Globalizing Sexual Violence: Charting a Path for Future Research

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Cover Page Footnote

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Sexual violence is a global issue with devastating consequences. Existing research primarily focuses on its prevalence globally or how countries understand sexual violence. Additionally, media reports often misrepresent sexual violence, fail to capture its complexities, and ignore larger gender issues at play. This article synthesizes extant research using postcolonial feminism as a conceptual framework to provide a basis for comparing how sexual violence is discursively constructed globally, and specifically, how historical, cultural, and socioeconomic discourses underscore the perpetration and media framing of sexual violence. To this end, I reviewed 49 articles on sexual violence in India and South Africa with an eye toward contextual similarities and differences. My analysis highlights the complicated ways that cultural norms inform gender roles in context-specific ways. In doing so, this review cuts across regions of the world to demonstrate how patriarchal gender norms are inextricably linked to particular socioeconomic, historical, and cultural moments in time.

Sexual violence is a global human rights issue that has many adverse effects on women's mental, sexual, physical, and reproductive health (WHO, 2018). In a systematic review of interdisciplinary journals, WHO (2013) found women victimized by partner and non-partner sexual violence to be at greater risk of HIV and STI infection, induced abortion, lower birth weight, alcohol abuse, depression, anxiety, suicide, and fatal or non-fatal injuries. Across the world, 7.2% of women have experienced non-partner sexual

violence, and 30% of women have experienced violence from an intimate partner (Abrahams et al., 2014; WHO, 2013). Additionally, 17 million women have experienced forced sex during childhood (UNICEF; 2017).

In particular, news reports of brutal forms of sexual violence in South Africa and India have given the issue much international attention. However, this coverage often misrepresents the issue (Abrahams et al., 2014; Bradley, et al., 2017; Harris & Hanchey, 2014; Rao, 2014; Singh et al., 2018). The gang rape and murder of Jyoti Singh Pandey in New Delhi in December of 2012 sparked a tremendous amount of global media attention in India at a time when sexual violence received little to no attention (Bhattacharyya, 2015; Bradley et al., 2017; Durham, 2015; Rao, 2014; Roychowdhury, 2013; Simon-Kumar, 2014; Thomas et al., 2014). Similarly, attention to sexual violence greatly increased in South Africa after reports of child and baby rape surfaced in the late 90s and early 2000s (Dutton, 2013; Posel, 2005). Coverage of these brutal forms of rape can give the impression they are common when acquaintances or romantic partners commit most rape (Abrahams et al., 2012; Bradley et al., 2017; Dasgupta et al., 2018; George et al., 2016; Rao, 2014). Additionally, South Africa and India have also been labeled "rape capitals of the world" by many media outlets (Adebayo, 2018; Dewey, 2013; Qqola, 2015; Wilkinson, 2014). This implies that rape is more prevalent there compared to other parts of the world when, in fact, there is no reliable way to compare rape prevalence from nation to nation. (Abrahams et al., 2014; Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Unfortunately, media coverage of these regions often misrepresents sexual violence, fails to capture its complexities, ignores the larger gender issues at play, and reflects a colonial gaze (Abrahams, 1997; Bonnes, 2013; Boonzaier, 2017; Harris & Hanchey, 2014; Moffett, 2006; Krishnan, 2015; Simon-Kumar, 2014). News reports of gender and sexual violence in these nations frequently associate sexual deviance and violence with blackness, poverty, and cultural values of natives (Boonzaier, 2017; Krishnan, 2015; Moffett, 2006; Patil & Purkayastha, 2018).

Framing these countries (i.e., previously colonized nations) as barbaric, backward, and deviant is reminiscent of colonial understandings (or logics) that serve to justify Western (colonizer) domination (Lugones, 2010; Mack et al., 2018; Mohanty; 2003; Rowe & Tuck, 2017).

That said, many studies have shown sexual and domestic violence in South Africa and India to be pervasive (Abrahams et al., 2006; Abrahams et al., 2012; Babu & Kar, 2009; Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013; Dasgupta et al., 2018; George et al., 2016; Jewkes et al., 2011; Kalokhe et al., 2017; Mahapatro et al., 2012; Rocca et al., 2008). Each country also has unique circumstances that could make it even more problematic. For example, sexual assault victims in South Africa have a greater risk of contracting HIV and are less likely to seek professional health care (Dunkle et al., 2004; Gibbs et al., 2018; Hatcher et al., 2014; Watt et al., 2017). The legality of arranged marriages, child marriages,

and marital rape can put many Indian women at greater risk of victimization (Bhattacharyya, 2015; Das, 2017; Lal, 2015; Thomas et al., 2014).

However, there has been growing concern that scholarly work on gendered violence in postcolonial (i.e., previously colonized) nations, whether unintentional or not, also replicates colonial logics (Lugones, 2010; Mack et al., 2018; Mohanty; 2003; Rowe & Tuck, 2017). Particularly, there is concern that critical communication scholars have reinforced gender dichotomization, racialization, heteronormativity, and have largely excluded indigenous female populations in examining sexual violence in postcolonial settings (Mack et al., 2018; Mack & Na'puti, 2019; Rowe & Tuck, 2017).

Following Mack and Na'puti's (2019) call for decolonizing gendered violence literature, this paper presents a systematic review of the extant literature on sexual and gendered violence in South Africa and India using feminist decolonial discourse analysis and postcolonial feminism as a conceptual framework. Both South Africa and India share histories of Western colonialization, although such colonization has had varying effects on each nation. While a thorough analysis of similarities and differences exceeds the scope of this essay, this review aims to show how India and South Africa's colonial histories affect media framing and scholarly discourses of sexual violence. Additionally, I also chose these postcolonial nations given they are frequently the subject of media and scholarly discourse when it comes to gendered violence (Albertyn, 2009; Bhattacharyya, 2015; Bradley et al., 2017; Buiten & Naidoo, 2016; Durham, 2015; Posel, 2005; Rao, 2014; Roychowdhury, 2013; Simon-Kumar, 2014; Thomas et al., 2014). In turn, there is a great deal of popular press and scholarly writings that misrepresent the issue by examining gendered violence in these nations through a colonial lens, as discussed by many sexual violence researchers across disciplines (Bonnes, 2013; Buiten & Naidoo, 2016; Harris & Hanchey, 2014; Krishnan, 2015; Moffett, 2006; Simon-Kumar, 2014). The amount of media and scholarly texts (e.g., popular press articles, news reports, essays, critical papers, empirical research articles) available on India and South Africa is sufficient enough to systematically analyze from a feminist decolonial perspective and thus provide more contextualized, nuanced, and intersectional examinations and explanations for gendered violence as it occurs in these areas.

Through the approaches of postcolonial feminism, critical discourse analysis, and decolonial analysis, this review focuses on how historical, cultural, and socioeconomic factors can contextualize understandings of sexual and gendered violence in these regions. I pay attention to how sexual violence is framed in news coverage and academic literature before posing possibilities for future research. Like Mack and Na'puti (2019), by engaging in this decolonial feminist critique, I "seek to understand the nuanced and multidimensional manifestations of sexual violence across racial, gender, and sexuality-based lines within the context of colonization and disenfranchisement" (p. 1).

In the following sections, I outline the feminist underpinnings of this review and key concepts within sexual violence literature. Then, I describe the process of selecting and analyzing the literature. From there, I synthesize the reviewed literature focusing on historical, cultural, and socioeconomic factors, including news media coverage. Finally, I outline limitations and directions for future research.

Orienting to postcolonial feminist theory

Feminist theory has no singular agreed-upon conceptualizations, methods, or guidelines (Ashcraft & Mumby 2003; Maguire, 1987; Steeves, 1987). However, feminist theorists often look to understand the disempowerment and devaluation of women in society, male domination, how to empower women, and how gender construction (i.e., how we define masculinity and femininity) impacts gendered power imbalances within a particular context (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2003; Flax, 1987; Steeves, 1987). Many theoretical frameworks within feminist theory often focus on how certain factors coincide with gender to create an environment that favors men and devalues women (Steeves, 1987). For example, radical feminist theory examines how sexual biological differences inform gender inequality, whereas Marxist feminists concern themselves more with how capitalism or class inform gender inequality. More recently, the third wave of feminism has had a strong focus on intersectional approaches (Snyder, 2008). An intersectional feminist approach considers how multiple factors interact with gender (e.g., race, religion, sexuality, nationality, class, ability, etc.) to discriminate and disempower women (Davis, 2008; Carastathis, 2014). This approach was developed to capture the complexity and diversity of the female experience as every woman has a different lived reality based on various contextual factors (Crenshaw, 1990; Davis, 2008). Additionally, third wave feminism questions the male/female gender binary which allows for theorizing that "imagines new ways for sexed bodies to signify gender" (Stryker, 2007, p. 64).

Though feminist frameworks are vast and various, this review utilizes postcolonial feminist theory as its conceptual framework. While postcolonialism is often theorized differently based on discipline, it often primarily concerns itself with the subjugation of postcolonial nations (i.e., nations previously under colonial rule; Quayson, 2000). Postcolonialism provides a critical approach to cultural studies as "postcolonialism primarily challenges the colonizing and imperialistic tendencies manifest in discursive practices of 'first world' countries in their constructions and representations of the subjects of 'third world' countries and/or racially oppressed peoples of the world" (Shome, 1996, p. 42). Instead of controlling "third world" nation's territory, "first world" nations primarily exert influence through discursively framing third world nations as barbaric, primitive, and immature while conversely representing first world nations as civilized, progressive,

and mature (Gandhi, 1998). This discursive framing serves to justify colonizing influence over colonized nations (Gandhi, 1998; Shome, 1996). A postcolonial approach to theory also requires a certain degree of academic self-reflexivity (Shome, 1996). In many ways, postcolonial feminist theory emerged as a self-reflection of postcolonialism, in that it was criticized for largely ignoring and misrepresenting third world women (Mohanty, 1991; Shome, 1996; Tyagi, 2014)

Postcolonial feminist theory focuses on the representation of women and the construction of gender within postcolonial and anti-colonial discourse (Tyagi, 2014). Postcolonial feminism emerged as feminism that sought to combat Western feminist discourses that often represented third world women as a monolithic group and universalized their experience despite cultural differences (Diaz, 2003; Mohanty, 1995). While U.S. feminist scholars turned to intersectional approaches to describe the nuances of women's experiences, postcolonial feminism situates these nuances in an explicitly decolonial framework (Hegde, 1998).

A postcolonial feminist approach helps to capture the double colonization third world women experience in which they are simultaneously oppressed by patriarchy and colonialism (Peterson & Rutherford, 1986). Patriarchy is "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women" (Walby, 1990, p. 20). This concept is particularly relevant to this study as feminist scholars often point to patriarchy as a leading contributor to rape perpetration (Hunnicutt, 2009; Whisnant, 2009). The legality of marital rape, arranged marriages, and female genital mutilation are some examples of how patriarchy has become institutionalized in postcolonial nations like India (Bhat & Ullman, 2014). Many cultural and religious groups in South Africa engage in patriarchal, sexist cultural practices such as virginity testing without consent and ukuthwala (i.e., the cultural practice of kidnapping young women and forcing them to marry without consent) despite sweeping gender equality legislation after apartheid (Albertyn, 2009). However, it can be problematic to simply frame sexual violence as a symptom of patriarchy without considering the histories and contexts that define various patriarchies, such as colonialism (Buiten & Naidoo, 2016).

Accordingly, male hegemony is a pattern of practices that allows patriarchy to exist by privileging some versions of masculinity over others (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic (i.e., dominant) masculinities often serve to ideologically justify the subordination of women to men. Hegemonic masculinities are constructed at various levels, including local (e.g., towns, families, organizations), regional (e.g., country, state, nation-state), and global (e.g., transnational). Hegemonic masculinity within South Africa and India generally posits that men ought to be more socially dominant, women should be more subservient, and interpersonal or sexual violence is more socially acceptable (Banerjee, 2006; Boonzaier, 2005; George, 2006; Hunter, 2010; Huynh et al., 2018; Roy & Das, 2014; Strebel et al., 2006).

These dominant understandings of masculinity within these nations help to perpetuate rape culture.

Rape culture is a social concept that describes a setting in which rape is pervasive and normalized through the promotion of traditional gender roles that disempower women (Herman, 1984). A society fosters a culture of rape when aggressive behavior related to sex is normalized. Aside from rape and assault, rape culture can manifest through harassment, rape jokes, sexualized banter, cat-calling, the routine policing of women's bodies, appearance, code of conduct, dress, and victim-blaming (Cowan, 2000; Gerger et al., 2007; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Keller et al., 2018; Mendes, 2015). While there is certainly evidence of rape culture within India and South Africa, there is also evidence of rape culture within colonizing and colonized countries across the globe. Despite this, these countries are disproportionately portrayed by Western mainstream news media (e.g., 60 Minutes, BBC, CNN, New York Times, Reuters, Washington Post) as the rape epicenters of the world (Adebayo, 2018; Dewey, 2013; Patil & Purkayastha, 2018; Wilkinson, 2014). This media framing of the Global South serves to maintain racist, colonial constructions of postcolonial nations like India and South Africa as barbaric, primitive, and underdeveloped (Patil & Purkayastha, 2018).

Media framing is when the media chooses to focus on certain information while excluding or underrepresenting other information (Tankard, 2001). This can be done by giving a story more prominence, more coverage, or through the use of specific symbols or language (e.g., images, word selection, and metaphors; Gitlin, 2003; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). In making certain information more salient, the media can lead the public to have an incomplete or skewed picture of reality (Entman, 1993). In this way, how the media frames stories can impact how the general public understands sexual violence (Kitzinger, 2004). South Africa and India are no exception.

Furthermore, Western news coverage of sexual violence within South Africa and India is often laden with several rape myths (Bonnes, 2013; Bradly et al., 2017; Krishnan, 2015; Moffett, 2006; Patil & Purkayastha, 2018).

Rooted in patriarchal values (Griffin, 1981; Brinson, 1992), rape myths are "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 134). Generally, rape myths are false beliefs and stereotypes of sexual violence that typically involve trivializing rape, blaming rape victims, ignoring how frequently rape occurs, and questioning the credibility of victims (Burt, 1980). Rape myths can include statements like "She asked for it," "he didn't mean to," "she wanted it," "she liked it," "it wasn't really rape," "rape is a deviant event," and "rape is a trivial event" (Payne et al., 1999, p. 36). However, rape myths can be difficult to point out as they are not always this overt (Gerger et al., 2007; McMahon & Farmer, 2011). For example, when media outlets cover sexual violence in South Africa and India, they often over-emphasize stranger rape

(Bradley et al., 2017; Qqola, 2015; Moffett, 2006; O'Hara, 2012; Rao, 2014). This can perpetuate the rape myth that stranger rape is more common than interpersonal rape (Qqola, 2015; O'Hara, 2012). The spread and acceptance of these rape myths help to perpetuate rape culture in society and, in turn, maintain patriarchy (Hermann, 1984; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994).

In this study, I utilize postcolonial feminism as a conceptual framework as it allows me to analyze sexual violence within the particular contexts of South Africa and India. This approach acknowledges how patriarchy and colonialization are intertwined and how they work in concert to subjugate women in colonized nations (Peterson & Rutherford, 1986; Tyagi, 2014). As Mishra (2013) states, "Postcolonial feminists argue for women emancipation that is subalternized by social, cultural, or economic structures across the world" (p. 133). Therefore, this paper seeks to review extant literature on sexual violence in South Africa and India through a postcolonial feminist lens with a keen eye for the social, cultural, and economic structures that subjugate these women. Additionally, this review will examine the colonial logics of Western and local news media discourses that frame sexual violence in these nations. After all, discourse has become one of the primary means by which colonialism and patriarchy are maintained within postcolonial nations (Gandhi, 1998; Shome, 1996; Tyagi, 2014).

In this section, I described some of the theoretical underpinnings of feminist theory pertinent to this essay and broadly reviewed relevant concepts within sexual violence research. Taken together, this review is guided by the following research questions:

(RQ1) What factors contribute to sexual violence in South Africa and India?

(RQ2) How is sexual violence in South Africa and India discursively framed by the media?

Method

For the methodological framework of this essay, I used a systematic approach to identify studies, reviews, and critical papers that addressed the issue of sexual violence in South Africa and India. In this section, I begin by explaining how the systematic approaches I utilized included keywords and informational databases. Then, I discuss my data analysis methods as influenced by Strauss and Corbin's (1998) constant comparative method and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Procedures

I employed two different strategies to yield more results in this systematic review. First, I used the successive fractions strategy, which involves the researcher starting with a broad initial search then applying useful restrictions to narrow results (Schlosser et al., 2006). I used Google Scholar and all the

electronic databases offered through EBSCO to capture research from various disciplines such as communication, sociology, anthropology, health, gender, media, critical, and cultural studies to provide a holistic understanding of sexual violence in South Africa and India. I began my keyword search with "sexual violence in India or South Africa." I then started to apply restrictions through the development of inclusionary criteria.

First, the articles had to be published in academic, peer-reviewed journals to ensure credibility. Second, the articles had to pertain to sexual violence in South Africa or India. Articles could review or synthesize literature, critically discuss, or provide data (primary or secondary) on sexual violence in these countries. Articles that provided data must have sampled Indian or South African populations. Third, articles had to discuss or study sexual violence as they related to history, socioeconomic factors, culture, patriarchy, gendered ideologies, or media coverage of sexual violence in South Africa or India. Articles that did not meet these inclusionary criteria (e.g., studies discussing the relationship between sexual violence and HIV) exceeded the purview of this review and were excluded. This successive fractions strategy was also helpful for discovering new keywords (Schlosser et al., 2006). For instance, I found that threats to masculinity were consistently a factor in sexual violence perpetration within both countries. From this point, I started using keywords like "hegemonic masculinity and gender in South Africa and India."

The second systematic review strategy I employed is the building block strategy, which involves breaking up information needs into parts or facets (Schlosser et al., 2006). This is often done by putting "or" between keywords. This strategy was useful because sexual violence is a general term that encompasses many forms of violence (e.g., rape, sexual assault, sexual abuse, harassment, domestic abuse; WHO, 2002). I used this strategy through EBSCO with my primary keyword as "India or South Africa" and used "sexual violence" and its various forms listed above separated by the word "or" in the specific "OR" keyword box in EBSCO. Since the OR keyword box is not available in Google Scholar, I searched each form of sexual violence individually for both countries (e.g., "sexual assault India," "sexual assault South Africa," "domestic abuse India," "domestic abuse South Africa," etc.). Several keywords were also used for finding articles about media coverage of sexual violence in India and South Africa. Google Scholar searches included keywords like "media coverage of sexual violence in India or South Africa" and "media coverage of rape in India or South Africa." Within EBSCO, I utilized the AND keyword box with "India" or "South Africa" in the primary search bar, followed by "sexual violence" and "media coverage." This, however, severely limited results, which led me to search using keywords "India" or "South Africa" with keywords like "sexual violence," "rape," "sexual assault," "domestic abuse," and "sexual abuse" within the Communication and Mass Media Complete database. This also produced limited but highly relevant research articles. I further broadened my

search by only typing "sexual violence" and its various forms connected by the word "or" within the Communication and Mass Media Complete database. I then sifted through the articles to find pieces that especially pertained to India or South Africa. I stopped the process of searching for articles once my information-seeking methods began to consistently produce irrelevant articles (Schlosser et al., 2006).

Data Analysis

Approximately 49 articles met the inclusionary criteria and were systematically reviewed and organized within an Excel spreadsheet. Articles spanned various disciplines that included but were not limited to communication, sociology, psychology, health, women's studies, gender studies, history, and media studies. Selected articles utilized both qualitative and quantitative methods, and many took critical approaches (e.g., postcolonial, feminist) to address issues of gender violence in these regions. While articles varied in their approaches, they often suggested certain factors were the primary sources of gendered violence in South Africa and India. Typically, articles attributed gendered violence to socioeconomic, historical, gendered, and mass communication factors (e.g., inaccurate media representations, lack of mass media, etc.).

From this systemic approach, I utilized critical discourse analysis (CDA) with postcolonial feminism as a conceptual framework. Postcolonial feminism lends itself to this form of analysis as both focus on how discourse serves to (re)produce and challenge dominance (Van Dijk, 1993; Mishra, 2013; Mohanty, 1991; Tyagi, 2014). CDA focuses on how to better understand pressing social issues and requires a multidisciplinary approach. The current study focuses on the role of discourse in framing sexual violence and analyzes literature from several disciplines, making it an excellent analytical fit. This discourse analysis was guided by the work of Mack and Na'puti (2019), who deem a decolonial feminist orientation necessary when analyzing gendered violence within (post)colonial nations. This means moving "beyond merely marking violence from colonial legacies; it requires actively working to decolonize ongoing structures of power in settler colonial contexts" (p. 2). This orientation recognizes gendered violence as a part of colonial violence, illuminates existing colonial logics within extant scholarship, and explores unorthodox methods of epistemological exploration.

My analysis was additionally informed by Strauss and Corbin's (1998) constant comparative method. This method involves separating data into units and then coding them into categories that emerged from the data. With the research questions in mind and guided by this review's postcolonial feminist conceptual framework, I developed a list of open codes. Postcolonial feminism is concerned with how categories of differences interact to influence gender inequality within a particular context (Hegde, 1998; Mishra, 2013). My analysis showed that historical, cultural, and socioeconomic factors were

the most commonly referenced when researching sexual violence within these regions. Upon establishing these descriptive categories, I developed explanatory types and looked to understand the relationships between them (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I was attentive to how historical, cultural, and socioeconomic factors intersect to collectively form patriarchal and colonial structures that inform perceptions and discourse around sexual violence. Per my second research question, I also paid attention to how the news media discursively constructed sexual violence in these regions. Throughout the open coding process, I wrote analytic memos that systematically documented the meanings of codes and how they are interconnected (Tracy, 2019). This helped me to see the bigger story within the literature.

Results

This section covers the contextual factors described within the literature to unpack how sexual violence is constructed and then framed by media in South Africa and India. Through a feminist postcolonial lens, I analyzed the historical events, gender constructions, socioeconomic factors, and media representations that scholars have theorized to cause and intensify sexual violence within South Africa and India. Specifically, I examine how colonialism helped establish problematic constructions of masculinity and economic issues among the native populations which, in turn, exacerbated gendered violence within India and South Africa. Additionally, I highlight the colonial logics present within mass media and academic discourse that can serve to maintain existing power structures. In doing this, I establish colonialism as a through-line within the literature.

Colonialism Establishes Problematic Constructions of Masculinity

The violence against women within South Africa and India can, in part, be understood by examining each nation's British colonial past (Morrell et al., 2012; Sinha, 1999). The British ruled India for roughly 200 years and South Africa for almost 150 years (James, 2010; Magubane, 1996). British rule officially ended in 1947 for India and 1960 for South Africa. British colonizers had a dichotomized view of gender in which men were defined by rationality, materialism, physical strength, and male dominance (Sinha, 1999). Through imperialist ideologies and violence, this form of hegemonic masculinity became normalized within their colonies.

Patriarchal structures, gender construction, and gendered inequality in India can be traced back to colonization and their fight for independence (Stein, 2010). During colonial rule, British officials committed unspeakably cruel acts on the local Indian people to maintain power including public hangings, desecration of corpses, slaughtering local livestock, destroying crops, and even burning entire villages to the ground (Kolsky, 2015). During this time, Indian men were constructed by their colonizers as weak, subordinate, powerless, and generally inferior (Banerjee, 2006). Social power

structures established within colonial India, such as the caste system, made it extremely difficult for lower-class Indian men to advance economically and provide for their families (Heath, 2016; Mukherjee, 2000). The caste system was a method of systematically establishing inequality and was supported by British colonizers (Mukherjee, 2000). Indian men were often brutally sexually tortured and raped by British officials (Heath, 2016). This all had a severe emasculating effect on Indian men during British colonial rule (Banerjee, 2006; Heath, 2016; McClintock et al., 1997).

Inspired by nationalism and Hinduism, new forms of masculinity were constructed in efforts to resist colonialism and fight for independence (Banerjee, 2006; Derné, 2012). These constructions of masculinity emphasized strength (i.e., moral, spiritual, and physical), as well as sexual potency and sexual control over women. (Banerjee, 2006; Dasgupta & Gokulsing, 2013; Derné, 2012). Hinduism, which was overtly rejected and suppressed by British colonizers, became a form of resistance and representation of Indian nationalism (Derné, 2012). Hinduism's gender ideals associated femininity with subordination, domestication, and childbearing (Derné, 2012; Katrak, 1992). Therefore, male control over women became strongly associated with strength and patriotism (Dasgupta & Gokulsing, 2013 Derné, 2012). Furthermore, sexual and physical violence against Indian women came to be seen as a way for Indian men to reclaim the masculinity and power that they felt their British colonizers had stripped from them (Heath, 2016). Subsequently, British officials used reports of domestic violence to justify further colonial aggression and violence, despite their own acts of physical and sexual violence against Indian women (Heath, 2016). Colonial rule and India's caste system created significant social inequalities (e.g., religious, class, caste, gender, etc.) that can still be observed today (Burchardt et al., 2013).

South Africa's history is riddled with military violence, from its early struggles against British colonizers to the militarization of the anti-apartheid movement (Langa & Eagle, 2008; Morrell et al., 2012). British colonizers established social hierarchies in South Africa that inspired apartheid (Morrell et al., 2012). Like colonialism, apartheid established economic and political domination that empowered White minorities and disempowered the Black majority population (Decker, 2010).

British colonial rule, and later apartheid, socially, economically, and politically privileged European (White) men and women, and systematically disempowered Black men and women (Britton, 2006). Gendered ideologies during colonization and apartheid privileged forms of femininity that were domestically focused (i.e., childbearing, childrearing, subservience to husband). However, dominant historical accounts of South Africa's colonial and apartheid past often exclude the marginalization of Black women during this time (McEwan, 2003). Women were often excluded from anti-apartheid struggles, and those who did involve themselves in anti-apartheid efforts

were at an increased risk of physical and sexual violence (Britton, 2006). Despite progressive women's rights legislation after apartheid, social change for many women, particularly Black women, has not occurred (McEwan, 2003; Morrell et al., 2012).

This section highlights how gender inequality, hegemonic ideas of masculinity, and violence can be the byproduct of years of colonialization. Although government officials have passed gender equality reform, gender constructions have remained largely unchanged (Khan et al., 2019; Morrell et al., 2012; Rao, 1999). Violence became normalized through colonization and has had a lasting effect regarding gender constructions and relations (Britton, 2006; Heath, 2016). British colonizers helped reinforce institutional systems of gender inequality and violence with lasting social effects, making efforts of positive social reform in South Africa and India mostly ineffective. Modern hegemonic ideas of masculinity can be traced back to the colonial roots of these countries and their violent struggles for independence.

Constructions of Masculinity Leading to Financial Insecurity and Gendered Violence

Although masculinity is defined in many ways within a culture, certain definitions of masculinity are often more socially dominant than others (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). South Africa and India are no exception. Hegemonic ideas of masculinity within South Africa have largely remained unchanged since apartheid and include men being strong financial providers for the families, accepting of interpersonal violence, and domineering towards their wives and children (Boonzaier, 2005; Hunter, 2010; Strebel et al., 2006). Similarly, the masculinity of Indian men is often defined by their marital prowess, strength, moral fortitude, ability to provide for their family, and how well they exercise control over their family (Banerjee, 2006; George, 2006; Huynh et al., 2018; Khan et al., 2019; Roy & Das, 2014).

These hegemonic ideas of masculinity become problematic when certain men feel that their manhood is threatened. Many scholars have found acts of sexual and interpersonal violence are often committed by South African men to establish their masculinity when they feel it is lacking, particularly when they feel economically inferior or economically disenfranchised (Boonzaier, 2005; Gibbs et al., 2015; Gibbs et al., 2014; Hunter, 2010; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Jewkes et al., 2011; Silberschmidt, 2012; Walker, 2005). Boonzaier (2005) and Strebel et al. (2006) found that South African men felt emasculated when their spouses had jobs or became the primary breadwinners, leading many men to physically and verbally abuse their wives. Similar results were found with Indian populations when men with rigid gendered ideologies had difficulty finding employment and women became employed (Dasgupta et al., 2018; Krishnan et al., 2010; Krishnan, 2015; Mahapatro et al., 2012). Although these factors were more related to physical rather than sexual abuse, it could be that forced sex within a marriage

might not be considered abuse by either spouse (Babu & Kar, 2009). After all, marital rape (i.e., forceful intercourse by a husband with his wife) is not legally considered rape in India (Bhattacharyya, 2015; Das, 2017). This can be problematic as 88.4% of marriages in India are arranged (Statistic Brain, 2018). However, Indian women who choose their husbands have been found to be at greater risk of experiencing domestic abuse (George et al., 2016; Krishnan et al., 2010; Rocca et al., 2008). Rocca et al. (2008) and George et al. (2016) hypothesize that this domestic abuse might be a result of the lack of financial support (e.g., dowry) and social disapproval of parents (i.e., love marriage not as socially acceptable as arranged). There is a need for more qualitative studies on domestic abuse in India to explain these quantitative findings (Kalokhe et al., 2017).

Constructions of masculinity change based on historical, cultural, and economic context, and it is vital to locate them when addressing gendered violence (Khan et al., 2019). This section provided a snapshot of the hegemonic ideas of masculinities within Indian and South African culture and how threats to these ideas of masculinity can lead to interpersonal violence. While increases in employment, financial opportunities, and marital choice for women are all positive, extant research suggests that these changes might also lead to an increase in abuse from husbands who feel they are not fulfilling their role as financial providers. This indicates that socioeconomic factors might be related to sexual violence.

Socioeconomic Factors Rooted in Colonization

Many scholars agree that while changing hegemonic ideas of masculinity within South Africa is an important step in reducing sexual violence, they also acknowledge that such an effort may not be successful unless the socioeconomic status of men is improved (Gibbs et al., 2015; Gibbs, et al., 2014; Silberschmidt, 2012). Indeed, low socioeconomic status has been shown to be related to sexual violence perpetration (Babu & Kar, 2009; Gibbs et al., 2015; Huynh et al., 2018; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). However, sexual violence perpetrators come from many socioeconomic backgrounds (Babu & Karr, 2009). In fact, rape has been found to be more common among South African men with a higher socioeconomic status (Jewkes et al., 2006). Linking rape to unemployment, poverty, or low socioeconomic status can reinforce the idea that rapists are poor Black men (Moffett, 2006; Krishnan, 2015). However, high rates of Black rapists may be due to the fact that the large majority of South Africans are Black (Moffett, 2006).

Although Black South African poor men are often discursively framed as violent, hypermasculine men across socioeconomic status and ethnicity commit acts of violence (Boonzaier, 2017; Moffett, 2006; Vetten & Ratele, 2013). To put it plainly, rich White men also rape. Furthermore, Krishnan (2015) argues this issue should not be focused on culture alone; rather, more

emphasis should be on those who financially benefit from the subjugation of women.

The colonial pasts of India and South Africa still impact the socioeconomic status of many people in these countries. Apartheid and the caste system were strongly influenced by British colonialism and were designed to prevent upward economic mobility of those with lower socioeconomic status (Morrell et al., 2012; Mukherjee, 2000). During British rule, the English language became firmly entrenched in the government and education systems of India and South Africa (Azam et al., 2013; Casale & Posel, 2011). Those proficient in the colonizer language had a tremendous advantage over those who only spoke the native tongue. While it has been years since the official end of British colonial rule, this is still true today. Azam et al. (2013) found that hourly wages in India are 34% higher for men who speak fluent English and 13% higher for men who speak a little English compared to men who do not speak English. Additionally, women fluent in English earn 22% more income and women who speak some English make 10% more than women who do not speak English. English proficiency is also a requirement among government officials and educators. Similarly, Casale and Posel (2011) estimated that South African men with post-secondary education earn 90% more if they are fluent in English. Although South Africa adopted policies that encourage schools to teach in native languages, many schools opt to continue teaching in English (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004; Casale & Posel, 2011; Probyn, 2009). Additionally, South African students in poorer communities often do not have enough exposure to English outside the classroom to become proficient in English (Casale & Posel, 2011).

Those of lower socioeconomic status within South Africa and India are further hindered from upward mobility and financial stability given their lack of English proficiency (Azam et al., 2013; Casale & Posel, 2011). While we must be careful in associating gender violence in India and South Africa with lower socioeconomic status, we must also strive to improve the economic inequality that can be a contributor to physical and sexual abuse (Gibbs et al., 2015; Gibbs et al., 2014; Moffett, 2006; Krishnan, 2015; Silberschmidt, 2012). English hegemony is a colonial legacy within these regions that contributes significantly to socioeconomic inequality, and thus is worth noting to contextualize our understanding of gendered violence further. After all, financial instability is tied to gendered violence within India and South Africa because financial stability and economic success are associated with hegemonic masculinity (Gibbs et al., 2015; Gibbs et al., 2014; Silberschmidt, 2012).

This section outlined the impact of socioeconomic factors on sexual violence. While low socioeconomic status has often been found to be related to perpetration, individuals of all socioeconomic backgrounds perpetrate sexual violence. Furthermore, it is important to understand that many poorer South Africans and Indians still struggle with upward mobility because of

leftover colonial institutions. These considerations are often ignored when covering issues of sexual violence in these regions, as many Western news outlets often view these issues through a racist, colonial lens.

Media Framing Sexual Violence Through Colonial Lens

This section builds upon the previous considerations by addressing how national and international news outlets negatively impact how sexual violence is understood in India and South Africa. Particularly, I explore how perpetrators are framed, which stories are reported or ignored, the spreading of rape myths, and racist, colonial portrayals of these countries. Each of these points will be addressed below.

Many media outlets, particularly in the West, often associate sexual violence in India and South Africa with race, low socioeconomic status, and culture. Although it may not be explicit, media outlets often imply rape is connected to low socioeconomic status in South Africa by overly focusing on Black perpetrators and incidents in poor communities (Bonnes, 2013; Moffett, 2006; Posel, 2005; Reddy & Potgieter, 2006). This is unsurprising, as African men and women have historically been discursively framed as sexually deviant by media outlets (Abrahams, 1997; Boonzaier, 2017; Gilman, 1985; Lewis, 2011). Similarly, news reports of rape in India often highlight a low-class perpetrator targeting middle-class or educated women (Bradly et al., 2017; Krishnan, 2015). Western news outlets covering sexual violence in India often present India in a neocolonial manner, describing its men as primitive and savage and asserting that violence is merely a part of their culture (Bradly et al., 2017; Durham, 2015; Krishnan, 2015; Patil & Purkayastha, 2018; Roychowdhury, 2013; Simon-Kumar, 2014).

Colonial framing of these stories helps to glorify countries in the Global North by comparison while also ignoring the role of patriarchy within our global society (Harris & Hanchey, 2014; Simon-Kumar, 2014). Additionally, this discursive framing of postcolonial nations like South Africa and India reflects a colonial discourse that serves to justify Western intervention and influence in efforts to "civilize" these nations (Abrahams, 1997). By constructing sexual violence as a poor Black issue, news media reproduce colonial ideologies that justify the continued domination of postcolonial nations (Boonzaier, 2017; Phoenix, 2009).

However, some national and local news media sources in India focus on the larger issues of patriarchy and also cover social change initiatives (Patil & Purkayastha, 2018).

Both international and national news media perpetuated several rape myths in their coverage of sexual violence in South Africa and India. International and national news outlets in India tended to disproportionately cover cases of stranger rape despite the fact that acquaintances or romantic partners commit the large majority of rape (Abrahams et al., 2012; Bradley et al., 2017; Dasgupta et al., 2018; George et al., 2016; Rao, 2014). This

can perpetuate the myth that stranger rape is a common phenomenon. However, sexual violence is barely reported in India given that police officers often discredit victims, marital rape is often not considered rape, and rape carries a high social stigma, as women are viewed as impure or damaged after such incidents (Banerjee, 2006; Bhattacharyya, 2015; Lahiri & Bandyopadhyay, 2012; Menon & Allen, 2018; Rao, 2014; Thomas et al., 2014). The frequency of victim-blaming within media coverage of sexual violence in South Africa and India can further deter victims from reporting rape, abuse, or harassment (Bonnes, 2013; Lahiri & Bandyopadhyay, 2012; Phillips et al., 2015; Simon-Kumar, 2014). Overall, news outlets tended to oversimplify the issue of sexual violence within India and South Africa while ignoring the broader issues of colonial patriarchy in the process.

The preceding section outlined how news media discourses, particularly Western news outlets, misrepresent gendered violence within South Africa and India. In particular, this section highlights the colonial logics and rape myths within news media discourses. This is notable as how the media represents sexual and gendered violence within these nations can significantly influence public discourse, policy, and opinion, and potentially challenge or reproduce existing stereotypes (Emmers-Sommer, 2006; Kitzinger, 2004; O'Hara, 2012).

This systematic review helps to contextualize the issue of sexual violence in India and South Africa by illustrating how history, culture, and socioeconomic factors connect to colonial legacies to collectively inform constructions of sexual violence. It also illuminated how patriarchy and hegemonic ideas of masculinity are formed and maintained within these specific contexts. Finally, this review depicted the potential role of news media framing in perpetuating incomplete understandings of sexual violence and its links to colonialism and patriarchy in South Africa and India.

Considerations for Future Research

This review helped to display the scholarly strides that have been made in sexual violence research about India and South Africa. No one factor can explain an issue as complex as sexual violence. Socioeconomic forces like capitalism and poverty do not sufficiently explain sexual violence, as men of all socioeconomic classes commit rape (Bannerji, 2016; Moffett, 2006). Simply blaming the culture of a region is too simplistic, as rape culture and victim-blaming are evident worldwide (Krishnan, 2015). The news media coverage alone cannot directly influence sexual violence, as media effects rely heavily on individual characteristics, and its effects are often limited when applied to larger homogeneous groups (Valkenburg et al., 2016). Even larger issues like patriarchy do not exist in isolation (Bannerji, 2016). Patriarchies manifest themselves differently based on context (Buiten & Naidoo, 2016). Most notably, this review revealed the importance of decolonial analysis when studying gendered violence in postcolonial nations (Mack

& Na'puti, 2019). Taken together, we can see that these articles illuminate how gendered violence is colonial violence. A decolonial analysis of the literature on sexual violence in South Africa and India through a postcolonial feminist lens highlighted how history, culture, socioeconomics, and media discourses intersect.

This decolonial analysis helped to illustrate how India's and South Africa's colonial legacies have influenced modern cultural values (Banerjee, 2006; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Wood, 2005), how local, cultural gender understandings are connected to socioeconomic status (Boonzaier, 2005; Dasgupta et al., 2018; Gibbs et al., 2015; Gibbs et al., 2014; Hunter, 2010; Krishnan et al., 2010; Mahapatro et al., 2012; Silberschmidt, 2012; Walker, 2005), and how socioeconomic status and values relate to colonization (Azam et al., 2013; Casale & Posel, 2011), Furthermore, this review shows how media and at times, scholarly discourse, both reflect and perpetuate the colonial logics that create incomplete or inaccurate understandings of sexual violence within South Africa and India (Boonzaier, 2017; Moffett, 2006, Simon-Kumar, 2014, Emmers-Sommer, 2006; Kitzinger, 2004; O'Hara, 2012).

The quantitative literature reviewed in this paper provided statistical evidence of the prevalence of sexual violence and established what factors were strongly related to sexual violence. For example, some quantitative studies found Indian women in non-arranged marriages to have a greater chance of experiencing domestic abuse (George et al., 2016; Krishnan et al., 2010; Rocca et al., 2008). However, these quantitative studies were limited in that they could only establish a relationship and could not describe the context of this relationship. Future qualitative work is needed to explore these relationships (Kalokhe et al., 2017).

Future research would benefit from more qualitative studies, specifically ethnographic research, to allow for greater immersion in a particular context (Tracy, 2019). Wood (2005) provides a good example of how ethnographic methods could be used when researching sexual violence in South Africa. Qualitative work can also engage the perspectives of the population being studied, which is an important goal within decolonial analysis (Mack & Na'puti, 2019; Tracy, 2019). As highlighted by this review, many scholarly and media texts are authored by those who do not experience gender violence in these regions and thus cannot fully understand or accurately articulate these issues. Therefore, it is vital that future scholars be reflective of this and strive to radically de-center their own voices, instead focusing on the voices of indigenous populations (Mack & Na'puti, 2018). Mack and Na'puti (2018) suggest including detailed, descriptive language and extended quotations instead of heavily translating or paraphrasing participants.

This review was limited by the amount of academic literature on sexual violence in India and South Africa. Despite the amount of scholarly attention given to these countries, more research is needed to better understand sexual violence. Specifically, there is a lack of research exploring how colonialization

contextualizes sexual violence in India and South Africa (Mack & Na'puti, 2019). This review does not discuss other factors, such as political motives, even though they can help shape rape cultures (Krishnan, 2015). Politics were discussed in some articles, like Simon-Kumar (2014) and Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), but not enough to warrant its own section. However, it is possible that the amount of literature I found and the focus of literature were limited by my inclusionary criteria or my methods of information seeking. Finally, my focus on media coverage in this review was driven by the theoretical assumptions that news media can impact public opinion (Entman, 1993; Kitzinger, 2004; McCombs, 2013). However, there is much debate within the mass communication scholarly community about the extent of media's effect on individuals and society at large (Lang, 2013; Perloff, 2013).

Conclusion

This review provided further evidence that colonialism is not a matter of the past. Rather, its legacy profoundly impacts modern society and is alive within global discourses. Gender violence, particularly sexual violence, is inextricably linked to colonial violence (Lugones, 2010; Mack et al., 2018; Mack & Na'puti, 2019). We cannot create a movement against sexual violence without confronting colonial violence (Deer, 2015).

Gendered violence is a complex social issue. As Mack and Na'Puti (2019) state, "decolonial feminist critique deepens our understanding of complex iterations of gendered violence" (p. 1). Many factors can play a role in the prevalence of sexual and gender violence within a society. Rape myths, hegemonic masculinities, and gender inequality that perpetuate sexual violence can often be deeply ingrained within society, making it difficult to enact meaningful change (Menon & Allen, 2018; Moffett, 2006; Singh et al., 2018). However, through a more holistic understanding of sexual violence, we can begin to strategize its eradication.

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