 16 Days of Activism campaign.

9. General Observations

9.1 Media’s Performance

In the qualitative analysis of the coverage provided to the campaign by the media monitored, there is a clear distinction between those print media that took the campaign and its aims on board, and those that chose not to. The Daily Sun and the Daily News for example paid regular attention to the coverage of gender-based violence, woman and child abuse, while other media such as Business Day, the Beeld and Die Burger appear not to have taken the campaign on board, with each of these media covering only a few of the key stories.

Similar patterns could be distinguished in weekly print media, with The Mirror and the Capricorn Voice, two community papers in Limpopo, providing 8% and 10% of their total weekly coverage to woman and child abuse. The MMP was able to determine these figures by dividing the total number of items devoted to the coverage of the campaign, its related activities, and instances of gender-based violence and woman and child abuse by the total number of news items per edition. Other media such as the Sunday Times, the Sunday Independent and the Mail & Guardian continued to marginalise the campaign.

For broadcast media, television news, SABC 1 and SABC 3 devote more than double the amount of coverage to the campaign during their evening prime-time news bulletins than is featured on SABC 2 and e-tv. SABC 2 in particular should be at an advantage, as the monitoring includes both the Afrikaans-and the SeSotho-news bulletins.

Radio media in general have tended to cover the campaign and raise issues of child and woman abuse, despite their disadvantage in terms of the amount of news airtime monitored. While the sample for news bulletin contain is representative of the news, much of the coverage afforded to the 16 Days campaign was in the course of normal programming. Despite this disadvantage, radio media still managed to devote far more of its total content to the campaign and the related issues than print media. Ukhozi FM displayed the lowest coverage, with 8%, a figure that represented the highest levels of coverage in some print media. Some radio stations, such as Kaya FM and Bush Radio performed outstandingly, devoting a respective 30% and 29% to coverage of the campaign, woman and child abuse.
These stations are to be commended for such wide acknowledgement of the aims of the campaign and for broadly raising awareness of the relevant issues.

During the last week of the campaign it would appear that many media lost interest in the issues and debates that accompanied the raising of awareness of gender-based violence, woman and child abuse. Radio media in particular, with a few notable exceptions, would appear to have disregarded many of the issues raised by other media monitored over the last week. Umhlobo Wenene FM and Ukhozi FM, both public service stations, appear to have completely different agendas to that of fellow public service station SAfm. SAfm conducted regular in-depth analyses on the issues raised during the campaign, as well as interviews with key activists, survivors and organisations.

Other broadcast media such as e-tv and the Afrikaans-language news bulletins on SABC 2 appear to have moved on from the campaign to other news issues. Similarly, print media such as Business Day and the Mail & Guardian have almost totally ignored the campaign.

9.2 Not all celebration

Those media that did not take up the campaign, as the majority did, have missed out on an important opportunity to address some of the key human rights challenges facing South Africa. In addition, they can only stand on the sidelines and applaud their competitors for having done such a good job.

When the 16 Days of Activism campaign came to an end on Friday, 10th of December, International Human Rights Day, e-tv reported that government had judged the 2004 campaign a success (e-tv, 9/12/2004, 19:00). While this may be the case, in terms of raising awareness of the high incidence of woman and child abuse, collecting postcard pledges or the wearing of white ribbons, some of the media coverage monitored told a different story.

9.3 Media: Interested or not?

Some media took the campaign wholeheartedly on board, providing a significant portion of their news stories to the various campaign activities, as well as making an attempt to report on crimes to which the campaign called specific attention, in different ways. One previously observed trend in the coverage was that of experiential stories by survivors of abuse. Another trend was typified by Nicole Fritz's controversial commentary piece in The Star newspaper, “Sentimental campaign another blow to women” (The Star, 6/12/2004, p. 8). Fritz argued that the campaign pitied rather than empowered women, and that the details of many instances of abuse were exaggerated in the media, which tended to dramatise the violation. Other coverage noted that many of the good intentions of the campaign and relevant activist groups were in vain, “So 16 Days has come and gone and what has changed?” (“16 Days to take one more step”, Sunday Independent, 12/12/2004,
p. 8) and in order for more meaningful change to be brought about, South Africa needs a far longer campaign and buy-in from many more media and other social groups (*Beeld*, 6/12/2004, p. 4). It can be seen as positive that not only does the campaign receive media coverage, but the value and success of the campaign is also interrogated and questioned by the media.

### 9.4 How did it happen?

While there can be no question that the media should celebrate their achievement, it should be noted that one of the reasons for the success of the campaign has been the positive partnership between the media, government and civil society. Government and civil society organisations in South Africa and the region are also to be commended for their efforts during the campaign.

Although a number of interesting and innovative partnerships were created during the campaign, there appeared to have been a notable lack of basic information in the media coverage of the campaign. Information on how “ordinary people” could participate in the campaign, where to buy the white ribbons, and information about the postcard pledge, was some of the information that was conspicuously absent from the media coverage of the campaign and its related activities and initiatives. There was also minimal information or contact details in some of the media about practical support groups or organisations that exist to aid victims of abuse.

Given the focus of the campaign it would seem reasonable to assume that the media would provide varied coverage of other instances of gender-based violence. One possible option for media would be to take the many of the commonly reported abuse stories, like domestic violence, rape and sexual assault, and then to actively make the connection between the crimes and the campaign. This would highlight both the relevance of the issues and that these crimes are human rights violations.

The *Sowetan* took this initiative in their front page coverage of “Disgrace: Cops too dumb to understand raped woman who cant speak” (*Sowetan*, 29/11/2004, p. 1). The story explains that the police “failed to assist a rape survivor because she had ‘low literacy levels’.” The title is typical of the dramatic coverage of gender-based violence in many media, where the most graphic details of the violation are emphasised. However, the *Sowetan* is to be commended for quoting the Bill of Rights on the front page to highlight that “The state may not unfairly discriminate...against anyone on one or more grounds, including...disability.” Unfortunately the item was juxtaposed with “Fillies raring to go on race day,” an item that objectified the women who are “dressed to kill” for the Summer Cup at Turffontein as horses, which tended to undermine the value of quoting the Bill of Rights.
10. Way forward

In spite of the numerous positive trends that have been identified in the coverage of gender-based violence in South Africa, there is room for improvement and several challenges still need to be overcome. The first, and possibly the most obvious, is for the media, civil society, and government to make sure that the increased number of gender-based items goes beyond the 16 Days campaign, to continue to highlight these abuses beyond a limited period every year. The identification of a person who has been abused can have harmful and damaging effects, and as a general rule, adults who have survived abuse should only be named and identified in the media if they give informed consent. In the case of children who have been abused, the media has a legal responsibility to protect the rights of the children concerned. There is a clear need for greater caution to be observed on issues of identification, not only of the victims of abuse, but also of the perpetrators.

Currently, the media tends to report on only the most extreme instances of physical and sexual abuse, when there are many other forms of abuse, including psychological, emotional and economic abuse. The media, civil society and government is encouraged to analyse and expose these other forms of abuse, especially during the 16 Days of Activism campaign.

For the 2005 campaign, it is hoped that the following practices will be repeated and expanded on:

- Identification of “survivors” of abuse, rather than “victims” of abuse;
- Survivors telling their own stories;
- Continued increase in the number of women’s voices accessed in the media;
- Meaningful participation of children in the campaign; hearing their ideas and incorporating their views;
- Encouraging financial and practical support of the campaign from corporations;
- Diversity in coverage of the different types of abuse, not only the most extreme forms;
- Continuous and regular coverage of gender-based violence and woman and child abuse throughout the year;
- Greater awareness of the various campaign-related initiatives;
- Telling stories from women all over South Africa;
- Continued development and expansion of positive partnerships between government, media, and civil society.
11. The MMP's strategies

The MMP's activities for the 16 Days of Activism included:

- Issuing of updates;
- Issuing of challenges;
- Media analyses;
- Media interviews and live debates;
- Value of print media coverage for government.

During the campaign, the MMP conducted a number of activities for and with the media in the coverage of the campaign. The MMP released regular updates on the media coverage of the campaign, assessing the commitment of different media to reporting the events and activities associated with the campaign, as well as the coverage of instances of woman and child abuse. The MMP also issued challenges to the media to approach the coverage of those instances of abuse in different ways, and to big corporations to extend their support to the campaign. The media assessed within the MMP's research were monitored on a daily basis for a range of issues and information, as detailed in the methodology section. The MMP was also regularly accessed for comment on a number of issues surrounding the campaign, including discussions of the preliminary MMP research findings, interviews, and debates on the MMP's innovative “Adopt a Slot” challenge.

Another component of the MMP's activities for the campaign was an assessment of the value of a selection of print media coverage of the campaign, particularly the value of government coverage. This activity was undertaken by the MMP for deputy minister of Correctional Services, Ms. Cheryl Gillwald, and resulted in a number of very positive findings.

11.1 Adopt a slot: Bringing companies to the campaign

16 Days: More than just talk
As the end of the 16 Days of Activism drew near, an article raised in The Citizen newspaper stood out in the media coverage of the campaign. “No emergency aid for abuse victim” (The Citizen, 6/12/2004, p. 1) highlighted how few aid organisations have the resources or capacity to be open over weekends. The “abuse victim” of the headline is quoted as saying that the campaign is “yet another road-show, a lip service, which has nothing to do with the plight of...victims.” The article highlighted the lack of resources and facilities of organisations that are specifically dedicated to providing support and care to people who have been abused. The story highlights the need to not only raise awareness and support for the campaign, but also for clear concrete action that extends beyond the 16 Days campaign.
Government has spearheaded the campaign, media has taken its aims and objectives on board, and civil society organisations have been driving the process. The MMP's challenge presents South Africa's biggest companies with a clear opportunity to take the 16 Days campaign beyond the 16th day.

**Much Admired**

The selection of companies to participate in the challenge was a difficult task. To guide the selection, the MMP turned to the *Encyclopaedia of Brands and Branding in South Africa* and the Top Brands Survey 2004, which provided a list of the Most Admired Companies for 2004. It seems a fair assumption that key criteria for an admired company would be their clear position on and support for gender equality, children's rights and initiatives such as the 16 Days campaign. According to the Top Brand Survey 2004, the following companies were cited as the most admired South African corporations:

1. Coca-Cola
2. Eskom
3. Telkom
4. ABSA
5. Shoprite/Checkers
6. SABMiller
7. Pick ‘n Pay
8. Standard Bank
9. Toyota
10. Vodacom

Note: Position 9 in the 2004 Survey is, in fact, the SABC, which has demonstrated clear commitment to the campaign. As the public service broadcaster and a key media player, the SABC has been excluded from the list and replaced with Toyota, which held the 9th position in the same survey in 2003.

The majority of these companies have considerable corporate social responsibility programmes and foundations and undertake some excellent community projects. Notably, however, initial Internet research indicates that many of the companies appear not to have pledged their commitment to the 16 Days campaign. Some of those who pledged include:

- **Vodacom**: An update on their website notes that the corporation “rallies behind the 16 Days of Activism campaign”, and provides details of some of the activities in which it is participating.
- **Shoprite/Checkers**: Proclaims that the company “proudly supports” the campaign; the official campaign logo is featured on their website, and useful numbers are included as part of the information provided about woman and child abuse.
- **Standard Bank**: Their official statement, by the group chief executive Jacko Maree, describes the corporation as “one of government’s major partners since the launch of the campaign”. He also notes “The challenge for us as South Africans is to take this campaign beyond its 16 days and to make it a
national effort to combat domestic violence for 365 days every year.”
Maree’s words echo one of the most common current debates in and around
the campaign: in order for the campaign to make a difference, it needs to
extend beyond the limited 16-day period of awareness and activism.

Why the challenge?
Clearly 16 days of awareness will not bring an end to gender-based violence and
child abuse. While the media’s efforts to highlight the campaign can generally be
commended, the MMP’s previous research suggests that there will be a dramatic
drop in the levels of coverage of gender-based violence and child abuse stories after
the end of the campaign. To some extent this is to be expected. Some media will
continue to raise issues of gender-based violence and child abuse beyond the
campaign, but many media will simply not have the resources to continue to do so.
It also needs to be taken into consideration that many media do not have the
necessary resources, and in some instances, the incentive, to continue to highlight
these key issues.

What is the challenge?
The MMP challenges the top ten most admired companies, their competitors, their
brand builders, their marketing and publicity departments, to continue the fight
against gender-based violence and child abuse beyond the 16 days highlighted by
the campaign.

Adopt a slot
Not only are the top ten companies the most admired they are also rated amongst
the highest in ad-spend. The MMP challenges these companies to double the 16
Days campaign, to “adopt a slot”, for 32 days or longer. So, contact your favourite
media, television channel, radio station or newspaper and sponsor a prominent
feature, space, spot or slot for the next 32 days, starting from the 10th of December
2004 the end of the 16 Days campaign.

- Dedicate 16 minutes of drive-time music to songs for and about women and
  children
- Take out a spot during a popular soapie
- Sponsor a “Children’s Views on Abuse” programme
- Adopt a slot on a talk show
- Sponsor at least five investigative items on woman or child abuse in a weekly
  paper
- Highlight the human rights issues by grouping relevant items on a regular
  page or a page in a daily newspaper
- Use your space to highlight the needs of those organisations that deal with
  violence and abuse
- Use the space to discuss the existing laws and policies on gender-based
  violence, woman and child abuse.
Why take up the challenge?
Companies should take up the challenge because it offers a win-win situation for all parties concerned. Companies will be able to further demonstrate that there is real social commitment behind their brand. Some of the companies have wonderfully inclusive brand pay-off lines, like: “Today. Tomorrow. Together”, “Touch tomorrow”, “We’re on your side” and “With energy anything is possible”. Each of these pay-off lines can easily be interpreted as displaying added value and depth by taking on the continued fight against gender-based violence and child abuse:

- ABSA could take on woman and child abuse “Today. Tomorrow. Together.”
- Toyota could “Lead the way” in the prevention of abuse
- Coca-cola can get “real” about the 16 Days campaign
- Eskom to prove that “with energy anything is possible”
- Telkom can ensure that “victims” of child abuse can actually “Touch tomorrow”
- Standard Bank can make life “Simpler. Better. Faster” for survivors of woman and child abuse

Companies will further benefit by having their efforts evaluated and analysed to see who outperformed all the rest in their commitment to fighting gender-based violence and child abuse.
12. A quick guide to the 16 Days campaign

The 16 Days of Activism: No Violence Against Women and Children campaign is a campaign supported by the South African government, civil society, non-governmental organisations, and the media. The campaign is run parallel to the international 16 Days of Activism: No Violence Against Women, which is endorsed by the United Nations. Both campaigns run annually between the 25th of November (International Day of No Violence Against Women) and the 10th of December (International Human Rights Day). The 16 Days campaign promotes peace and encourages prevention of violence against women and children, widely acknowledged as the most vulnerable members of society and the most affected by crime. The campaign aims to address violence against women and children in all forms not only the extreme instances of physical or sexual violence, but also other less common forms of abuse, such as emotional, psychological, and economic abuse.

The campaign’s purposes, as outlined by the Department of Correctional Services (DCS), which spearheaded the campaign in 2004, are:

- To generate an increased level of awareness amongst South Africans pertaining to the incidence of violence perpetrated against women and children, how it manifests itself within South African society, and the negative impact on these vulnerable groups;
- To challenge perpetrators of these offences to change their behaviour;
- To enhance and increase partnerships between government, the private sector, civil society, organised labour, sector groups, faith based organisations, the media, and the diplomatic community, in an effort to spread the message;
- To align events in the national programme with that of the international theme for this year, which focuses on matters relating to Women’s Health;
- To raise funds for NGOs that work within the sector, providing invaluable support to the victims and survivors of violence;
- To communicate, through the most effective and appropriate channels, aiming to reach the maximum number of people across the country, particularly women and children residing in rural areas;
- To engage actively with men and boys in the discourse about combating violence in our homes, our communities and in the workplace; and
- To highlight the stories of survivors of gender-based violence and the impact that the campaign has had on their lives. (“Show that you care - support this Campaign”, DCS, 2004)

In 2004, there was extensive support, buy-in and the formation of strategic partnerships between various government departments, including the Office on the Status of Women (OSW), the Office on the Status of Disabled Persons (OSDP), and the Office on the Status of Children (OSC), civil society, media, non-governmental
organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs), aid and support groups, activists, and business corporations, to ensure that the campaign made a meaningful impact.

Some of the key campaign activities conducted by the partnerships involved in the campaign included the White Ribbon of Solidarity, the Postcard Pledge, and 16 Houses for 16 Women.

12.1 White Ribbon of Solidarity

The white ribbon is internationally recognised as a symbol of commitment to the fight against the violence and abuse of women and children. The White Ribbon of Solidarity was a visual means for South Africans to show their support for the campaign by wearing a white ribbon, similar to the pink breast cancer awareness ribbons and the red HIV-awareness ribbons. The ribbons were made from beads, lint or fabric, and suppliers were positioned throughout South Africa.

12.2 Postcard Pledge

The white ribbon campaign was run in conjunction with a Postcard Pledge campaign. The South African Post Office (SAPO) made 800,000 postcards available in 500 post offices around the country from 17 November 2004. Members of the public were encouraged to sign the pledges and place the postcards in the specially designated boxes provided at the participating post offices. Transnet, Eskom and other sponsors promised R1 per signature for the first 280,000 signatures collected. This money was to be distributed via the Foundation for Human Rights to NGOs working with victims and survivors.

The signed postcards were also collated by SAPO, delivered to Johannesburg, and pasted on to a Wall of Solidarity inside the Johannesburg Civic Centre. By supporting this process, the public was able to show support for the many NGOs and CBOs that provide invaluable support to the many victims and survivors of domestic violence and abuse.

The South African government deemed the 2004 Postcard Pledge Campaign as highly successful, and publicly thanked those South Africans who had pledged their support. Over 420,000 postcard pledges were received from the public, which resulted in the raising of R300,000 for NGOs and CBOs that work with victims and survivors of violence. This aspect of the campaign can be seen as positive, given the amount of funding that was raised for aid organisations, which are often in need of additional resources, both human and material. However, given the number of postcards that the SAPO made available (800,000) and given that the pledge signing did not cost the signatory anything, it would appear that while the 420,000 is an impressive number of pledges, perhaps in future campaigns, South Africa, with its population of millions, could complete at least all of the postcards created for the purpose.
12.3 16 Houses in 16 Days

To commemorate the Year of the Family, the national Department of Housing promised to build 16 houses for 16 women across South Africa. The planned project was to take place during the 16 Days campaign, using labour supplied by prison inmates and volunteers. Female-headed households were identified as beneficiaries for the houses, with special emphasis on abused and elderly women. The houses were spread between the provinces, but some provinces, including Gauteng, committed to building 16 houses each, which was some indication of the extent of the commitment to the aims of the campaign. However, media coverage of this aspect of the campaign was not prolific. While the Gauteng Department of Housing released regular press releases on the process and the housing beneficiaries, there was little or no coverage of the houses being built or the beneficiaries within the media monitored. A notable exception was the SABC television news, which covered the procedure in a critical manner, especially towards the end of the campaign, when a number of complaints of promised houses not received were reported.