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CHILDREN, PATHOLOGY AND POLITICS: A GENEALOGY OF THE PAEDOPHILE IN SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 1944 AND 2004

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ABSTRACT
By the early 1990s the paedophile as a 'type' of child sexual abuse (CSA) perpetrator was prioritised for study and intervention by the South African socio-medical sciences and cases of paedophilia featured prominently in the media reporting of the time. Drawing on the genealogical method as derived from Michel Foucault, this study aimed to account for this relatively recent emergence of the paedophile as an object of socio-medical study and social anxiety within the South African archive. Based on an analysis of archival texts against the backdrop of international biopolitics and local conditions of political possibility, the genealogy contends that the early figure of the paedophile was an instrument and effect of apartheid biopolitics. The paedophile was prioritised for research and escalated as social threat in the public imagination as part of the broader apartheid project aimed at protecting white hegemony through the ongoing surveillance of and health interventions directed towards South Africa's white children. While the apartheid project constructed black children as posing fundamental threats to white supremacy, discourses beginning in the mid-1980s repositioned them as vulnerable victims of apartheid itself. It was from within these discourses that child sexual abuse (CSA) as a public health concern began to crystallise. By locating blackness within the fields of discipline and desire, the material conditions for an ever-expanding net of sexual surveillance were established. The study thus demonstrates that even the paedophile cannot be effectively researched without considering the historical co-ordinates that so powerfully contoured its emergence as an important object of study and social intervention within South Africa's highly racialised systems of thought.

Keywords: paedophile; South Africa; genealogy; biopolitics; child sexual abuse

By the mid-1990s child sexual abuse (CSA) was regarded as a serious social problem worldwide. Then, it was compared to a range of devastating pandemics and was implicated in causing "more misery and suffering than any of the great plagues of history, including the bubonic plague, tuberculosis and syphilis" (Glaser, 1997, p. 1). Notwithstanding the now well documented challenges (Dawes, Borel-Saladin & Parker, 2004) inherent in the collection, categorisation and analysis of child sexual abuse data, globally, indicators of the prevalence of CSA are alarming. Studies that rely on retrospective reporting by adults indicate a childhood sexual abuse prevalence rate ranging between one per cent (under narrow definitions) and 19 per cent (under broader definitions) in sampled populations from across the world (Runyan, Wattam, Ikeda, Hassan & Ramiro, 2002). These prevalence figures are dwarfed by a number of studies conducted in South Africa amongst university students and school children. Levett (1989) established a CSA prevalence of 43.6 per cent for acts that included both contact and non-contact abuse. Collings (1997) found a child sexual contact prevalence of 34.8 per cent in his sample of 640 female undergraduates. A study conducted by Madu and Peltzer (2000) found that 54.3 per cent of the 414 schoolchildren surveyed had

been the victims of child sexual abuse. In another study by Madu (2001), 26.5 per cent of a sample of 722 undergraduate students indicated that they had been sexually abused by an adult. The numbers of cases of CSA reported to the South African Police Services (SAPS) are also high by international standards (Pienaar, 2002) and indicate substantial (if not exponential) increases over the last three decades (Bowman, 2005). Many recent approaches to understanding CSA as a social problem draw on multi-disciplinary understandings of the actors (victims and perpetrators), social context, and its determinants and consequences to theorise and intervene in what is largely considered a widespread and pervasive social problem. One of the central and perhaps key objects that such studies target for enquiry is the perpetrator of CSA.

Constructions of this perpetrator vary from discipline to discipline and mutate across time. The term, *paedophilia erotica*, was first coined in 1886 by Krafft-Ebing, in his text, *Psychopathia Sexualis* (Krafft-Ebing, 1939), heralding the scientific naming of figure of the paedophile as a category of person that sexually 'violates' children. The violation of children warranted special mention (as opposed to the many other immoral acts glossed over in the volume) as it was considered to be severely deleterious to the 'health' of the society that Krafft-Ebing (1939) studied. The figure of the paedophile as a conceptual and anchoring object in social science and specifically psychiatric and psychological discourse was thus birthed in the later decades of the nineteenth century and strategically used to describe sexual relations between adults and children. Due to its changing forms and constructions in history, the term has come to be used interchangeably with other descriptors such as child sexual abuser, child rapist and child molester in the popular imagination. In essence, these terms represent discrete constructions of sexual relations between adults and children. The generic term *paedophilia* however represents a psychopathological definition of such relations and refers not only to the enactment of such relations but also to a "state in which an individual is predisposed to use children for his or her sexual gratification" (Finkelor, 1986, p. 90).

Rather than understanding the difficulties in isolating and extracting a sound definition and psychological profile of the paedophile from these other constructs (Jenkins, 1998), as a problem of precision and refinement, an historical analysis of its production is revealing in its demonstration of the way in which particular material contexts and social processes initially provide the conditions of possibility for its emergence and later refinements in the first place. Put more simply, under what historical conditions does the figure of the paedophile become thinkable and how does this figure begin to mutate, trouble meaning and extend beyond its

historical confines as these conditions shift? In South Africa, the figure of the paedophile was virtually non-existent as an object of psychological and popular knowledge prior to 1944 (Bowman, 2005). However, during the 'dying' years of apartheid, the figure is writ large in the social imagination and intensively studied by researchers of the time. For example, articles indexed by 'paedophilia' in the *Index to South African Periodicals* (ISAP) [1] database increased from 29 in 1988 to 421 in 2004. Media coverage of paedophilia also increased exponentially during this time (Bowman, 2005). What factors accounted for the marked increase or explosion of discourses on paedophilia? How and why did paedophilia become a subject of increasing interest to scientific and popular publications? In short, when, how and why did discourses on paedophilia become significant objects of knowledge for South Africa? This article reports on a study mobilised in response to these questions. Located in the global literature beginning in 1886 but focused on the emergence of the South African paedophile in circa 1944, the study traced constructions of the paedophile as a relatively innocuous nuisance through to the recidivism, sexual malice and aggression that characterise it in the present.

WHAT IS A PAEDOPHILE? SOME CRUCIAL HISTORICAL CO-ORDINATES

In the present, paedophilia 'involves sexual activity with a prebuscent child (generally age 13 years or younger). The disorder spans a number of symptoms ranging from inappropriate sexual fantasies involving children through direct sexual activities with minors. This definition is the historical outcome of a variety of contested accounts and differing taxonomies produced by a number of professional psychological bodies and sexological texts. In fact, this definition represents consistently changing and contested forms of the paedophile that span more than 100 years (Bowman, 2005). How then to begin to find at least the defining contours that constitute the figure of the paedophile across these definitions and their histories? Firstly, paedophilia is illegal. Secondly, paedophilia points to psychopathology in the perpetrator. Thirdly, paedophilia is regarded as an infringement of the norms of modern sexuality. Lastly, paedophilia as a description of adult-child sexual relations represents a violation of the 'natural' order of modern childhood. Acknowledging these defining elements of paedophilia provides at least the starting point of an historical analysis of paedophilia as a generic descriptor of adult-child sexual relations.

The emergence of the figure of the paedophile in 1886 is arguably produced at the intersection of these four coordinates. Each coordinate implies its own historical formation (Bowman, 2005). For example, the illegality of the practice of paedophilia can be traced back to its reversion and the ambiguities inherent in the practice of pederasty in the ancient Greeks through to the familiar legal prohibition on the practice of paedophilia in Victorian law as implemented in Britain's colonies and dominions. These laws took root in South Africa via the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1893 in the Cape colony, the Union of South Africa's Child Protection Act of 1913, the Girls' and Mentally Defective Women's Protection Act of 1916 and the Sexual Offences Act of 1957.

Understanding paedophilia as a psychopathology and a form of perversity is also the result of a long global history. Beginning with Krafft-Ebing's text in which paedophilia erotica was most typically a symptom of degenerescence, but not necessarily pathological through to the perverted paedophile of Freud's (1991) *Three Essays on Sexuality* and the consolidation of the category as a mental disorder in the APA's DSM-II of 1968, the modern paedophile as an abnormal figure has been subjected to a number of transformations and categorisations. Likewise, the 'nature' of childhood against which paedophilia may be considered transgressive, is also the product of various constructions or understanding of childhood over many centuries (Ariès, 1973). Recent histories of childhood have convincingly demonstrated that the value, preciousness and need for protection implied by modern categories of the child are fraught with contradictions, reversals and discontinuities (Ariès, 1973; Burman, 2008; Cunningham, 1995; Hendrick, 1990). These include but are not limited to the child as the embodiment of sin, as tabula rasa, mechanical and sacred.

The paedophile may therefore be considered the product of these intersecting global histories that are both embedded and specified in the discourses and material conditions which define the South African case. These global histories have been examined elsewhere (see Bowman (2005). However, the aim of this article is to better understand and account for the local conditions of possibility and specific discourses that produced the South African paedophile within these global co-ordinates. In short, the article attempts to account for the production of the South African paedophile within and against the above critical coordinates representing the convergence of South African law, the consolidation of psychopathology as a discourse in the country, the construction of perversion in South Africa and perhaps, most importantly, the

constitution of the South African child against whom paedophiliac transgression becomes possible.

GENEALOGY

Outlined in detail in Foucault's (1980) seminal methodological essay, *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History*, and usefully elaborated by Hook (2005), the genealogical 'method' is derived from Foucault's theory of history. The method is a form of reading power/knowledge by paying attention to that which conditions, limits and institutionalises discursive formations (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). Against conventional history-making, genealogy is preoccupied not with representing things as they should be but rather understanding, outlining and disrupting power/knowledge in the historical record in order to destabilise or illuminate the present. In short, the genealogical method uses a number of theoretical assumptions about history to link or delink the histories that are themselves punctuation points of subjection, domination, resistance and conflict in the constitution of knowledge.

Operationally, the work of genealogy[2] is to regard an object (in this case the paedophile in South Africa) as an emergent product of discursive, material and historical relations. It is explicitly critical of history-making methods that aim to reveal the true forms of the past. The intention of genealogy is therefore to write an alternative historical account of those objects and discourses which appear to transcend history. This involves taking heed of Foucault's guiding principles for the analysis of discourse and following an additional set of methodological injunctions, including the "'event', the dissipation of the object [and] the effacement of the self-constituting subject" (Hook, 2005, p. 3). This form of reading history perhaps most importantly prioritises the procedures of analysing the descent and emergence of the object under study.

In tracing descent, the genealogist does not search for continuity. The genealogist rather uses descent as a means of "discovery, under the unique aspect of a trait or a concept, of the myriad events through which - thanks to which, against which - they were formed" (Foucault, 1980, p. 147). An analysis of descent therefore allows us to trace discontinuity by showing a series of reversals, ruptures and contingencies that underpin the historical object or event in question. In identifying points of emergence of an historical object Foucault (1980) is also clear in insisting that emergence is neither the origin of an object or its teleological endpoint. Rather, the emergence of an object should be conceptualised as a moment (or as part of an

'event') produced or surfaced in a network of opposing and historically clustered forces.

Materials

Under the genealogical method, all data are considered primary. The data can take many forms. In this study, these forms included newspaper articles, formal academic publications, forensic documents, court transcripts, medical examinations, advertisements and photographs. The time period for the analysis was largely guided by the broad patterns described by existing databases and the availability of these materials. Given that the earliest approximations of the figure of the paedophile surface in the South African news media in 1944 and academic literature in the late 1940s, all materials related to the paedophile in South Africa for the period 1944 – 2004 were selected for analysis.

The newspaper articles after 1978 were sourced from the South African Media database, which only houses indexed articles published in all South African newspapers and magazines from this date. Given that the historical range of analysis begins in 1950, an extensive media search of selected newspaper articles published before 1978 and archived in the Johannesburg Library, University of the Witwatersrand and University of South Africa was undertaken. This search was manual and therefore not exhaustive. It involved searching *The Rand Daily Mail*, *The Star, Pretoria News, The Post, City Press, The Sowetan* and *Drum Magazine*[3] in alternating 3-month cycles from 1944 to 1978 for articles pertaining to the paedophile. These articles were complemented by a search of all articles indexed by paedophilia in the archives at the national museum of the South African Police Services (SAPS). These manual searches bias the volume of data for the period, 1944 to 1977. The availability of other news media following 1977 as indexed in the South African Media database, does however, provide more nationally representative data.

Journal articles were sourced from *PsycInfo* in tracing the international history of the paedophile. To specify this corpus of constructions of paedophilia to South Africa, the *Index to South African Periodicals* (ISAP) was consulted. South African advertisements and photographs were sourced from popular publications such as the magazines and the newspapers from the South African Media database described above. Again, this strategy is not without its problems, as some articles, advertisements and photographs may not have been captured. However, the consultation of these three databases provided a substantial corpus of academic and media constructions of the paedophile, both internationally and in the

South African literature as required by the genealogical approach. What follows is therefore an analysis of a wide range of discontinuous, marginal and fragmented materials in the constitution of the paedophile produced in the beginnings of apartheid and consolidated in its dying days and the early post-apartheid period.

Statecraft, children and the surfacing of threat

> A magnificent blonde child – how much peace there is in that phrase, how much joy and above all how much hope (Fanon, 1986, p. 189).

The Union of South Africa in 1910 followed the precedent of other dominions by defining its own 'population' via the prioritisation of a local census. In South Africa, the first national census was undertaken in 1911. The census was followed by the Statistics Act of 1914 that made provision for the establishment of the Office of Census and Statistics in 1917. This prompted the rollout of the 1936 Census, the first to include all 'races'[4] in the Union and the following well co-ordinated Census of 1946. These national Censuses were undoubtedly initiated to address the 'Urban Native Problem' (Posel, 2000, p. 122) and by extension, the overarching anxiety about racial mixing in South Africa (Fagan, 1939), especially pronounced during the influx of 'Africans' to the cities following World War Two. One of the key promises of the National Party campaign of 1948 was the resolution of racial anxiety, and adoption of an efficiently scientific means of government that would enable a more knowledgeable and modern state to move towards these objectives. The inauguration of formal apartheid therefore ushered in an unmistakable "mania for measurement" (Posel, 2000, p.116), the political functions of which were, simply put, to defend apartheid society.

> Apartheid policies and practices politicised demography and demographic results more than in most other countries. As Mostert, Van Tonder and Hofmeyr (1988:59) have noted, the Afrikaans for demography (prior to the widespread use of the anglicism *demografie*) was *politiese wiskunde* "political arithmetic," a term that indicates the reflexive relationship that existed between population and polity in the country (Moultrie & Timæus, 2002, p. 2).

Thus, the apartheid government emphasised the social and economic benefits of sound surveillance machinery. However, such benefits carried an explicitly racialised agenda. The streamlining and improvement of statistical surveillance would ideally "keep each race in its proper place, economically, politically and socially" (Posel, 2000, p. 126). As Foucault (1990) and Donzelot (1979) remind us, such measurement would inevitably focus on the

procreative patterns of the population (expressed largely through the family) and, by extension, the sexual practices that framed them. In accordance with this guiding focus, the South African surveillance machine focused on two key variables in pursuit of its preservation of white supremacy: the health and welfare of children and the sexual and reproductive activities of its population.

Hygiene, health and whiteness

By turning its attention to the sexual habits of its cherished white population, the apartheid project could effectively monitor and intervene in its future in a very real sense. The birth rates, death rates, racial ratios, migration patterns and sexual practices of South Africa hence became prime targets for broad state-initialised surveillance that was to build upon a set of colonial laws that segregated the working, living and recreational spaces by race. The Colour Bar Act of 1909 'legally' divided the population of the country along racial lines (Roberts, 1996). This racial divide began to penetrate the micropolitics of sexuality through the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, which outlawed marriage between the different population groups and the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950, which criminalised sexual intercourse between the races (Roberts, 1996). To monitor and enforce this type of stratification, every South African was compelled to register within their imposed race groups as citizens of the country by the Population Registration Act of 1953.

In essence, these surveillance systems were mandated to scrutinise the workings of South African bodies at every point of the day or night, in every rural and urban space and across age cohorts and social strata as a means to forecasting both the threats to and facilitators of apartheid's vision of white supremacy. Heightened and formalised awareness of racial population differences therefore implied systematic surveillance of the sexual behaviours of its citizenry as a strategic entry point for intervening in the health, hygiene and sanctity of apartheid's current and future children. However, in a country directed at and protective of white hegemony, some children were more important than others. It is in this light that we need to understand the racialisation of children in South Africa and the omnipresent discursive loadings of black[5] children as 'threats' to apartheid and white 'hyper-children' as embodying the future hopes and promises of apartheid's biopolitical logic.

Different regimens of hygiene, health and safety were advocated for the differently raced children of the country (Dawes & Donald, 1994). White children were constantly surveilled

and prioritised for interventions that optimised health and longevity while their black counterparts were monitored as objects of threat to white hegemony. Apartheid thus clearly illustrated that in peculiar histories, 'some [white] children were more children than other children' (Crapanzano, 1985, p. 40). This exaggerated construction of white 'hyper-childhood' required constant surveillance sweeps of white families, schools and clinics to detect obstacles to the perfect health and hygiene required for a future idealised whiteness. In the early 1940s, a formidable threat to the sanctity of hyper-childhood began to surface in the popular media of the time.

South Africa's proto-paedophiles

> Suburban police are searching for a European who has been passing as a school doctor and examining children at their homes in the absence of their parents. The man examined two children in Bertrams recently and reports have reached the police from several other suburbs concerning similar instances. The police believe the man to be the one who was responsible for the same type of offence about a year ago ("Police Searching", 1944, p. 5).

The language and the tone of this and other reports of the time bear little resemblance to our currently heavily detailed and exhaustively descriptive accounts of similar events. In fact, these reports do not register a sense of the inevitable psychological trauma of the abuse. Some four years after the Bertrams case and in the year that the National Party was to announce its election victory by prohibiting inter-racial marriage through the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, another early instance of child assault was reported in Johannesburg. Leonard, Desreé and Dorothy Nortje were assessed by a caseworker at the Department of Child Welfare on reports that the children had been abused and sexually aggravated by their parents.

> On Sunday, it was noticed that Desreé walked with great difficulty. On examination Mrs. Groesbeek found that her private parts were red and swollen and looked as though she had been interfered with...When Desreé was asked what had happened, she said her father had done it. Mrs. Groesbeek did not report the matter to the police immediately (Steyn, 1948, p. 1).

Children in these reports were not abused but 'interfered with' and in both cases their apprehension is constrained by an inability to articulate such events within our present 'vernacular of damage'. Without such a vernacular, it is impossible to consider the paedophile as a perpetrator of a damaging abuse. Yet, new technologies in the forensic examinations of children appeared to usher in new questions about the 'nature' of the rapist

behind such atrocities.

'European', male adults that sexually abused children were, from 1949, subject to intense physiological and psychobiographical profiling in an attempt to pinpoint and then specify the aetiology of the monstrosity of the perpetrator of an attack on 'European decency' (State v. van Niekerk, 1949). While such profiling instruments are telling in their scan for detail, they provide powerful indicators of the categories or clusters of discourses and social formations associated with the paedophile of the time. Together with a biographical section (see Figure 1), these categories and clusters included 'psychological traits', 'family data', 'childhood love affairs', 'social life', 'occupational life' and, perhaps most tellingly, 'sexual characteristics'.

<Insert figure 1 here>

This latter category focused the medical gaze on the body morphology of the offender (see Figure 2). Perhaps most interestingly, the biographical information required no indication of the 'race' or 'gender' of the offender (strange in the light of these customary fields in similar instruments today) because perhaps 'white' and 'male' were the only possibilities for such an offender in the knowledge systems of the time.

<Insert figure 2 here>

Together the refinements of technologies aimed at surveying children and proto-paedophiles warrant consideration for three reasons. Firstly, new advances in the forensic examinations of children imply that children's bodies were being more forcefully prioritised by the apartheid medico-legal system. Secondly, the sexological survey's apparent inability to reveal the paedophile's pathology on the surface of his body would engender a new realm of aetiological possibilities that would soon to be 'taken up' by South Africa's psychological sciences. Thirdly, the induction of the proto-paedophile described earlier in the decade had been transformed into a distinctive category of person as the paedophile proper. This paedophile was in essence a psychological 'type' that could be diagnosed. This meant that the subject of study (by implication) was classed as a psychological subject rather than a primitive object. This distinction became an important means of understanding why white men were classed as paedophiles while black men were dismissed as typical and rapacious criminals under apartheid's racist logic. Thus, the simultaneous surveillance of white children

by apartheid's social epidemiologists and dangerous white individuals by its psychological sciences was cemented in the early 1950s and was to attain greater density and purpose over the next ten years.

Hierarchies of value

The development of evermore 'refined' technologies by which to assess and classify apartheid's 'whiteness' continued to preoccupy its social sciences. In 1962, the National Nutrition Research Institute for Scientific and Industrial Research "which [was] interested in drawing up mean standards of height and weight for all population groups in South Africa" ("Afrikaans boys", 1962) conducted a survey to establish the required infant anatomical information in 1962.

> The institute recently carried out a limited survey among European nursery school children in Pretoria. In all, 679 children in 15 nursery schools were examined. They were classified according to age, sex, English-speaking, Afrikaans - speaking, Jewish and other ("Afrikaans boys", 1962, p. 3).

Notwithstanding the fact that the survey made no provision for the measurement of black infants (in the 'other' category), the most popularised finding of the research was that "Afrikaans boys are slightly taller and heavier than English-speaking boys at three years" [a] child's height and weight are often important pointers to his state of health" ("Afrikaans boys", 1962).

While the management of white children within the 'correct' practices of hygiene to ensure longevity was a primary concern for the apartheid government, the strange and exotic characteristics of urbanised African families and their children appeared to be taken up by a number of studies in the 1960s. A key study of the time was De Ridder's *The Personality of the Urban African in South Africa* (1961). This study aimed to measure the personality features of the urban African. This 'urban African' was quite unlike the 'raw' African that led a simple and natural life in rural South Africa. This African was part of a culture in transition. The 'offspring' of black parents seem not to qualify as 'children' within this transitional dispensation, certainly not in as much as 'children' imply a certain social and moral purity. Children growing up in the confines of the squalid conditions of the townships could not but develop "a pathological attitude towards sex" (p. 33). This pathological attitude was responsible for the disregard for moral decency and virginity amongst young girls (Rip,

1960). Urban African children were sexually aware at a very young age and brandished their sexuality to meet their own "filthy" ends (De Ridder, 1961). One of the key findings of the study was that the sexual relations of the urban African are characterised by "morally lax association, characterised by uninhibited primitivism and sexual licentiousness" (p. 160). The loose morality of these children and young adults in turn produce "illegitimate brats" (p. 33) of their own. Reports of the time calculated the illegitimacy rates of children in Alexandra Township to be 38.92 per cent of the population (De Ridder, 1961). These 'brats' grow up not knowing their fathers and continue the cycle of promiscuity. The products of the loose morality and the sexual promiscuity that they were thought to embody; black 'children', in sharp opposition to their white counterparts, were constructed as vagrants and delinquents; "illegitimate" (p. 33) citizens in apartheid South Africa.

One year following the publication of De Ridder's (1961) study, Dr. Petrus Jacobus Olckers was found guilty in the Pretoria regional court of trying to commit an immoral act with non-whites ("Olckers found Guilty", 1962). While this category of crime was far from uncommon in apartheid South Africa, it is perhaps the most powerful exemplar of the structure of the biopolitics of the time. The 'non-whites' in this case were unnamed girls, aged six and nine, respectively. The crime thus represented a blatant transgression of the Sexual Offences Act (1957) but Olckers was arraigned and tried under the Immorality Amendment Act (1950). The logic of this escalation of 'race' over age was conceivable in a context in which 'black' childhood was less important than policing the sexual divide between South Africa's 'races'. Another important example of the supplanting of childhood by 'race' during this time was pronounced in a heated debate on the legitimacy of abortion under apartheid rule.

> Abortion must be legalised in the case of rape or incest, or if the life of the mother was endangered, a Ned Geref Kerk minister pleaded in Pretoria last night. He is the Rev. Henno Cronje who was addressing the Northern Transvaal Synod of the church. He said under certain circumstances abortion could be justified without contradicting Christian principles. He cited as an example a pregnancy that might result from the rape of a woman by a man of another race ("Abortion after Rape", 1972, p. 7).

In the very same year, and as a stark reminder of the raced distinction between apartheid's white hyper-children and its black 'brats', Mr. William Frederick van der Merwe, 19, of Ferre Street, Bertrams, was sentenced to death for the rape of two white minors. The judge, echoing the politics of the time emphasised that his sentence was motivated by a single but powerful imperative; '[t]he public is entitled to be protected' (The State v. van der Merwe, 1972, p.

20).

Embodied in the juxtaposition of these cases of 1972, we witness precisely the politics that would catapult the monstrosity of the paedophile into the South African present. Above all, the apartheid public needed protection. Whether this protection took the form of the termination of a 'miscegenated' child or capital punishment for a transgression against whiteness, precious white childhood and the dangerous individuals that threatened it had been identified as key surveillance targets in South Africa's 'race war'.

Enemies of the state

In the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings by black youth in 1976, apartheid sought to allay the anxiety of the electorate through two interrelated strategies. Firstly, the state required macro-political investments in the policing of segregation and an overt repression of an omnipresent "black peril" that was concentrated on the borders of the state (Butchart, Hamber, Terre Blanche & Seedat, 1997). This was accomplished through the mobilisation of conscripted white youth as soldiers on these borders. Secondly, the growing population of 'Africans' in the country that had prompted attempts at greater statistical surveillance in the late 1960s appeared to be growing exponentially. In fact, the population surveillance technologies that were rooted to the formative years of apartheid could no longer account for the number of 'Bantu' within its borders. Despite the amendment to the Statistics Act in 1965, the Bureau of Census and Statistics conceded that the scope of their coverage was limited and that the most obvious point of ascertaining and intervening in population trajectories lay in its continued monitoring of white children. This mandate laid the foundation for apartheid demography's 'carefully planned social, economic and political war on its own [black] children in the interest of maintaining white privilege" (Lockhat & van Niekerk, 2000, p. 292).

In effect then, apartheid South Africa was involved in two concurrent wars. The first was spectacular within and on the country's borders. The second was arithmetical, demographic; biopolitical. By the mid-1970s, both were faltering. The 'border wars' were not effective and the surveillance machinery required to count and 'race' populations and territories was overwhelmed. The influx of populations that were constantly disrupting the apartheid political arithmetic in the 1980s forced a reconstitution of black children, such that what Posel (2000) calls the 'uncountable' and their children could be counted. In a stark reversal of

priorities, statistical systems moved away from counting and charting 'Bantu' bodies as objects to establishing Black people as subjects that were indeed legitimate targets for psycho-social studies. Government funding for Bantu studies increased and research institutes were commanded to target black children as points of survey and enquiry that extended beyond height and weight and recognised the possibilities for the possible preciousness of black childhood. The controversy surrounding the International Year of the Child in 1979 was a key event in this change. Although the government did not officially recognise the event (as it was excluded from the activities of the United Nations' General Assembly at this time), the media expressed a visible interest in underscoring the importance of children in South Africa. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and public interest groups scheduled national seminars that bore the theme, 'The Child of Today is the World of Tomorrow', as early as 1978 (Ward, 1978). Despite these organisations pledging support to children of all races, a number of civil society actors drew attention to the blatant discrepancies in the health and welfare of white and black children.

Through such conferences and reports, the health and future of black children began to be articulated outside of the former constraints of political insurgency in fragments of popular and political commentary. These discourses gradually began to introduce the black child into the public health languages that had, for at least six decades, been the exclusive domain of white children. As we would expect, these discourses began to resist the black child as an illegitimate citizen of South Africa. In a letter to *The Post*, a prominent educationist and lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand forged in language what practice had made so abundantly clear.

> Regarding nationality this [is something the black child] has been robbed of. Although physically they are in South Africa, they are not considered nationals. The state robbed them of their nationality via appropriate legislation. They are aliens in their country of birth ("This was not", 1979, p. 4).

A small cohort of health and education professionals at this time attempted to resist the sovereign structures that took black minors as the enemy, opting instead to reassert their status as citizens, as full 'children', thus inscribing them into the same code of more subtle psychosocial surveillance as their white contemporaries. In essence, as early as 1978, the rudiments of what would become a wider project aimed at disciplining and subjectifying rather than objectifying black children could be discerned. At this time, however these

rudiments did little to disrupt the domination of white children in public biopolitical discourse. White children still dominated public representations of health in the early 1980s in South Africa. Along with both the newly defined mental and physical indices of health, public biopolitical discourse introduced new constructions, new objects, speaking subjects and institutional referents for the discursive elaboration of childhood life in South Africa.

Apparently coinciding but perhaps informing these developments, was the declaration of a state of emergency by P.W. Botha in July 1985 (Marsh & Szanya, 2000). In a formal affirmation of apartheid, Botha pledged his continued desire to preserve Afrikaner hegemony in the republic. Just prior to this declaration, Westcott (1984) conducted one of the earliest hospital-based studies of the sexual abuse of children at the Red Cross Memorial Hospital in Cape Town. The study included only 18 cases. In the same year of the declaration of the state of emergency, a pioneering article in the *South African Medical Journal* announced that child molestation in South Africa was finally being better recognised as a serious threat to the health of its children and the country (Cohen, 1985).

The institutional culmination of these discourses came in the form of the establishment of the Child Protection Unit (CPU) of the South African Police Force (SAPF) in 1986. The unit represented the first formal police service dedicated to the protection of children. Beginning in 1987 with the publication of correct procedures for the treatment of child sexual abuse (Winship & Key, 1987), the sexual abuse of black children became an object of study for medicine. In such texts, black children were transformed from a savage threat to apartheid sovereignty to the victims of such sovereign oppression itself. No longer did black children embody threats to the integrity of an apartheid state but were rapidly constructed to represent a group that was particularly vulnerable to the injustices of it. In a broad disciplinary sweep that represented both an epistemic and historical reversal, all children became South African. This disciplining of black children was characterised by the emergence of a number of organisations and policies that pledged to deracialise and protect South African childhood beginning with the 1988 national roll-out of *Childline*, which was established in Natal in 1986 and the establishment of Resources aimed at Preventing Child Abuse and Neglect (RAPCAN) in 1989. Finally, the CPU had secured consistent budgetary allocations by 1990.
Concurrent with the democratisation of children, cases of paedophilia exploded into the popular media and filled South Africa's court files (Lasersohn, 1988; State v. Whitehead,

1987; Strelitz & Riddle, 1992). It was in late 1987 that the first extensive criminal cases describing the paedophiliac act gained public attention. In that same year, the American Psychiatric Association (APA) released the third edition of its DSM that signalled a marked change in global constructions of the paedophile as a special case of paraphilia (APA, 1994). As the category of paedophilia began to receive more attention in the global diagnostic frameworks of the time, so more and more high profile cases of fallen white patriarchs as paedophiles began to flood South African consciousness (Lasersohn, 1988; Maker, 1989; State v. Lamprecht, 1989). The gravity of these cases and the injunction to discover and uncover similar infractions on childhood were propped up by South Africa's ratification of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child in 1989.

Although by 1989 apartheid as an institution and national ideology was beginning to crumble, white suburban residents dutifully reported breeches of the Immorality Act (Johnson, 1986) and apartheid demographers still involved themselves with daily calculations of black versus white population metrics. This hybrid of the impending collapse of apartheid macropolitics and a consistently productive biopolitics appeared to provide the possibilities for the lines of pathology and 'race' to crystallise the paedophile as a threat to the existence of white children throughout the country. Typically, but unsurprisingly, these paedophiles were white and male; the very custodians of apartheid, indicted for their betrayal of apartheid's children and its future.

Traitors to the nation

In a replication of Westcott's (1984) study, Jaffe and Roux (1988) investigated an extended sample of children that had been sexually abused and were being treated at the Red Cross Hospital. Driven by similar projects, research into the child victims of sexual abuse was undoubtedly growing – indeed, as it was in other parts of the world. None of this could account though for the unprecedented levels of media attention on the themes of the paedophile and paedophiliac abuse. The public imagination came to be haunted by such themes as never before. Arguably, the most notorious of these was the Gert van Rooyen case. Towards the middle of 1989, the national media focused its attention on the disappearances of "innocent White children in the capital city" (Abendroth, van Graan & van Zyl, 1990, p. 1).

In Pretoria, fears around the disappearance of Afrikaner children grew daily. These were of

course localised fears, localised precisely to Afrikaans and conservative white communities. In fact between 1990 and 1994 the *Beeld* and *Rapport* (the country's two leading Afrikaans newspapers) together with the *Citizen* (an English newspaper established by the Nationalist government) together produced over half of the articles on van Rooyen and paedophilia in South Africa. Acts of abduction and possible sexual violations of South Africa's 'dream children' sparked widespread dread and anxiety amongst the country's white (predominantly Afrikaans) readership who were told that "There is now an ever present threat that more children will disappear" (Clarke, 1989, p. 2).

In popular form, van Rooyen came to represent the traitor of Afrikaner Nationalism. Characterised as 'Satan incarnate' (Vermaak, 1990), perpetrator of "evil" (Janssen, 1990a, 1990b), graphologists likened his writing to the scribbles of Adolf Hitler ("Evil Signature", 1990) and the van Rooyen house came to preoccupy the media for a full seven years (1989 – 1996) (Woodgate, 1996). Excavation of his house in search of clues to account for the disappearance of the girls was only terminated in 1996. In some ways then, the media's preoccupation with the van Rooyen case and the country's anxiety surrounding the disappearance of its innocent white children was more than an isolated and arbitrary case of child sex crime. Rather, the case represented a forceful event in the sustained production of the South African paedophile as an enemy of apartheid's biopolitical vision. The van Rooyen case commanded such powerful cultural purchase precisely because it presented white South Africa with the unfathomable outcome of almost 40 years of paedophile-making. In the death throes of apartheid, the greatest threat to the longevity of Afrikaner nationalism lay not in the townships but in the white community itself. The predatory paedophile was thus cast as an enemy within the centre of whiteness rather than an 'other' on the periphery of white utopia.

Coinciding with these sensationalised accounts in the media, formal social science research began to 'discover' (Haffejee, 1991) child sex crimes in communities in which they were thought not to ever have existed. CSA discourses began to take root in geographies, pathologies, genders, ages and races that had recently become public features of a new South African citizenry. The first book devoted to understanding child sexual abuse in South Africa and building profiles of paedophiles was published in 1989. *Sexual Abuse of Children in South Africa* was authored by Grant Robertson, the director of the SAPS child protection unit established in 1986. The foreword argued that South Africa's children were much safer now and that the evil of paedophilia was under control (Robertson, 1989). The public moral outcry

over the growing epidemic of child sex crime indicated quite the opposite. In the years marking the transition from apartheid to democracy, children were clearly primary targets for protection, emblems of reconciliation and the metonyms around which the fears, hopes and anxieties of a 'new' South Africa came to be clustered.

New paedophiles for a new South Africa

This reconstitution of the paedophile resulted in the sudden appearance of problematic adult-child sexual relations involving *black child rapists and abusers* (as opposed to *white paedophiles*) in 1988 and 1989. This was apparent in both popular and academic discourse as part of a broader political shift in South Africa in which socio-medical sciences attempted "to counter the state's preoccupation with strategies of sovereign domination, and replace these with a progressive-humanist alternative that emphasised the individual, liberation, and empowerment, thrusting to prominence not the sources of violence but rather its victims" (Butchart et al., 1997, pp. 244 - 245). A noteworthy academic outcome of this broader political process was the publication of *Childhood and Adversity* (Dawes & Donald, 1994). This text called for a critical reconstruction agenda for black children. In an anachronistic gaze backward the legitimacy of black children as subjects of value was firmly entrenched by a new wave of investigations that suggested that, contrary to earlier findings, van Rooyen (the archetypal South African paedophile) could also have abused black girls (Blow, 1990). In *Children of Sorrow,* Marais (1990) alerted the country to the fact that although paedophilia was identified as a pressing international problem as early as 1976, our criminal case files were only bulging some 10 years later. In sharp contrast to former constructions of black youth as 'illegitimate' delinquents, brats, criminals and potent threats to the apartheid projects, they became the visible victims of apartheid rule and post-apartheid intervention. It is difficult to overstate the degree to which this shift – one easy perhaps to take for granted today – challenged the codified world of apartheid's racist governance and ideology and that this challenge provided the necessary conditions for the sexual abuse of children to receive unprecedented public and academic attention.

Graduate psychology research projects in historically white South African universities aimed to understand the pathogenesis of the paedophile and contain this threat to children (Engelbrecht, 1989; Naude, 1989; Porter, 1994). These early academic publications had two primary foci. The first concerned the nature of the paedophile and the second the inevitable and avoidable damage the paedophiliac act caused to children and how it might be contained

and managed (Rech & Jahn, 1989). No sample appeared to lie outside the target area of South Africa for assessing the prevalence of childhood sexual abuse. Studies conducted on age cohorts that were now at the legal ages of sexual consent were surveyed in an attempt to locate a trace of sexual abuse across the full spectrum of these subjects' histories (Collings, 1991; Swartz & Levett, 1989). The human sciences began discussing just how it was possible for child sexual abuse to have avoided detection for so long. In turn, they began developing increasingly sophisticated scales and inventories for the optimum detection of any child or adult who had been the victims of paedophilia (Winship, 1989).

The Child Accident Prevention Foundation of South Africa (CAPFSA) established in 1988 (itself a product of the extension of a new concern for the health of children), extended its surveillance systems to accommodate the sexual abuse of children in 1991 ("Anticipating accidents", 1991). The legal system was quickly compelled to respond to an extension of surveillance and align itself with the surplus of paedophile cases that the social sciences were 'discovering' everywhere. Doctors responded to the call for an extension of their surveillance of children by developing more sophisticated detection modes and, of course, psychologists began refining their inventories to capture the formal psychology of both perpetrators and victims of paedophilia with greater accuracy and proficiency (Westaway, 1991). In line with the unmitigated discursive production of vulnerable children, the human sciences began developing 'best-practices' for expediting the statutory management of child sex abuse. This was primarily organised around the protection of the child witness and providing mechanisms by which the space between child and perpetrator could be maintained (van der Merwe, 1994).

Improving mechanisms for the protection of children on the streets led to a call for re-examining South Africa's laws for prosecuting and punishing child molesters. One of the most popularly supported vehicles for such protection entailed the development of a national register of paedophiles:

> There has also been a call for a national register of convicted child molesters who are released from jail and allowed to back into society, to be circulated within the police force and at institutions where children are cared for (Devereaux & Olswong, 1990, p. 4).

Although this register never transpired, this call for the national registration of paedophiles

following the completion of their sentences implied that child sexual abusers required consistent monitoring even after having been imprisoned for a crime and represented at least a call for greater surveillance of potential child sexual abusers. Unsurprisingly, casting the surveillance net wider resulted in the 'discovery' of child sexual abuse in black communities. The 'uncovering' of child sexual abuse in black communities led to very different inferences about its perpetration. The focus of these studies concentrated primarily on children as the victims of abuse and rape; perpetrators were mentioned in passing. In order to further study the effect of child sexual abuse of black children the Bara/Soweto Child Abuse Liaison Forum was established in Soweto in 1992. The forum embarked on a widespread information collection drive. The purpose of such data collection concerned developing a child abuse database from which to create counselling and other support systems for victims of child sexual abuse in the townships (Sacoor & Wagstaff, 1992). Everyday interaction with these township children led some researchers to take seriously Levett's (1993) assertion that damage is not necessarily a universal and inevitable outcome of CSA. Ironically, such forms of critique continued to disqualify blackness from preciousness and therefore continued to racialise the perpetrator-victim typology for paedophilia. This 'raced' typology divided white children as the victims of white paedophiles from black children as the victims of black rapists. This perhaps partly accounts for the paucity of black men in the paedophile profiling work done by psychologists at the time (Craven, 1998).

As the APA published the fourth edition of the DSM which recast the acting out of paedophilia as being driven by specific forms of 'sexual attraction to males, females or both'(APA, 1994) , so paedophilia had emerged as "a crime of epidemic proportions" (Lewis, 1997, p. 24) in South Africa: "The number of [child sexual abuse] cases reported to the police increased 89 percent during the five-year period from 1988-1992" ("Sharp Rise", 1994). An emphasis on the success of apartheid's white supremacist ideology as determined by its white children in South Africa seemed to have provided a type of biopolitical schematic for the future of South Africa as a new nation. Just as apartheid South Africa was constructed as a new Afrikaner nation in 1948 so the elections of 1994 demarcated the nation as 'new'. This new nation required building and so its children once again became pivotal symbols of South Africa's future. In an uncanny echoing of the early rudiments of the emergence of the paedophile in white communities under apartheid governance, research and reports on child sexual abuse in the black communities of democratic South Africa began appearing with increasing frequency. In short, the democratisation of South Africa demanded a

democratisation of paedophilia. Black child rapists were frequently reported as part of the democratisation of a desegregating South Africa. Critically important, however, was that these offenders were not yet understood as paedophiles, in the sense that they were not yet a psychological type or a threat to the non-preciousness of black childhood. By 1994, it seems that the early change in dispensation had not brought immediate value to the black children required for a paedophiliac transgression. Furthermore, an early change in government had had also not yet sufficiently restructured the archival sexual constructs of black masculinity, which remained rooted in the language of promiscuity and opportunism (Cassiem, 1997; Posel, 2005). Together these dual disqualifications of blackness from childhood preciousness and psychologisable black maleness constrained the surfacing of the black paedophile as a psychological 'type'.

However, new discoveries of CSA in 'black' communities formed an important theme of the Ninth National Psychiatry Conference held in 1996. A paper on the full spectrum of risk factors for child sexual abuse in disadvantaged communities was delivered that viewed black children as vulnerable (Pillay & van der Veen, 1997). After the conference, a variety of state research bodies pledged to respond to these risk factors and elevate the "plight of children" to the top of South Africa's research agenda (Schurink & Schurink, 1996). These measures included further refining mechanisms by which children could safely testify in court, restructuring the criminal justice system to accommodate the recent increase of child sex crime (Schurink, 1996) and streamlining the Child Protection Unit of the SAPS (Pienaar, 1996).

The paedophile as a threat to the rights of all South Africa's children

Conferences such as these pointed to the growing inclusion of black children into the precious figure of the South African child and the prioritisation of child sex abuse prevention became a guiding force for the establishment of many civil society movements. Two of the most visible of these movements were the South African Stop Child Abuse Association and the Child Abuse Alliance.

> The Child Abuse Alliance believes that every child has the right to a safe and supportive environment. Childhood should be a time of innocence, spontaneity and self-development. Creating a caring society is everybody's business. This means establishing a culture of human rights, such as respect for the dignity and worth of others, protection against physical and verbal abuse, freedom from discrimination and

> respect for privacy. Long term and lasting change requires a collective community effort ("Child Abuse", 1997, p. 13).

This is an important development because the category of childhood had, in the period, 1948 to 1992, been solely defined by white children – as key figures targeted for the optimisation of white generational succession – after 1994 South African biopolitics constructed all children as valuable to its nation-building project. Lobbying and advocacy by collective community effort resulted in the formulation of a National Child Protection Strategy in 1997 (Naidoo, 1997; Pillay, 1997). This signified the final shift in the historical processes by which the child sex crime was relocated from the periphery of medico-legal discourse in the early 1940s to mainstream societal engagement in South Africa in 1997. Everybody became responsible for every child before the law. Civil society, lobbyists and researchers began to voice calls for the treatment and containment of paedophiles (Zabow, 1996) and new surveillance technologies paid particular attention to the spaces in which children worked, played, lived and prayed. Priests, teachers, social workers and eventually mothers were to become inevitably implicated in a crime that they were formerly constructed as being incapable of committing. So as apartheid began giving way to a transformed and deracialised citizenry, Zionist priests and Sangomas (African traditional spiritual leaders) were found who repeatedly sodomised young girls and boys ("Seripe, 1995; "Sangoma", 2001). Paedophiles were uncovered in the very police stations (Altenroxel, 2001) that Pienaar (1996) had indicated were committed to the protection of children.

> A 39-year old police sergeant was arrested in the Naledi police station by his colleagues last Friday after the SA Stop Child Abuse (Sasca) organisation picketed the station to demand his arrest for allegedly sexually abusing his four-and a half year old daughter (Seripe, 1995, p. 3).

In so doing, the surveillance of the children of a democratic South Africa produced an ongoing base of paedophiles, abusers, molesters and rapists in the former sanctuaries of childhood. These included the school, home, church and shelter. Child rapists were 'discovered' in poor black children's shelters ("Indecent Assault", 1993) and paedophiles were 'discovered' in the upper echelons of the South African clergy ("No to paedophiles", 1997).

Police statistics continued to provide an important measure of the magnitude of the ever-increasing problem of child sexual abuse. In 1997, the Crime Information Analysis Centre

(CIAC) announced that 8 864 children had been raped during the previous year (Marshall & Herman, 1998). In 1998, Resources Aimed at the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect RAPCAN published what was to be the third significant text dedicated to studying and reporting on child sexual abuse in South Africa. *Child Sex Abuse in South Africa* (1998) (Marshall & Herman, 1998) painted a very different picture of possible perpetrators to both Robertson's (1989) and Marais' (1990) texts. The case studies cited focused almost exclusively on black children and the construction of possible perpetrators was inclusive.

> There is no profile that is applicable across the board. Perpetrators have all sorts of different appearances, physically and emotionally. It may be convenient to lump them with poverty, mental illness and poor parenting but often perpetrators hide behind the pillars of society, working as high court judges, priests, child-care workers and doctors (Marshall & Herman, 1998, p. 17).

In the same year, the first South African study that explicitly aimed to generate a phenomenology of paedophilia contributed to the growing data gleaned from the adult-child paedophilia dyad (Ivey & Simpson, 1998). By 1998, public outcry concerning paedophilia reached a new level of society: a group of protesters gathered outside one courthouse calling for the death of a paedophile and his lawyer (Rademeyer, 1998). Furthermore, in an extension of the mapping of the full life spectrum of perpetrators, various studies of the processes by which the abused become abusers highlighted the role of the family and primary socialisation in the (re)production of paedophilia (Hlophe, 1999). Many articles offering analyses of this sort were published in the journal *ChildrenFirst*, which focused on children and childhood in South Africa. In a telling discursive turn, this newly re-titled journal (previously *Recovery*) elevated the child to a primary priority for the country. A clear moral premise of this journal was by now the familiar insistence that all adult South Africans were responsible for the future of the nation through the healthy guardianship of her children.

Public health and the diffusion of risk

By the turn of the century, public health research began to emphasise that paedophilia was not the discrete concern of psychopathology or the law but in fact represented a far broader ecology of risk (Lalor, 2004). The almost never-ending possibilities for surfacing child sex crime meant that the figure of the paedophile fragmented and gave way to being understood as one of a variety of perpetrator across this ecological model. This fragmentation of the figure of what was considered primarily a psychological object for the last four decades slowly began to lend itself to inter-disciplinary study as a public health problem. A case in

point was the establishment, in 1999, of the first journal devoted to reporting on research on child abuse in South Africa (*Child Abuse Research in South Africa,* (CARSA)), the official publication forum for the South African Professional Society on the Abuse of Children (SAPSAC). The society emphasised a multi-disciplinary approach to the prevention and management of child abuse and called for an emphasis on preventative models and approaches to *child sexual abuse* (CSA). This term was frequently used in studies in the early eighties but was now the public health phrase of convention when referring to adult-child sexual acts. Rephrasing adult-child sex acts in this way distilled the complicated discursive overlays in the construction of the paedophile into a risk model for the phenomenon of child sexual abuse itself. This movement represented an extension of the statistical surveillance methods consolidated during apartheid into an "epidemiological renaissance" (Butchart et al., 1997, p. 247). Former prevalence measures that described widespread perpetrations of paedophilia came to be understood as the first step in a wider prevention project that took CSA as its object rather than focusing on the paedophile per se.

> Where the traditional approaches individualise the problem by locating the causes and consequences of violence within that person, the public health approach recognises the neurological, physiological make up and behaviour as the outcome of environmental and socialisation factors operating at the level of the community and society (Butchart et al., 1997, pp. 249-250).

Public health discourse shifted paedophilia from the site of the individual victims and perpetrators to the broader arena of individual, community and societal contexts. It surveyed the broad terrain of sexual abuse and allowed the media to more easily extract the figure of the paedophile as the perversely desiring, psychopathological, morally deviant and incurable nucleus to adult-child sexual events from within this ecology of risk.

The emergence of the black paedophile

The public health approach and the constitution of CSA represented the logical descent of the expanding discourse of paedophilia that had begun many years earlier. The monstrous figure of the paedophile that had policed the periphery of our constructions of childhood was not however wholly displaced from formal psychological academic discourse or the popular imagination. Discourses of the paedophile were not supplanted by discourses of CSA but seemed to grow alongside them. Newspaper constructions of the sexual abuse of children in black communities began to extract the figure of the black paedophile from the burgeoning

languages of CSA. This extraction took a particular form. The description of a mobilised and organised community, a community in which social and economic threats appear to be relatively contained, extracted the figure of the desiring, monstrous and pathological paedophile as the fundamental threat to its valuable future.

> A man labelled a paedophile by the community has been charged with sexual abuse involving 10 boys he is alleged to have sodomised over a short period of time. Morobe, a well-known figure who stays with his parents in Sebokeng was apprehended by the community…Angry students accompanied by their teachers and parents, who packed the courtroom on Thursday vowed to take matters into their own hands if Morobe was granted bail. They threatened to kill Morobe and hand his body to police in a coffin. Morobe who is also called "A Monster" by residents faces more than 10 counts of sodomy and intimidation for allegedly threatening some of his victims and witnesses (Mahlangu, 1999).

In 2004, in a strange anachronistic mirroring of the van Rooyen case, the South African media announced that the police had discovered the most prolific paedophile to date. In the Supreme Court in August 2004, Fanwell Khumalo was given 42 life sentences for 38 child rapes. Judge Max Labe expressed to this "callous paedophile" what had been reserved for white paedophiles in apartheid South Africa.

> You should be removed from society until you will not be able to return. You are a married man with children. It is terrible that a father should have no respect for children. South African society is plagued by pandemic crimes where children are abused. Children are entitled to protection from the indignity you subjected them to (Mkhwanazi, 2004).

Ten years after the fall of apartheid, the monstrous figure of the black paedophile had emerged as a social and political danger. This version of the figure of the paedophile now informs the quotidian landscape of objects in the CSA literature as well as in the inventory of sensationalised subjects in the popular media. In the same year of the 'invention' of the black paedophile, the first full volume South African academic text on child sexual abuse was published. The foreword of this 500 page text describes the contours of what we have seen emerging as early as 1944 in South Africa.

> Some say that the incidence of this horrendous crime is increasing; others say that there is a higher rate of reporting of such abuse; yet others say that such crimes have been exploited by sensationalists. Whatever the strengths and weaknesses of such arguments, surely it must be clear to us as adults, as parents, as human beings – that while even one child suffers from this horror, that is one child too many. And we all

> know that we are not dealing with one child or an isolated case. Our estimates may not always be accurate, but those working in communities know the enormity of the problem. The incidence of child sexual abuse in southern Africa is high enough to be seen as an assault, a war upon our children. And in the African tradition that I have been part of, any assault on our children is an assault on ourselves – our integrity, our families, our communities, indeed the very essence of humanity (Machel, 2004, p. ix).

Therefore, while the interdisciplinary focus of public health discourse continues its description and analysis of the sexual abuse of children, our media, our legal systems, our forensic profilers, our criminologists and perhaps, most importantly, our psychologists, constantly extract the paedophile as the dangerous figure that defines its extremities. Just as the child emerged as a symbol for all that was good and sacred, so the paedophile stands as a constant symbolic threat to the boundaries by which we define our nations, communities, families and indeed, 'ourselves'.

CONCLUSION

The South African paedophile did not exist as a figure waiting to be discovered by social science. Rather, this figure is surfaced in, through and against the discourses and material conditions that contour the apartheid history. Under a dispensation that privileged and idealised white childhood, South African popular media, demography, psychology and criminology traced very specific lines of objectification to produce profiles of paedophiles that reflected a threat to both Afrikaner and subsequently 'new South African' nation-building. In the archive this figure is produced through two interrelated racisms. The first disqualified black children from the preciousness that characterised their white counterparts as relays to an idealised apartheid future. The second disqualified black adults from the requisite set of human traits that were subtle and sophisticated enough to warrant psychiatric evaluation, diagnosis and treatment. The highly psychologised figure of the black paedophile could not be 'discovered' because he could not exist in the townships or within the stunted psychological structure within which racist apartheid medico-legal health systems located him. He could not exist furthermore, because the children of the townships were themselves criminalised and 'unhuman'. The genealogy of the South African paedophile thus offers us a stark reminder that understandings of the impact of apartheid cannot only be reduced to the study of the quotidian experiences of its subjective or experiential effects. Rather, the place of the paedophile in the apartheid archive compels us to acknowledge that that even this figure cannot be effectively researched without considering the historical co-ordinates that so powerfully contoured its emergence as an important object of study and social intervention

within South Africa's highly racialised systems of thought.

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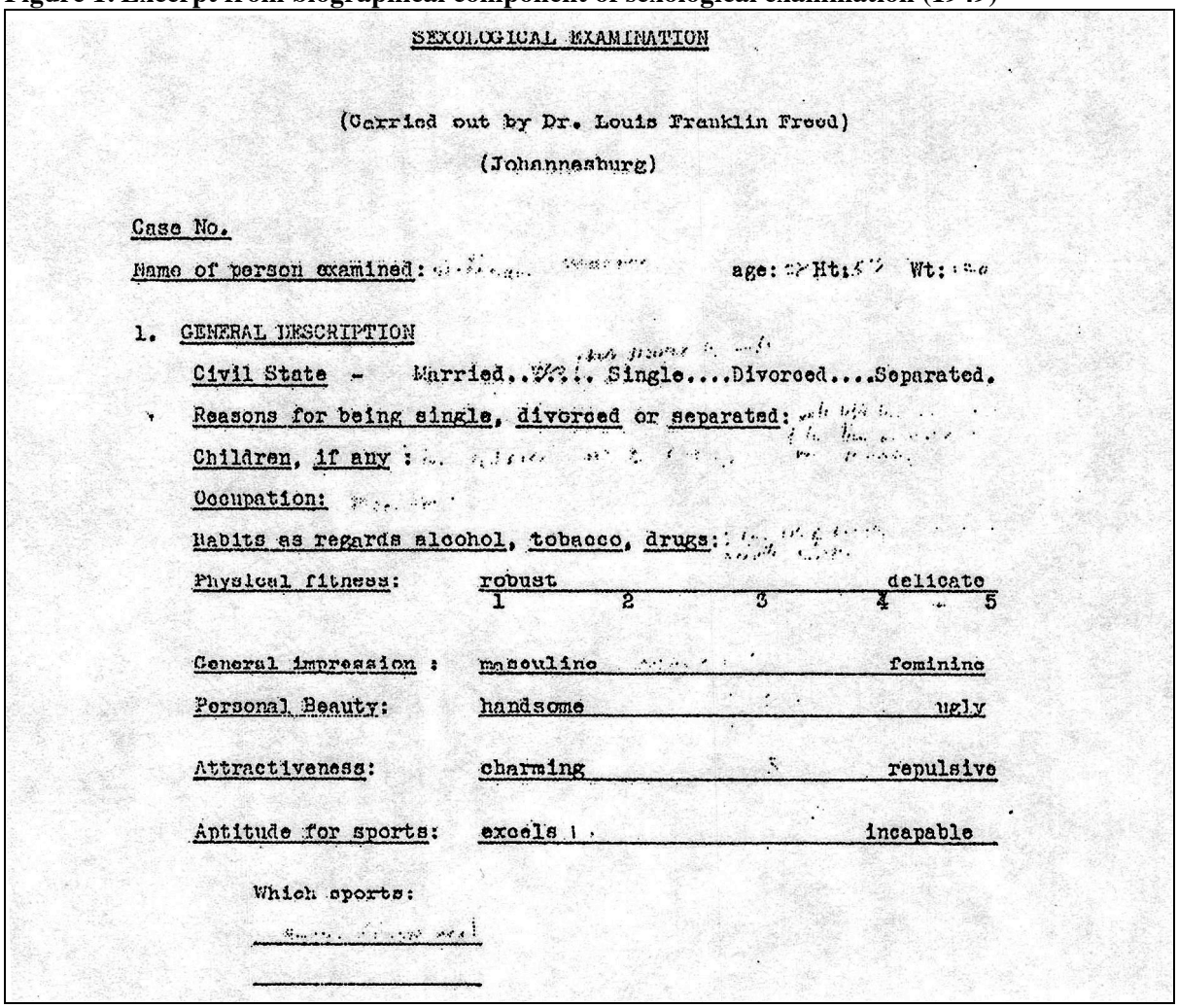
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Figure 1. Excerpt from biographical component of sexological examination (1949)



SEXOLOGICAL EXAMINATION

(Carried out by Dr. Louis Franklin Freed)

(Johannesburg)

Case No.

Name of person examined: ... age: ... Ht: ... Wt: ...

1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Civil State - Married.. ... Single....Divorced....Separated.

Reasons for being single, divorced or separated: ...

Children, if any : ...

Occupation: ...

Habits as regards alcohol, tobacco, drugs: ...

Physical fitness: robust 1 2 3 4 5 delicate

General impression : masculine ... feminine

Personal Beauty: handsome ... ugly

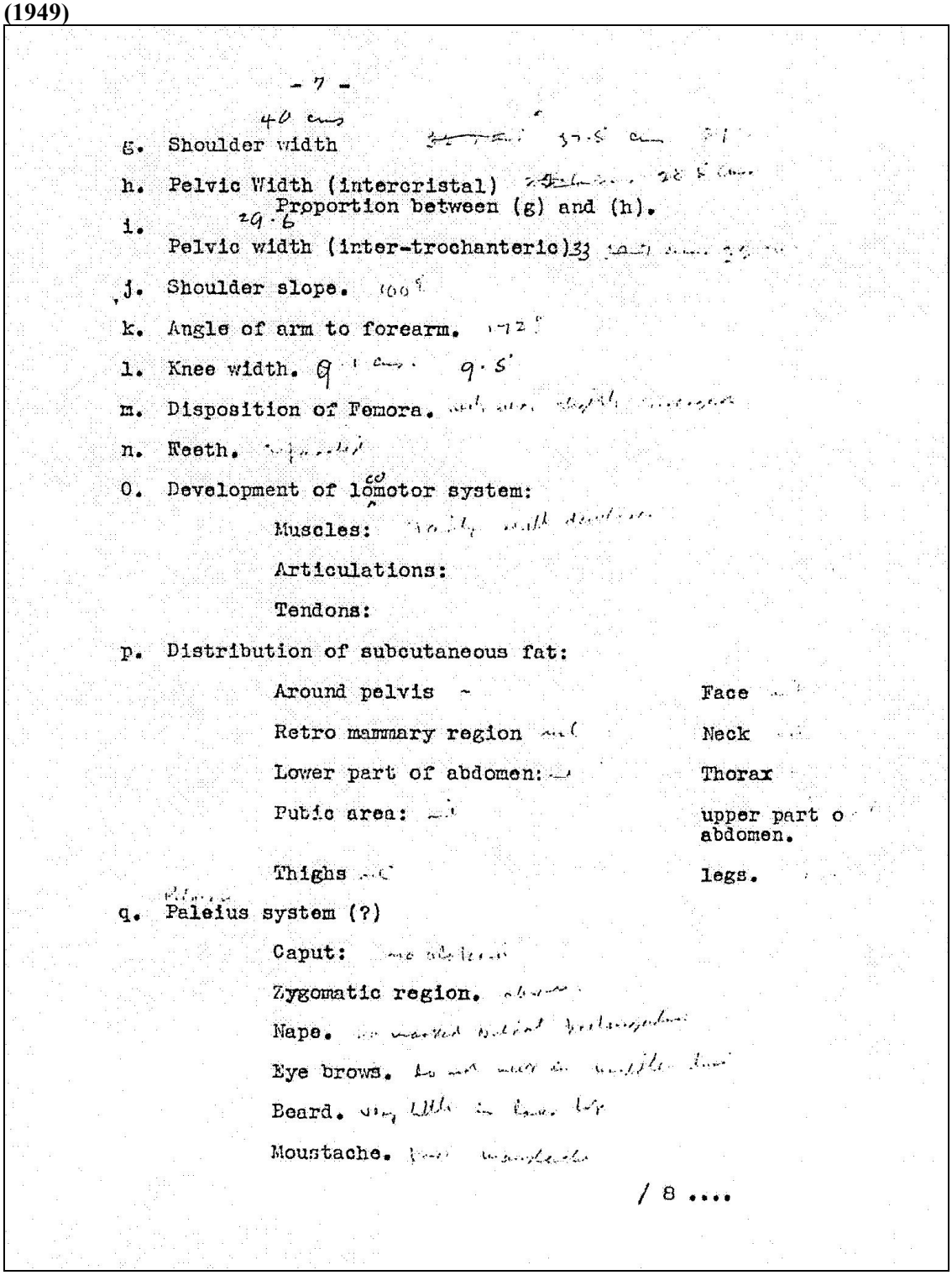
Attractiveness: charming ... repulsive

Aptitude for sports: excels ... incapable

Which sports: ...

Source: Freed (1949)

Figure 2. Excerpt from secondary sexual characteristics component of sexological examination (1949)



- 7 -

g. Shoulder width 40 cm 37.5 cm

h. Pelvic Width (intercristal) 28 cm

i. Proportion between (g) and (h). 29.6

Pelvic width (inter-trochanteric) 33

j. Shoulder slope. 100°

k. Angle of arm to forearm. 172°

l. Knee width. 9 cm. 9.5

m. Disposition of Femora.

n. Teeth.

O. Development of locomotor system:

Muscles:

Articulations:

Tendons:

p. Distribution of subcutaneous fat:

Around pelvis	Face
Retro mammary region	Neck
Lower part of abdomen:	Thorax
Pubic area:	upper part of abdomen.
Thighs	legs.

q. Paleius system (?)

Caput:

Zygomatic region.

Nape.

Eye brows.

Beard.

Moustache.

/ 8 ....

Source: Freed (1949)

NOTES

[1] Beginning its coverage in 1987 Sabinet's *Index to South African Periodicals* (ISAP) covers articles from more than 900 South African periodicals. Specialist periodicals are indexed fully. General and popular periodicals are indexed selectively. This database is compiled under the ownership of the National Library of South Africa.

[2] A full elaboration of the genealogical method lies outside of the scope of this article. For a comprehensive reading and extension of the theoretical underpinnings and guiding principles of genealogy see Hook (2005).

[3] Some of these titles changed during the 50-year period analysed.

[4] I make reflexive use of the term race and its associated apartheid categories such as black and white throughout this study. In keeping with writing a history of the present, I make use of these terms in this study. To guard against the risk of presentism, I do not place these terms in inverted commas and, following the precedents set by other critical histories that include race amongst their objects of study (see Butchart, 1998; Hale, 1998), neither do I capitalise them. When these terms do appear otherwise, I am indicating that they were problematised by the time and contexts in which they occurred. In no way do I accept these categories as essentialist descriptors. Indeed, I use the study itself to problematise them because the analysis exposes the specific discursive and ideological functions of these constructs within the changing dispensations of South African governance.

[5] The term 'black' refers to all people designated as 'non-white' under apartheid nomenclature, unless otherwise indicated.