



Women's Body as A Site of Contestation: The Case of Betty in Big Brother Africa Reality Show and A Backlash It Triggers among the Ethiopian Social Media Users.

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ABSTRACT

Women's Body as A Site of Contestation: The Case of Betty in Big Brother Africa Reality Show and A Backlash It Triggers among the Ethiopian Social Media Users

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This thesis examines the discourse of people reaction on Betty's sexual act in Big Brother Africa reality show in online media and message boards. The focus is on how online media users write and talk about Betty's "sex act" on this reality show, the discourses they draw on, how they construct and position women in our society. The study drew on a sample of users' comments from four online media sites in Ethiopia, Addis Zefen.com, Big Brother Africa, Dire Tube, and The Reporter, ranging from June to September, 2013. A corpus of 120 comments was analyzed using the Critical Discourse Analysis technique described by Norman Fairclough. Within the sampled texts reveal that there is many problematic frames and representation of Betty in particular women in general. The reaction is outlined with patriarchal contexts. The analysis of the comments demonstrates Betty's sexual act was generally considered to be a dishonoring and shameful act within the actual text of online media users' reaction and retort, although there are some neutral languages, several of the comments directly compared Betty's action with prostitutes. Besides, to counter the act, many online media users resorted to hegemonic discourses comprising patriarchalism, ostracizing Betty's sexual act. Most of the discourses mobilized in forum tried to deprive Betty of her power to control and decide over her body and sexuality by excluding her as a deviant. The findings also indicate that online media users partly used patriarchal discourses on women and views of the world are constructed by encoding particular men-made ideologies.

Although not as much in number as Betty's deriders, some sympathetic views have also been aired.

They hurled a lot about unfairness of the public reaction against her, which they describe as "social tyranny". They dubbed her critics as hypocrites who admonish something what they do in private, in closed doors.

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List of Acronyms

BBA- Big Brother Africa

CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis

DA- Discourse Analysis

RT- Reality Television

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background

Amongst the different program genres provided by television stations for entertainment, reality television programs (also called reality television) represent one of the major program types on modern day television. The reality television show, as a relatively new media genre, has achieved huge popularity cross the world since its occurrence.

According to Biltereyst (2004), since the early 1990s there has been a wide public and academic interest in the explosion and success of new factual television formats associated with reality TV (hereafter: RT). RT has become a widely popular term, referring to various program types such as docu soaps, reality crime shows, home video programs, wider human interest programs, or even more hybrid programs such as Big Brother, with a mix of real life soap and game show elements. Although RT has become a tendency, a loose meta-genre or a container concept, most viewers and critics share the feeling that it refers to various factual television formats with a high reality claim, stressing the actions and emotions of real people (non-actors), often using a combination of 'authentic' (e.g. Police, security or surveillance images) and staged images (e.g. Fictionalized reconstructions, post-factum interviews).

Reality television show is, defined by Hill (2005) as "a genre of television programming that presents purportedly unscripted dramatic or humorous situations, documents actual events, and usually features ordinary people instead of professional actors, sometimes in a contest or other

situation where a prize is awarded”, have grown in popularity since the 1990s, even though there have been ‘reality shows’ running since the 1940s.

Reality television show is a relatively new genre of television programming that claims to represent reality (Cavender et al., 1999). This genre became very popular during the late 1990s in the United States with the success of the shows like Survivor, Big Brother, Blind Date, etc, and it soon burgeoned in many other countries across the world as well (Nabi et al., 1993). According to Nabi et al. (1993), reality television shows, although lacking a clear and cohesive industry definition, generally have the same elements that distinguish them from other television genres: (1) —reall people portraying themselves rather than performing fictional roles, (2) filmed at least in part in their living or working environment, (3) without a script, (4) with events placed in a narrative context, (5) for the primary purpose of viewer entertainment. A wide range of subgenres of reality television shows have developed along the years, including dating/romance, makeover/lifestyle, hidden camera, talent, competition/game, docusoap, situation comedy, law enforcement, and court (Krakowiak, Kleck & Tsay, 2006).

Reality TV programs are a huge part of our pop culture, especially since the year 2000 when they started attracting a lot of attention. There is a lot of controversy about reality TV, but it generates a large amount of revenue while not being expensive to create. It has reflected and, in some cases, influenced, many different aspects of our society, including sexuality, gender roles, family values, celebrity status, conquering fears and achieving dreams.

It is axiomatic that all television programming has the potential to give rise to community concerns. Television programs of many genres deal with controversial themes such as gender,

sexuality, drug use, and racial, religious and political differences. Reality television shows which focus on interactions between 'ordinary' people placed in 'extraordinary' circumstances (such as people living in a house where they are cut off from friends, family and popular media or people 'stranded' or isolated together in a remote location) are, by definition, likely to show people exhibiting attitudes and behaviors that not all members of a given community find acceptable. Individuals and groups who are concerned about ensuring we live in a society where difference is respected and there is mutual consent to all sexual and social behavior will naturally be concerned by participants who use racist, sexist, or other discriminatory language, display bullying behavior, or engage in physical or sexual harassment or assault. Other groups or individuals may be far more concerned about material that shows participants showering nude, having sexually explicit conversations or engaging in same sex relationships (Albury 2007).

The attitudes and behaviors exhibited on reality television shows are, of course, not confined to reality television shows. They are a manifestation of attitudes and behaviors that are prominent in everyday life. Different individuals and community groups make moral and social sense of them on the basis of different sets of values (Ibid)

Many critics of reality TV have accused the shows of perpetuating damaging ethnic, cultural and gender stereotypes, contending that viewers might take the shows at face value, failing to realize that the "reality" depicted on screen is nothing more than a heavily-scripted producer driven ratings ploy.

According to Della Sega at www.cleveland.com, "Reality TV shows are fueling a cultural shift, especially in girls." Sega also thinks that reality TV has played a strong role in the rise of online bullying and also says that it causes ripples of social change by encouraging young women to feel "the thrill of being mean". Senior Juliana Shirey also has a strong voice when it comes to reality TV. Shirey says that reality TV "demoralizes traditional family values". Shirey also states, "[even though] it makes you feel better about your own life, reality TV has a negative effect on teen behavior."

The Big Brother series is an international franchise which has run in the United States, United Kingdom, and some other countries of Europe and Australia. The African version, Big Brother Africa, is produced by Endemol (in South Africa) and involves 14 contestants from African countries.

Bethlehem Abera, Betty, an Ethiopian contestant at the eighth season of Big Brother Africa, a reality show, joined the spotlight after an infrared footage of her having sex with the contestant from Sierra Leone hit the web. A teacher by profession, Betty became controversial after the footage went viral on the internet. The reality show that brings individuals from varying countries to a home located in Johannesburg, South Africa, to live there for three months, without having communications with the outside world, aims to create a platform of cultural and personal exchanges between Africans. The show, broadcast mainly through M-Net, used to involve 12 countries. Ethiopia was added to the show on the fourth season broadcast in 2009. Betty's participation in show marked the fifth time that Ethiopia is represented in the show. The show lasted 91 days, while Betty was in the show for only 29 days.

A video that shows a sex scene caught on camera in the Big Brother Africa (BBA), has created outrage among Ethiopians. This video depicts the Ethiopian participant, Betty, having sex with a Sierra Leone housemate, Bolt. The eight-minute video has gone viral, creating controversy and discussion on social media, including Facebook and Twitter. Many ridiculed her calling her disgraceful names and saying that she should never come back. Others have referred to it as pornography and prostitution.

According to Addis Admas at www.Adisadmas.com, many of the comments on Facebook despise her act, saying that she does not represent Ethiopia and somehow have made it a national issue. Some of them even went so far as to create a page called 'No Vote for Betty', which has 3,720 likes, and 'Betty did not Represent Ethiopia on Big Brother Africa', which has 516 likes. On these pages many post comments saying that the act is not the custom of Ethiopians, and what she did is a shameful act. On the other hand, a few people say that there is hypocrisy among Ethiopians and it should not be a national issue. It should be rather taken as a reality TV show and an individual act. Some question the act by saying, 'How does an individual act represent a country? Or how is it a national issue? If an Ethiopian kills a person, does that mean that all Ethiopians are murderers? Or if a man rapes a girl, does that mean that all men are rapists?'

Concerning this, BBA said that the housemates do not represent their country or communities, rather they represent themselves. "Please note that none of the housemates in Big Brother, The Chase, represent their countries and/or communities. They represent themselves in the game as individuals," BBA wrote in an email sent to The Reporter. "It is strongly communicated

throughout the show, and has been throughout each of the eight seasons created to date, that BBA housemates represent themselves only, not their countries or communities. So their decisions, actions and opinions, whether positive or negative, are their own," Big Brother Africa said.

BBA is the African version of the Big Brother reality game show, based in South Africa and transmitted on DStv. This year, season eight of the show, 28 contestants from 14 countries came to the house to live in isolation for 91 days in order to win a large sum of money. BBA has controversially included sex scenes, nudity and alcohol. Transmitting live, some ask what the restrictions are. According to DStv, the only place that they don't show is activities in the toilets, but there are also exceptions to that.

"The concept of the Big Brother reality series is to showcase individuals living relatively normally. All other areas of the Big Brother house are subject to surveillance, as this is part of the show's format. As for the question of culture, that is a question with no answer. There is no single standard definition for the culture of a country or a continent." Big Brother Africa said.

Generally, Betty's act goes controversial as it contradicts with the rather conservative mores of Ethiopians that consider explicit acts of sex as corrupt, and this gave the community concern and made her the focus of heated public debate. If one goes to online media, one will find dozens of popular articles and peoples' condemning her act on Big Brother African TV show; similarly, one will stumble on a number of comments and retort on her action.

This study focuses on how online media users write and talk about Betty's "sex act" on this reality show, the discourses they draw on, how they construct and position women in our society. As there is a significant gap in a scholarly study in the area, the study take aim to fill this gap.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Contrary to popular belief, sexuality is not exclusively driven by biology; a very significant part of it is socially constructed through legal, cultural and religious forces driven by a politico-economic agenda (Dallery 1989). Sexuality is very much a socio-cultural invention that is closely linked to power and to the processes of subjugation; as Africans, how we 'do' and experience sexuality is heavily influenced by society and culture. How and with whom we have sex, what we desire, what we take pleasure in, how we express that pleasure, why, under what circumstances and with what outcomes, are all forms of learned behavior communicated inter alia through the institutions of culture, religion and law (ibid.). It is through these social institutions and social relationships that sexuality is reified or given meaning.

So, who is it that 'sets the agenda' and imparts these 'sexual truths' as the universal norm? These are mainly people who, at a particular historical point in time, exercise power and control discourse—politicians, media houses , cultural leaders, religious leaders, mainstream educationists, multilateral institutions—using tools such as the law, culture, religion, media and educational textbooks to disseminate and legitimize these 'truths,' thereby enforcing compliance. What counts as 'truth' is normally determined by those

who hold power in order to further their interests. Hence a patriarchal-capitalist 'truth' about sexuality will further male market dominance in society (Tamale 2013).

Regulating and controlling women's sexuality, therefore, is central to the survival of patriarchy and capitalism. It represents a vital and necessary way of instituting and maintaining the domesticity of African women, with the link between women's sexuality and domesticity manifested in the regulation and censoring of women's reproductive capacity, behavior, movements, dress, appearance, etc. (Tamale 2004).

The concepts of sin (religious), taboo (cultural) and criminalization (legislation) play a crucial role in constructing sexuality and the manner in which African people experience it, ultimately exercising a regulatory and controlling role (Tamale 2004). The capacity of African women to control their sexual and reproductive lives and to break free from the chains of domesticity is continually curtailed by law, culture and religion (Shaikh 2011; Tamale 2004).

Sexual behavior is a product of our culture because our culture sets down the rules of proper sexual conduct and the definitions of normal and abnormal sexual behavior (Tyson, 2006). And Patriarchal cultures in Africa force women to suppress the sexuality since it is not deemed to be good behavior for women to desire or to express their sexuality and sexual pleasure publicly. This culture has rendered women's open "hook-up" firmly unthinkable and totally proscribes, even made talking about sex and pleasure taboo, especially for women. Religion has been also used to buttress these arguments. Indeed, religion – along with culture – played a major role in socialization processes, and in the development and maintenance of norms and values on sexual behavior.

Furthermore many cultures express leniency on male sexual behavior but are very proscriptive when it comes to female sexual behavior (International center for Human Rights, 1996). Males are free to experiment sexually at will before marriage whilst females have to preserve their virginity for marriage or risk tarnishing the image of the family. In addition to this, inconsistency in sexual morality is also seen in the offence of prostitution around the continent that penalizes only the sellers (the majority being women) and not the buyers (read men) of sex (Tamale, 2013)

Therefore, when women become independent and make their own choices about sex and pleasure, society clamps down on them heavily and pressurizes them to stay within the accepted boundaries in relation to sexual behavior. In most cultural society like Ethiopia, sexual behavior is private and making it public can only encourage and result distasteful or immoral reactions and responses. Take Betty, for example, she happened to participate in the Big Brother Africa TV show contest and in the meantime, unexpectedly she came out and was seen engaged in “sex act” with Sierra Leon’s Bolt. Many social media users felt that she was pushing a discourse on sexuality that was against the country’s culture and family values. Countless people on online media reply angrily in response to her sex act in public because such actions or deeds are not considered legitimate in our societies.

Betty’s sexual act in the chase show had been released on June 18, 2013 and a large number objection and heaps of retorts on her act were filling online media, especially social media. Different media practitioners, Bloggers, Journalists and a number of social media users are concerned with Betty’s public “hook-up” and gave divergent interpretation of her deed.

These divergent interpretations and concern generated a great deal of discourse on Betty's body and sexuality. This discourse is gaining an increased attention in the media; many journalists, Bloggers talk and write about it. Moreover, online media in general, social media in particular, have been transformed into effective means fueling her act and bringing her body and sexuality a focus of discussion and debate.

Despite the growing interest on this issue, no researcher has yet seriously examined these significant discussions and debates that emerged during the past couple of months subsequent to what Betty has done and acted in the Big Brother African TV show.

Thus, the researcher contends that such discourses have an important scientific and cultural significance to better understand our society's structural framework and to recognize women's role and status and freedom of choice on their body and sexuality in our society. This study will shed light on the social, cultural and political factors that might have influenced people's angry reactions.

1.3 Objectives:

1.3.1 General Objectives

The objective of this study is to closely examine the reactive texts produced by online media users in relation to Betty's sexual act in the reality show and investigate the discursive construction of sex and sexuality in the Ethiopian cultural milieu as reflected in these reactive texts.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives:

The specific objectives of this study are:

- Examine the underlying assumptions and ideologies embedded in the reactive discourse of the social media users in relation to Betty's sexual act in the show
- Examine how women are positioned in the reactive discourse of the social media users on Betty's public sexual act
- Analyze how unequal power relations are naturalized in the reactive discourse of the social media users on Betty's sexual act

1.4 Research Questions

The study sets out to answer the following research questions:

- What underlying assumptions and ideologies are embedded in the reactive discourses of the social media users in relation to Betty's public sexual act?
- How are women positioned in the reactive discourses of the social media users on Betty's public sexual act?
- How are the unequal relations of power naturalized in the reactive discourses of the social media users on Betty's public sexual act?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Thus far, there is no research report the researcher is aware of that has paid special attention to understanding women sexuality in Ethiopia. Hence, the findings and outcomes of this study will be of substantial importance in revealing the place of women in the contemporary Ethiopian society.

Besides, by focusing on specific structures or strategies of discourse that are not self-evident to the casual reader, the study will hope to uncover our social and cultural realities and thereby contribute positively to social change with respect to gender relation. Policy makers, Educational Institutions, social activists will also benefit from this study. Moreover, the insight of the study will help future researchers who might be interested in a similar study.

1.6 Scope of the Study

Different newspapers and magazines carried a number of critical articles and several radio hosts brought the issue for debate and discussion. Above all, online media was used as a fundamental tool to express people's distasteful feelings and put across divergent interpretations of Betty's sexual act. This study will confine itself to data from selected online media. This means that it will not consider TV, film, radio, and newspaper discourse on Betty. The main reason for the choosing of the online media is because, since recently online media have introduced new communication patterns, created new forms of expression, and stimulated a wide civic participation with the added advantage of anonymity and absence of censorship. This has encouraged people with access to the technology to express their views as they see fit.

By using the online media people post comments about the program, ask questions and discuss issues with each other. These message boards are a highly useful source for CDA analysts. Studying people's comment and discussions as well as messages conveyed, an analyst can gain valuable insights in to how audience members interpret social problems as they encounter.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

A major limitation of this study is the issue of generalizability. The data set comes from a relatively isolated group of individuals—those who make comments in online forums relating to Betty's sexual act on Big Brother African Reality Show of 2013. Most of the posts are anonymous, and there are no means of knowing who these people are or whether the comments reflect their views and values when offline. The leap from 'text' to 'social practice' will turn up conclusions that require further empirical work if they are to be extended beyond the data examined here.

Moreover, this study faced certain limitations, other than researcher have partially addressed above. First, the study only addresses people's reaction on Betty's sexual act which appeared for public consumption in online media. A more expansive investigation of the reaction that may have appeared in other media was not possible due to constraints on time and space. Second, the study only addressed a portion of the possible people reaction that were available for analysis.

This study is also limited to online coverage and thus any reactions^b and comments that were not online could not be used. This study represents a small percentage of comments on Betty during this time period.

What is more, as Mbisamkaro (2014) argues one of the benefits of Fairclough's version of CDA is that, apart from most methods for discourse analysis, provides with a set of concrete techniques and tools for textual analysis. With that being said, there remains some important ontological and epistemological limitation to CDA, especially regarding the question of reflexivity. The researcher acknowledges the role of the interpreter in affecting the outcomes of the research should not be disregarded. As Fairclough has noted; "what one 'sees' in a text, what one regards as worth describing and what one chooses to emphasize in description, are all depends on how one interprets a text (1989, p. 27, cited in Mbisamakaro, 2014). A different researcher employing the same analytical framework on people's reactions on Betty's sexual act may be able to arrive at different conclusion, as Fairclough has argued; this should not be perceived as "grounds for consternation" (ibid).

Moreover, I am aware that this may make it difficult to produce results that are highly generalizable. On the other hand, CDA, given its methodological foundation, never aspire to produce the kind of generalizable knowledge that is universal, neutral and based on "a context – free foundation" (Jargerson & Philips, 2002, p. 156). Neither the researcher of this study making claims of covering everything and saying all that needs to be said about the present issue. This research rather be viewed as a contribution on the field or area. And, though may be incomplete as it only covers specific aspects; I can argue together with Yulval Davis that "unfinished is not the same as invalid" (1997, p. 1).

Organization of the study

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter one deals with the background of the study, the problem area, aim and objectives of the study research questions and the significance of the study are dealt with. Chapter two is a presentation of literature from previous studies. In addition to this, presentation and discussion of theoretical perspectives and discourses relating to women's sexuality are discussed. The methods used in the study are outlined and discussed in chapter three. The study area, the sample, data collection procedures and methods are also discussed. The data analysis process, type as well as ethical considerations and limitation of the study are explained to the extent possible. In chapter four analysis and presentation of the findings of the study are discussed. In chapter five conclusions, implication of the findings/ results, and suggestion for future research are discussed.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Discourse, Power and Knowledge

2.1.1. Discourse and Power

Before embarking on a discussion of power and discourse, however, it might be useful to clarify what exactly we mean by “power.” The following description could be broad enough to use as a working tool for the purposes of this paper, and also broad enough to avoid unnecessarily negative connotations. According to Rudvin (2005), A relationship of power between A and B, where A and B might be individuals or groups, is any asymmetry (both arbitrary and non-arbitrary) that allows party A to take decisions concerning B that B might not agree with, that B is not aware of, that is damaging to B, or that is advantageous to B but which B him/herself is not in a position to implement.

The most important feature of Foucault’s theories on power is that for him power is not a ‘thing’ or a ‘capacity’ which can be owned by either State, social class or particular individuals. Instead, it is a relation between different individuals and groups and only exists when it is being exercised. According to this scenario, a king is only a king if he has subjects. Thus, the term power refers to sets of relations that exist between individuals, or that are strategically deployed by groups of individuals. Institutions and governments are simply the ossification of highly complex sets of power relations which exist at every level of the social body (O’Farrell, 2005).

As noted in Daniel (2011), Lloyd (1974, p.11) describes power as “.... The ability one actor to determine that another behaves in such a manner as he would not otherwise have done, and perhaps against his will”. He considers it an element of interpersonal relationship and, as such, it is undeniably a part of the gender relationship. This power, he says, is indicative of ‘control’. This probably explains why in patriarchal society the male is expected to always be in control and the female under control. Thus, power is exercised in this sort of social relation to maintain the existing pattern of social inequality or in its deliberate modifications. Closely related to this is Max Weber’s (1864-1926) definition of power as “the possibility of imposing ones will upon the behavior of other persons” (Galbraith, 1983, p.21, cited in Daniel, 2011). The powerful is the one that, to a large extent, determines how others in the social milieu act: whether to affirm or oppose their exercise of power.

Foucault’s notion of discourse is a vital methodological concept in unraveling power in the poststructuralist era. It is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together. As Hutcheon (1991) observes, discourse is not merely a tool of domination. Rather, it is both an instrument and an effect of power, which again is a tool for the social construction of reality. The concepts of discourse, power, culture and language are dialectically interrelated—they complement one another. Discourse is for the most part shaped and informed by practices. Discourse and practices then enter into power relations. One does not have more or less power than the other but each equally shapes the other (Foucault, 1977). As an aggregate of everyday actions and interactions, discourse, accentuated by actions and text, underlie power relations across time and other social variables (such as sub groups and places). It is easily deducible from this argument that discourse is subject to an unstable process whereby it can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a

hindrance, a stumbling point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy (ibid) .

“Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart” (Foucault, 1998, p. 100).

For Foucault, the production and circulation of discourse are simultaneously mechanisms of social power. Corollary to this, he asserts that those who wish to exercise social power must use discourse in order to do so. The regulation of discourse deals with who is allowed to speak on a given topic, as well as which form of knowledge are subjugated in the production of truth. As Foucault (2003) notes, “the delicate mechanisms of power cannot function unless knowledge, or rather knowledge apparatuses, are formed, organized, and put into circulation, and those apparatuses are not ideological trimmings or edifices” (pp. 33-34). Similarly, we should be attentive to the silences that lie outside the boundaries of accepted debate, for they are also part of the networks of power-knowledge that make up the discursive economy.

Societal discourse mediates its power and control through institutions and elites “who are charged with saying what counts as true” (Talbani, 1996, p. 67). Each society, according to Foucault, has its regime of truth, its “general politics of truth, that is, the type of discourse it accepts and makes function as true”. He sees society as an arena for a struggle to establish and pass on a regime of truth and develop techniques and procedures to inculcate and transmit cultural values considered to be true. Hence, a discourse could be an “instrument of power or an effect of power,” as well as “a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy”. Societal discourse mediates its power and control through institutions and elites “who are charged with saying what counts as true”. A regime uses political, economic, and social apparatuses to control and dominate (Talbani,

1996). In addition, truth is established through the discourse of power that is relayed, pre-served, and legitimized. This involves a struggle around political debate and social confrontation—an ideological struggle (Talbani 1996). Hence, the creation of educational or social institutions is part of the power struggle to establish, expand, and sustain a particular notion of truth through control over the power of legitimacy. Foucault (1972) notes that truth should be understood as a “system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements”.

According to Whisnant, (2012), because certain types of discourse enable specific types of individuals to “speak the truth,” or at the very least to be believed when speaking on specific subjects, discourses also give these individuals degrees of social, cultural, and even possibly political power. Doctors are generally believed when they talk about physical or mental illnesses, and this gives them an authority to recommend courses of action or patterns of behavior. In many societies, and for long stretches of Western history, religious authorities wielded tremendous social and political power because they had the power to speak about the divine. This power was caught up with their specific position, but was also based on the fact that religious discourse suffused all of life, shaping social organization and influencing how people interpreted the world.

2.1.2. Power Knowledge Nexus

As noted in Soza, (2014), Many who embrace critical perspectives follow Foucault’s (1970, 1980) work equating power with knowledge. There are particular ways of coming to know something and each way of knowing is power-laded. It enables and constrains individuals in

certain ways and organizes our knowledge about the world. The flaw with an ordered way of knowing is that one does not notice how they are ordered. The order becomes invisible because it becomes naturalized and transformed into a common sense understanding of the world. Foucault (1980) conceptualizes power as a system that is enacted through everyone but not localized in any individual, aiding in the naturalization of meanings.

Foucault (1970) calls for finding out how order and structure came to be the way it did by introducing the four similitudes, or forms of resemblance, that are traditional ways people come to know. Foucault's four forms of resemblance are: *convenientia*, *aemulatio*, analogy, and sympathies. *Convenientia*, *aemulatio*, and analogy relate things based in proximity, similarity, or a reflection of likeness. Sympathy has the ability to transform or alter the identity, and create and maintain sameness in things. The four similitudes act as a knowledge structure that creates and maintains sameness within the world. Foucault states that knowledge in the forms of resemblance comes from discovering and interpreting their "signatures" or their sign, symbol, mark, or language (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Signatures make things visible whereas resemblance keeps them hidden or invisible. "Resemblance was the invisible form of that, which from the depths of the world, make things visible; but in order that this form may be brought out into the light in its turn there must be a visible figure that will draw it out from its profound invisibility" (Foucault, 1970, p. 26). It is both the resemblance and the signature that form what is known. The ability to know something depends on knowing the words (signature) capable of expressing certain knowledge. Therefore, we know the world through language. Language creates a break of subject/object; it keeps things together, separate, and creates ways of knowing things as the same and/or different. In this, language equals an ordered knowledge, which also equals a mode of being or doing in the world (Foucault, 1970, 1972; Lindlof

" &Taylor, 2011). Individuals are born into a society where these knowledge structures exist, and once people come to know themselves in a particular way that has been naturalized by a discourse, they also come to know the world and themselves in relation to that world. Consequently, "Knowledge is always inextricably enmeshed in relations of power because it was always being applied to the regulation of social conduct in practice" (Hall, 1997, p. 47). When language is regarded as the creator of knowledge and knowledge as a carrier of meanings, it also carries the power to enable and constrain human possibilities.

Discourse orders the world and the way society functions within that world in particular ways that can become natural and unquestionable. While Foucault (1972) argues that nothing can have meaning without discourse, Wodak and Meyer (2009) explain that through discourse, people create both a social and material reality. The world is filled with many objects and individuals can only have knowledge of these objects if they have meaning attached to them. This meaning arises from the discourse, not the objects themselves (Hall, 1997). When it is realized that Discourse creates knowledge, and that knowledge is inextricably related to power, it can be more fully understood how discourse and Discourse work together simultaneously to normalize power relations in society. Discourses like gender and sexuality can only be meaningful within the discourse about them. Foucault claims that it is only within a specific discursive formation that Discourses could appear as a meaningful construct.

Power and knowledge: Foucault coins a new compound term called 'power/knowledge' which he characterizes as the conjunction of power relations and knowledge production. "It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" he states in . We would like to call to attention two

important implications in this formulation of power/knowledge. First, knowledge is an integral part of power relations. Power/knowledge “determines the forms and possible domains of knowledge”. Second, by producing knowledge, irrespective of their stance, one is making a claim for power.

Since Discourses are competing for meaning, not all will be regarded as equal. Certain Discourse will become dominant and hegemonic while others are marginalized and treated as unimportant. These Discourses have continually been created and (re)created throughout history, from the Victorian age to women’s suffrage, individuals inherited Discourses through birth (Foucault, 1980). Individuals are born into a society where structure and order already exist. These structures are grounded in experience and create a common sense understanding of the world. Common sense understandings of the world tell people how to act and what is natural, true, or normal for a boy, girl, woman, or man.

One of the largest and oldest forms of distinction among societal segments being gender, one could argue that the issue of power can be well elucidated through the gendered plot/dynamics/ discourse of society. Such apprehension seems to be interesting, not only for the study of social discourse itself, but also to gain a contextualized, more magnified understanding of the long held issue of gender [in]equality.

“Common sense” tells society what is normal and language distinguishes and gives meaning to what is accepted as normal and what isn’t. The power of common sense comes from its claim to be obvious, unquestionable and therefore true. “It looks to ‘human nature’ to guarantee its version of reality. It is the medium through which already fixed ‘truths’ about the world,

society, and individuals are expressed” (Foucault 1970, p. 74). These truths are expressed through realms of discourse such as the education system and the media, where young girls become discussed as compliant and docile, while young boys are known to be rowdy and adventurous (ibid). Not only does this discourse carry on through childhood, but it also sets up future social dynamics within patriarchal societies. The concern with fitting in to a socially defined and accepted “normal” guide’s society to accept dominate meaning formations, such as current views on gender and femininity.

Various scholars studying discourse take a critical perspective with an interest in the relationship between power and discourse. For instance Hall (1997), embracing the ideas of Foucault, states, “discourse is concerned with the production of knowledge and meaning...discourse produces the objects of knowledge and nothing which is meaningful exists outside discourse” (p. 44). Two themes of critical discourse emerge in the literature; the social and historical meanings that individuals inherit from the past, and the relationship of power/knowledge in regards to discourse, and both are related to how meanings become a normative force and are naturalized as a result of power, domination, and hegemony.

2.2. Social and Historical Meanings

Throughout history, specific discourses had social and historical meanings that were created to serve other purposes and people at the time (Foucault, 1980). Not only do these meanings serve particular interests in history, these meanings endure and individuals are born into pre-existing meanings and inherit them from birth. At the same time meanings can enable certain knowledge, it also suppresses other knowledge from being known. Privileging one meaning

over another normalizes knowledge of a subject (Weedon, 1997). For example, Foucault (1978) calls attention to the history of the discourses of sex and sexuality. Foucault asserts that in the Victorian bourgeoisie the discourse of sex and sexuality were open and public. An open discourse stood with the subject of sex, "it was a period when bodies 'made a display of themselves'" (p. 3). After this, family consumed sexuality and the discourse of sex was one in the same with reproduction. The discourse on sex was naturalized to that of the family and the private bedroom. No longer was it appropriate for sexuality and sex to be discussed publicly.

Discussion of sex in the public sphere was repressed, and Foucault suggests that the repression of sex coincides with that of capitalism. If sex is repressed, it is because it does not occur simultaneously with that of labor. When labor is being highly organized and valued, it is impractical to push a discourse forward that welcomes pursuits of pleasure. The meanings that were created by repressing sex serve particular interests, capitalism.

By making sex a forbidden subject, and only acceptable in matters of reproduction, it became normal and natural to treat sex in that way. It created a "sameness" in society. It also created a constraining discourse for people who did not abide by the normal discourse. The discourse of sex and sexuality was constraining and at the same time enabling. It enabled a society to focus and value labor, which built structures, created objects to benefit society, and advanced the quality of living. It also constrained an entire population to be suppressed and to treat something that was once thought of as natural as now abnormal, strange, and isolated. The privileging of meanings aids in a naturalization of knowledge. Dominate meanings become invisible, unquestioned, and the normal way in which to act and think. When meanings are not questioned, they become hidden. Prividera and Howard (2006) state that the power of a

discourse to naturalize language, knowledge, and meanings resides in invisibility, which connects knowledge with power.

The idea that the body is an important site for the exercise of power can be located within a Foucauldian framework in which the rise of capitalism can be seen to create a new domain of political life, referred to by Foucault as “bio-power” (Kehily, 2001). Here, power is conceptualized as decentralized and productive of social relations in common-place encounters and exchanges. From this perspective, the politics of the body plays an important part in disciplining individual bodies and regulating collective bodies such as populations or specific social groups (Kehily, 2001). For Foucault, the body is discursively constructed, realized in the play of power relations, and specifically targeted in the domain of the sexual. Foucault, in his work *History of Sexuality*, saw sex as a political issue, crucial to the emergence and deployment of bio-power: It [sex] was at the pivot of the two axes along which developed the entire political technology of life. On the one hand, it was tied to the disciplines of the body: the harnessing, intensification and distribution of forces, the adjustment and economy of energies. On the other hand, it was applied to the regulation of populations, through all the far-reaching effects of its activity.

In a society such as ours, but basically in any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the

basis of this association. We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth.

Traditionally, women have been denied control over their body or sexuality. Patriarchal discourse of power concerning the representation of sex inhibited women from exploring their body and verbalizing their sexuality. Patriarchy and state power join together to colonize female body and control female sexuality. Men's power over women is sanctioned within marriage and so the wife's body along with her property and earning becomes the property of the husband who can enjoy them with impunity.

2.3. Asymmetry of Power and Its Effects on Reactions between Men and Women

Domination has power asymmetry as its goal and is dependent on it. It represents the kind of relationship that most people, in most cultures, most readily associate with the word power, i.e., meaning power over people and things, as against the capacity to do something or the responsibility to act on behalf of others (Boulding 1978, cited in Francis, 2004). There are many different vehicles for the exercise of power over others: wealth; control of resources and terms of trading; language; education; fashion; political structures and practices; laws (their enactment and application); imprisonment and physical violence, or the threat of it, on whatever scale, including military systems and wars. Violence, the harmful and destructive exercise of power over others, is both the means and the outcome of domination. A culture of domination is a culture of violence. In the words of Johan Galtung, „cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right – or at least not wrong. “ (Galtung 1990, p291)

The oppression of women 'is often explained, and indeed justified, in terms of culture. Gender can be defined as the social construction of sex difference, expressed in constructions of masculinity and femininity (Francis 2000). As traditionally constructed, gender differences are integral to the culture of domination, having power asymmetry at their heart. Masculinity is constructed as powerful, aggressive, controlling; femininity as inferior, weak, submissive, serving or (more positively) nurturing. In the more extreme versions of this construction, women are regarded as a subspecies, to be treated by men as their chattels. Since women are those who also spend the most time with children and are their chief educators, it is clear that they participate in the perpetuation of this cultural viewpoint. The domination of men over women is the most fundamental and widespread form of power asymmetry in human society and societies. In some parts of the world, the oppression of women by men is lessening; in others it continues unabated. However, in most (if not all) societies, domestic violence against women is common and in many it is tacitly, if not explicitly, sanctioned. In some countries, women's movements and activities are restricted and their treatment under the law is harsh and discriminatory. Women are also oppressed economically. The work that they do, overall, far exceeds that which is done by men, yet they 'earn' on average far less than men, control a small fraction of the world's wealth and are often debarred from inheritance. In global terms, then, there is a clear power asymmetry between men and women.

The male dominatory gender role is played out in particularly crude and brutal ways. The culture of domination gives glory, approval and status to men for their participation in violent conflict, especially when it is associated with collective identity.

In relation to many other forms of oppressive power relationships, including gender issues and the place and treatment of women in society. As it has already dealt with, since the notion of human rights and its application to women are seen as originating in the West, to query their place in society means to question the culture of that society; hence feminist agendas are easily dismissed as imperialist.

In countries where discrimination against women is justified by dominant local traditions, many men and some women defend that discrimination in the name of culture, accusing those who question it of cultural infidelity and collusion with this imperialism. However, while cultural influences and power asymmetries may help to explain attitudes and behavioral patterns, they do not justify them. Cultures, like structures and actions, are open to evaluation, critique and change.

Generally, women encounter different social context than men. Women and men face different expectations and norms even for what look like identical situations. If women try not to do gender, they confront the social consequence of violating the norms and expectations. Besides this, Mary Crawford states that the behavior of men and boy's is often evaluated more positively than the behavior of women and girls. Even when a woman and a man behave in identical ways, their behavior and action may be interpreted differently (1988).

Violence against women has its origins in the patriarchal structure that oppresses women (Amorós, 1990). It is the manifestation of the historically unequal power relations between men and women which have resulted in the domination and discrimination of women in society. In the subsequent section the concept of patriarchy is discussed in detail.

2.4. Patriarchy

Patriarchy is the prime obstacle to women's advancement and development. Despite differences in levels of domination the broad principles remain the same, i.e. men are in control. The nature of this control may differ. So it is necessary to understand the system, which keeps women dominated and subordinate, and to unravel its workings in order to work for women's development in a systematic way. In the modern world where women go ahead by their merit, patriarchy there creates obstacles for women to go forward in society. Because patriarchal institutions and social relations are responsible for the inferior or secondary status of women. Patriarchal society gives absolute priority to men and to some extent limits women's human rights also.

2.4.1. Concept of Patriarchy

The word 'patriarchy' literally means the rule of the father or the 'patriarch', and originally it was used to describe a specific type of 'male-dominated family' – the large household of the patriarch which included women, junior men, children, slaves and domestic servants all under the rule of this dominant male. Now it is used more generally "to refer to male domination, to the power relationships by which men dominate women, and to characterize a system whereby women are kept subordinate in a number of ways" (Bhasin 2006:3 as cited in Sultana, 2012).

Patriarchy refers to male domination both in public and private spheres. Feminists mainly use the term 'patriarchy' to describe the power relationship between men and women. Thus,

patriarchy is more than just a term; feminists use it like a concept, and like all other concepts, it is a tool to help us understand women's realities. The concept of patriarchy is defined by different thinkers in different ways. Mitchell (1971, P. 24), a feminist psychologist, uses the word patriarchy "to refer to kinship systems in which men exchange women". Walby (1990, P. 20) defines "patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women". She explains patriarchy as a system because this helps us to reject the notion of biological determinism (which says that men and women are naturally different because of their biology or bodies and, are, therefore assigned different roles) or "the notion that every individual man is always in a dominant position and every woman in a subordinate one" (Ibid).

As Sultana (2012) asserts, Patriarchy, in its wider definition, means the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general. It implies that "men hold power in all the important institutions of society" and that "women are deprived of access to such power". However, it does not imply that "women are either totally powerless or totally deprived of rights, influence, and resources" (Lerner 1989, P. 239).

Thus, patriarchy describes the institutionalized system of male dominance. So we can usefully define patriarchy as a set of social relations between men and women, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create independence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women (Jagger and Rosenberg 1984, as noted in Sultana, 2012 p. 3). Patriarchal ideology exaggerates biological differences between men and women, making certain that men always have the dominant, or masculine, roles and women always

have the subordinate or feminine ones." This ideology is so powerful that "men are usually able to secure the apparent consent of the very women they oppress". They do this "through institutions such as the academy, the church, and the family, each of which justifies and reinforces women's subordination to men" (Millett 1977, P. 35). The patriarchal system is characterized by power, dominance, hierarchy, and competition. So patriarchy is a system of social structures and Practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women.

2.5. Women's Subordination

Patriarchy, which pre-supposes the natural superiority of male over female, shamelessly upholds women's dependence on, and subordination to, man in all spheres of life. Consequently, all the power and authority within the family, the society and the state remain entirely in the hands of men. So, due to patriarchy, women were deprived of their legal rights and opportunities. Patriarchal values restrict women's mobility; reject their freedom over themselves as well as their property (Sultana, 2012).

Subordination means, "Something else is less important than the other thing" (Cobuild 2010, P. 1559). According to Advanced Learners Dictionary, Hornby (2003, P. 1296), "subordination means having less power or authority than somebody else in a group or an organization".

According to Sultana (2012), the term 'women's subordination' refers to the inferior position of women, their lack of access to resources and decision making etc., and to the patriarchal domination that women are subjected to in most societies. Hence, women's subordination means the inferior position of women to men. The feeling of powerlessness, discrimination and

experience of limited self-esteem and self-confidence jointly contribute to the subordination of women. Thus, women's subordination is a situation, where a power relationship exists and men dominate women. The subordination of women is a central feature of all structures of interpersonal domination, but feminists choose different locations and causes of subordination. Contemporary feminist theory begins with Simone de Beauvoir's argument that because men view women as fundamentally different from them, women are reduced to the status of the second sex and hence subordinate (Beauvior 1974). Kate Millet's (1977) theory of subordination argues that women are a dependent sex class under patriarchal domination.

Patriarchy is a system whereby women are kept subordinate in a number of ways. The subordination that they experience at a daily basis, regardless of the class they might belong to, takes various forms—discrimination, disregard, insult, control, exploitation, oppression, violence—within the family, at the place of work, in society. For instance, a few examples are illustrated here to represent a specific form of discrimination and a particular aspect of patriarchy. Such as, boy preference, discrimination against girls in food distribution, burden of household work on women and young girls, lack of educational opportunities for girls, lack of freedom and mobility for girls, wife battering, male control over women and girls, sexual harassment at workplace, lack of inheritance or property rights for women, male control over women's bodies and sexuality, no control over fertility or reproductive rights (Sultana, 2012).

Hence, the norms and practices that define women as inferior to men, impose controls on them, are present everywhere in our families, social relations, religious, laws, schools, textbooks, media, factories, offices. Thus, patriarchy is called the sum of the kind of male domination we see around women all the time. In this ideology, men are superior to women and women are

part of men's property, so women should be controlled by men and this produces women's subordination.

Sultana (2012) asserts that subordination is the situation in which one is forced to stay under the control of other. So women's subordination means the social situation in which women are forced to stay under the control of men. In this way to keep women under men's control, patriarchy operates some social customs, traditions and social roles by socialization process. In order to preserve the male supremacy, patriarchy created 'masculine' and 'feminine' characteristics, private-public realms by gendered socialization process. Socialization is considered to take place primarily during childhood, when boys and girls learn the appropriate behavior for their sex. All agents of socialization process such as the family, religion, the legal system, the economic system and political system, the educational institutions and the media are the pillars of a patriarchal system and structure.

2.6. What Do Men Control in Patriarchal System?

Different areas of women's lives are said to be under patriarchal control.

2.6.1. Women's productive or labor power:

Men control women's productivity both within the household and outside in paid work. Within the household, women provide all kinds of services to their husbands, children and other members of the family throughout their lives. Feminist writer Sylvia Walby (1990) calls this as the "patriarchal mode of production" where women's labor is expropriated by their husbands and others who live there. She calls housewives as the "producing class" and husbands are the

“expropriating class”. The work done by housewives is not considered as work at all and housewives become dependent on their husbands.

Men also control women’s labor outside the home. They make women to sell their labor or they may prevent their women from working. They may appropriate what women earn; often women are excluded from better paid work. They are usually working in jobs with low wages; or work within the home in what is called home based production, which is itself an exploitative system.

This control over and exploitation of women’s labor mean that men benefit materially from patriarchy. They benefit economically from the subordination of women. This is the material or economic basis of patriarchy.

2.6.2. Women’s Reproduction:

Men also control women’s reproductive power. In many societies, women have no control over their reproduction capacities. They cannot decide how many children they want, whether to use contraceptives, or a decision to terminate pregnancy. In addition, men control social institutions like religion and politics. Control is institutionalized by laying down rules regarding women’s reproduction capacity. For example, in the Catholic Church, the male religious hierarchy decides whether men and women can use birth control contraceptives. In modern times, the patriarchal state tries to control women’s reproduction through its family planning programs. The state decides the optimum size of the country’s population. In India, for example, the birth control program limits the family size and discourages women from having more than two children. On the other hand, in Europe, where birth rates are low, women

are lured through various incentives to have more children. Women are given long paid maternity leave, childcare facilities and opportunities for part-time jobs.

Patriarchy idealizes motherhood and thereby forces women to be mothers. It also determines the conditions of their motherhood. This ideology of motherhood is considered one of the bases of women's oppression. It also creates feminine and masculine character types and perpetuates patriarchy. It restricts women's mobility and it reproduces male dominance.

2.6.3. Women's Mobility:

Besides control of women's sexuality, production and reproduction, men also control women's mobility. The imposition of purdah /isolation/ restriction on leaving the house, limit on interaction between the sexes are some of the ways by which the patriarchal society controls women's mobility and freedom of movement. Such restriction are unique to women, while men are not subject to such restrictions.

2.6.4. Property and other Economic Resources:

Most property and other productive resources are controlled by men and are passed on from father to son. Even in societies where women have legal rights to inherit property, customary practices, social sanctions and emotional pressures that prevents them from acquiring control over them. According to UN statistics, "Women do more than 60% of the hours of work done in the world, but they get 10% of the world's income and own 1% of the world's property". These are some of the ways how men control different areas of women's lives through the patriarchal order of the society.

2.6.5. Control over Women's Sexuality:

Women are obliged to provide sexual services to their husbands according to their needs and desires. Moral and legal regulations exist to restrict the expression of women's sexuality outside marriage in every society, while male promiscuity is often condoned or excused.

Another way of exercising control over women's sexuality is when men force their wives, daughters or other women in their control into prostitution. Rape and threat of rape is another way in which women's sexuality is controlled through notions of "shame" and "honor", family honor. Lastly, women's sexuality is controlled through their dress, behavior and mobility which are carefully monitored by the family and through social, cultural and religious codes of behavior.

2.7. Historicity of Sexuality

Sexuality is of course linked with the very biology of human beings. Sexuality pervades or pass through people's lives, on all levels of society. There have, of course, been numerous studies of, and hence massive disagreements about, the biological aspects of sexuality and sexual performances in humans' as well as of sexual deviance of different kinds.

Discussions about sexuality generally reflect the beliefs and attitudes of the time in which they take place, and what is, at the time, considered morally right or wrong. Moreover, they generally mirror the position of religious and political institutions in society. Most scientists today, however, seem to regard sexuality both as a social construct and a biological

phenomenon. Sexual behavior can, therefore, be seen as a result of how society and culture help shape individuals in society.

We have always been influenced by the norms and conventions of the society in which we live, and the gender conventions bequeathed or given to us by our ancestors, relatives and immediate environment are no exceptions. The predominant gender conventions over the last few centuries, which must be said to reflect an uneven balance of power between the sexes, are suffused in to the minds of all members of the society.

Sexuality is the motive that conditions human relationships. Deborah Cameron and Don Kulick (2003, P. 15) believes that sexuality is linguistically/discursively constructed. Social and cultural institutions construct sexualities through power discourses and thereby control and shape human relationships. Language is the medium through which discourses are circulated, power is given as well as received, and identities are created and then categorized. According to Cameron and Kulick (2003, P. 15), individuals and societies understand sexuality and gender through language: "Our knowledge does not come exclusively from firsthand experience: it is mediated by the discourse that circulates in our societies". Cameron indicates that one's knowledge of sex and sexuality is mainly derived from linguistic representation of the culturally approved sexual practices. The language one uses to speak of one's sexuality derives its meaning from the discourses in circulation and the language is the medium through which discourses are circulated.

According to Michel Foucault (1982), sexuality is not a product of a pre-given essence. Knowledge of sexuality is structured through the use of language. He asserts that sexuality is

constituted through discourse. Foucault (1982) defines discourse in relation to power. According to him, discourses are not some idealist depiction of thoughts: they are parts of the power structure of society. Discourses reveal the play of power in a given situation. Foucault (1982) argues that discourses are revealed not only in written texts but also in organizations and institutions. This is because those who have the power to define matters in their favor. They create reality through the processes of powers of definition. Discourses thus acquire the power of management. They manage individuals and population by confining them to an identity. Foucault (1982, P. 212) argues that identity is an effect of power relations:

This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, and imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize in himself.

As long as power, regime or penal, rests in male hands, they define, decide and popularize female identity and sexuality in their favor and impose it as universal truths. Language and discourse construct the idea of sexuality. This in turn reproduces gender inequality.

Feminist researchers point out that female sexuality or sexual practices are shaped by powerful discourses of "institutionalized heterosexuality." Wendy Hollway (1984), cited in Cameron and Don (2003) indicates that there are potentially contradictory discourses concerning sexuality. Women position themselves within these discourses in different ways and represents sexualities accordingly. Hollway (1984, P. 231) discerns three discourses through which men and women give meaning to their sexual experiences. First, there is "the male sex drive

discourse" in which women's sexuality is absent. Here man's sexuality is conceived as "directly produced by a biological drive, the function of which is to ensure reproduction of the species". Woman's sexuality is the passive and complimentary "Other" of masculine sexuality that is wild and dynamic. Second, there is "the have/hold discourse" which is concerned with "the Christian ideals associated with monogamy, partnership and family life" (Hallway, 1984, P. 232). In this discourse, woman's sexuality is either confined to a marital relationship and is reproductively oriented or is understood as socially dangerous. Third, there is the "discourse of permissive sexuality" which views sexuality as something natural and, therefore, should not be repressed. In this discourse, women are allowed to have the same active sexuality as men. Even though it is gender-free in principle, gender difference in sexuality cannot be suddenly transformed. In this regard, Hollway (1984, P. 236) observes:

The practices that a discourse re-produces are not neutral. The liberating effects of the permissive discourse were particularly contradictory for women. Certainly the discourse enhanced men's powers (men's 'rights') to a heterosexual practice without emotional bonds.

These discourses institutionalize male sexuality and empower men to control female sexuality through the norm of heterosexuality. According to Hallway (1984, P. 232), the gendered identities people assume are shaped by these discourses: "...women and men are placed in relation to each other through the meanings which a particular discourse makes available". Women desire to have a sense of femininity in a world that is structured by gender relations and hence they choose the available discourse best suited for that purpose disregarding the true nature of their desire.

All the signifying systems of patriarchal culture subject women to male terms. The social/cultural constructs underlying all human activity are inscribed with male bias. Women have no role in deciding or defining them which are communicated through discourses. Discourses play an important role in women's passive acceptance of social relations that subordinate their identity to the male ego. The traditional, cultural, social, ethical institutions together weave the "web of bewilderment" around women through their discourses (Das, 1973, P. 51 cited in Cameron and Don, 2003) Discourses actually serve as coping mechanisms. They provide women with "knowledge's and commitments ... [that] constitute important resources for coping with everyday life" (Simon, 1992, P. 86-87).

Sexuality is basically linked to socially produce symbolic representations and gendered identities. Patriarchy misrepresents women either as saints capable of rejecting sexuality totally or as the embodiments of temptation. Ordinary women do not belong to these extreme positions. In the context of this paradigm, though women acknowledge their active sexual desire, they are restricted by sexually appropriate social behavior. This attitude controls women's desire and subjects them to man's exploitation. According to Foucault (1982), sex is the focal point through which individuals assert their power and control the marginalized. Woman's sexual identity in the male dominated world denies her a legitimate public space. In this regard, Shari Benstock (1991, P. 195), cited in Cameron and Don, (2003) comments:

We are surprised and frustrated at the gap between what we want to say and what we can say, at the grandeur of our desires and the poverty of our accomplishment.

According to Benstock that the role-stereotyping denies women autonomy and leads them to self-effacement or humility and shyness. This gap between desire and fulfilment leads women to frustration.

On the other hand, Jane Ussher, as cited in Choi (1994, P. 165) states that the bipolar Madonna/whore discourse produces a conflict in woman. Here feminine sexuality is viewed as passively asexual or dangerously active. An active female sexuality and a respectable feminine identity fail to co-exist in the available discourses. This generates the idea that only men can be active sexual subjects and women's role is to be passive objects of male desire. Such an idea restricts woman's freedom to define her sexuality and makes her susceptible to sexual exploitation. In this regard, Deborah Cameron (2003, P. 29) observes: "women are frequently in the position of not being able to have the sex they want, while at the same time they may be forced to have sex that they do not want". Women are often written as objects of sexualization. A stereotypical text is inscribed on their bodies about their sexuality and it is used to create texts that devalue actual lived experience of women.

In most societies in the world, sexuality and sexual behavior are considered private matters and thus not central to political and social transformations. But, as we know, sexuality is not private (e.g., Brettell & Sargent, 1993; Caplan, 1987; Foucault, 1981; Laqueur, 1990; Parker et al., 1992; Valverde, 1985), which explains why so many cultures and countries try to control and legislate it. Indeed, as one historian observed, sexual behavior (perhaps more than religion) is the most highly symbolic activity of any society (Espín, 1999).

Sexuality is a universal component of human experience, yet how it is embodied and expressed is not. As anthropological, historical, and literary studies contend, “sexuality is culturally variable rather than a timeless, immutable essence” (Parker et al., 1992, p. 4). Even what is considered to be sexual or not in one cultural context is often strikingly different for people in another cultural environment.

The study of women’s experiences reveals a variety of sexual and gender expectations across cultures. These cultural constructs inextricably inform the expression of female sexuality. Cultural traditions, colonial and other forms of social oppression, national identity, and the vicissitudes or changes of the historical process inform the development and perception of female sexuality.

Women have been socialized in contexts that privilege men’s sexual agency and sexual gratification. Open, public expression of sexual desire is more acceptable, even encouraged for men than for women; men’s search for sexual adventure has been more widely tolerated and institutionalized than women’s efforts to reject patriarchal control over their sexuality (Saskia et al (2007)). Men were allowed to engage in sexual relations with women both inside and outside of marriage, but women were expected to only engage in sexual activity within the confines of marriage for the purposes of child-bearing (Luker, 1998). These social purists advocated for a single sexual standard of sexuality, that to which female upper- and middle-class women were already expected to adhere, sex within marriage for procreation.

Generally, throughout the previous section of this chapter we have attempted to overview how control over women’s sexuality has developed historically and is institutionalized and

* legitimized by several ideologies, social practices and institutions such as family, religion, caste, education, media, law, state and society. Sexuality and sexual choices are regarded as personal and private choices. However, these choices are often not completely free and autonomous since they are framed in a particular socio-cultural context. The degree of sexual autonomy individuals have is often determined by their social status in a particular society, which in turn is influenced by gender, class, race, ethnicity and cultural norms.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter aims at presenting the philosophical assumptions guiding the research process and the methodology adopted. This is essential because as noted in Abdissa (2010), philosophical assumption likely influence the choice of methodology and information gathering techniques. It also provides, according to Hudson and Murray (1986), philosophical guidelines for further development of the conceptual area. This is followed by a section extensively dedicated to Critical Discourse Analysis framework and its theoretical underpinnings. In the subsequent section the chapter will also provide a brief explanation of the textually- oriented critical discourse analysis method by Fairclough and it will also present justification for its espousal. The chapter ends with an illustration of the way data was collected and analyzed together with the sampling procedure.

3.2. Philosophical Assumptions of Discourse Analysis

According to Abdissa (2010), the first of the basic philosophical premises shared by all social constructionist approaches to discourse analysis calls attention to *a critical approach to taken-for-granted knowledge*. According to this premise, our knowledge of the world should not be treated as objective truth. Reality is only accessible to us through categories, and these categories are not pre-given or self-evident. In other words, social reality does not exist out there as an objective entity waiting for us (humans) to discover. As Bruner (1986, cited in Abdissa, 2010 p.95) points out, "...contrary to common-sense, there is no unique 'real world' that preexists and is independent of human mental activity and human symbolic language".

Human beings do not find and discover reality or knowledge so much as they construct or make it (Schwandt, 1998, quoted in Abdissa, 2010). The categories that help us understand the world are socially constructed. Hence, our knowledge and representations of the world are not reflections of the reality 'out there' but are products of our ways of categorizing the world, or, in discursive analytical terms are, "products of discourse" (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002, p. 5, citing Burr 1995, p. 5; Gergen 1985, pp. 266-267).

The second basic assumption of the social constructionist approach to discourse analysis is the notion of historical and cultural specificity of knowledge. As Phillips & Jorgensen (2002, citing Gergen, 1985) note, we human beings are fundamentally historical and cultural beings and our views of, and knowledge about, the world are not immutable and timeless accounts; rather, they are products of historically situated interchanges among people. As a result, the ways in which we understand and represent the world are historically and culturally specific and contingent. Our knowledge about a certain phenomenon at one particular historical and cultural context can generate a different knowledge at another and different historical and cultural context. Our worldviews and our identities could have been different, and they can change over time as a result of different sets of historical and cultural circumstances. Far from being fixed and transcendental, which is determined by external conditions, our knowledge of the world is contingent and transitory.

What is more, the notion of the link between knowledge and social processes is the third core assumption that guides the inquiries of those who subscribe to the social constructionist approach to discourse analysis. As Phillips & Jorgensen (2002/2004) argue, knowledge does not emanate out of the blue; it is created through social interaction in which we construct common truths and compete about what is true and false. Thus, our ways of understanding the

world are created and maintained by social processes. Finally, the link between knowledge and social action is the fourth philosophical assumption shared by those who adhere to the social constructionist approach to discourse analysis. As a society, we produce and generate knowledge through social interaction; and this knowledge regulates and guides our social action with regards to what is appropriate or acceptable and what is not in a particular context. As Phillips & Jorgensen (2002/2004) point out, within a particular worldview, some forms of action become natural, others unthinkable. Different social understandings of the world lead to different social actions, and, therefore, the social construction of knowledge and truth has social consequences.

3.3. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA has now become one of the most widely used DA models in modern linguistics. Its aim is to uncover ideological and power relations and it has mainly been applied for the analysis of political discourse. The following section will provide a general introduction to the field of CDA and describes one of the CDA frameworks in detail.

CDA is an amalgamation of a variety of micro-sociological theories and also theories on society and power based on Michael Foucault's definition of power (Van Dijk, 2001). A CDA study aims at providing a thorough description, explanation and critique of the textual strategies writers use to "naturalize" discourses. Because we are well aware of the fact that in order to inculcate certain ideologies, discourses are made to appear common-sense and apolitical (Van Dijk, 1997, cited in Rahimi & Riasati, 2011). Some scholars believe that there is no typical CDA method for collecting data. Some authors do not even mention data

collection methods. The raw material for the analysis within CDA is the naturally occurring text and talk in their original contexts.

CDA provide some approaches to research with the primary aim of uncovering the relationship between language, society, power, ideology, values and opinions. Hence, CDA is continuously enriched with new approaches within the field of language and communication. The most significant research within CDA has been performed by Teun van Dijk, who combines cognitive psychology and CDA to uncover how ideological structures are hidden in people's memory, Chilton (2004), cited in Rahimi & Riasat (2011), who combines cognitive and pragmatic aspects (using Habermasian "Validity Claims" and Grice's "Cooperative Principle" theories) and focuses on credibility in political texts, and Wodak (1989) analyzes gender discrimination and how political groups/nations define their territory by means of language. Furthermore, Norman Fairclough focuses on social conflict and its linguistics manifestations in discourses of dominance, difference and resistance (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

3.3.1. Understanding the Theory of CDA

As noted in McGregor (2003), Discourse refers to the expressing of oneself using words. Discourse are ubiquitous way of knowing, valuing, and experiencing the world. Discourse can be used for an assertion of power and knowledge, and they can be used for resistance and critique. Discourses are used in every context for building power and knowledge, for regulation and normalization, for the development of new knowledge and power relation, and for hegemony (excess influence authority of men over women). Given the power of written and spoken words, CDA is necessary describing, interpreting, analyzing and critiquing social life

reflected in the text (Luke, 1997 cited in McGregor, 2003). CDA is concerned with studying and analyzing written texts and spoken words to reveal the discursive source of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed with specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts (Van Dijk, 1988). It tries to illuminate ways in which the dominant forces in the society construct versions of reality that favor their interests. By unmasking such practices, CDA scholars aim to support the victims of such oppression and encourage them to resist and transform their lives (Foucault, 2000), the central tenet of critical theory and the critical science approach (McGregor, 2003).

Stemming from Habermas's (1973) critical theory, cited in McGregor (2003), CDA aims to help the analyst understand social problems that are mediated by mainstream ideology and power relationships, all perpetuated by the use of written texts in our daily and professional lives. The objective of CDA is uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in the words of our written text or oral speech of power over or to gain an appreciation that we are exercising "power over", unbeknownst to us (Fairclough, 1989). CDA aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships between discursive practices, texts and events and wider social and cultural structures relationships and processes. It strives to explore how these non-transparent relationships are a factor in securing power and hegemony, and it draws attention to power imbalances, social inequalities, non-democratic practices, and other injustices in hopes of spurring people to corrective actions (Fairclough, 1993).

There are three tenets of CDA (Fairclough, 2000). Discourse is shaped and constrained by (a) social structure (class, status, age, ethnic identity, and gender) and by (b) culture. Home economics, comprising members from across the social structure (but mainly white, middle

class, women), has professional culture, which shapes and constrains its discourse. What we say as home economists, is shaped by our professional culture, socialization, and member profile (social structure). (c) Discourse (the word and language we use) helps shape and constrain our identities, relationships, and system of knowledge and beliefs. As home economists, our identities, the nature of our social relationships, and our knowledge and belief system are shaped and constrained by the language and words espoused by us and by others.

Furthermore, CDA tries to write, and determine the relationships between, three level of analysis: (a) the actual text; (b) the discursive practices (that is the process involved in creating, writing, speaking, reading, and hearing); and (c) the larger social context that bears upon the text and the discursive practices (Fairclough, 2000). In more detail, the text is a record of events where something was communicated and involves the presentation of facts and beliefs (often ideological). The constructions of identities of participants discussed in the communication, and strategies to frame the content of the message. Discursive practice refers to rules, norms, and a mental models of socially acceptable behavior in specific roles or relationships used to produce, receive, and interpret the message. They are spoken and unspoken rules and conventions that govern how individuals learn to think, act, and speak in all the social positions they occupy in life (Alvermann, Commeyras, Young, Randall, & Hilson, 1977 cited in McGregor, 2003). Gee (1990) clarifies that discursive practices involve ways of being in the world that signify specific and recognizable social identities. We are learned to “be” home economists, students, daughters, mothers, members of an ethnic group or gender, entrepreneurs, and volunteers. Finally the social context comprises distinct settings where discourse occurs (marketplace, classroom, playground, church, conferences), each will a set of convention that determine rights and obligations – what each is allowed and expected to do.

Simply put, the text becomes more than just words on a page – it discloses how those words are used in a particular context (Huckin, 1997 cited in McGregor, 2003).

As might be expected, a critical approach to discourse seeks to link the text (micro level) with the underlying power structures in society (macro socio cultural practice level) through discursive practices upon which the text was drawn (meso level) (Thompson, 2002). Said another way, a text, a description of something that is happening in a larger social context replete with a complex set of power relations, is interpreted and acted upon by reader or listeners depending on their rules, norms, and mental models of socially acceptable behavior (McGregor, 2003). Oppression, repression, and marginalization go unchanged if the text is not critically analyzed to reveal power relations and dominance. CDA focuses on how social relations, identity, knowledge, and power are constructed through written and spoken texts in communities, schools, the media, and the political arena (Luke, 1977 cited in, McGregor, 2003). Discourse always involves power and ideologies, is connected to the past and the current context (is historical), and can be interpreted differently by people because they have different backgrounds, knowledge, and power position – therefore, the “right” interpretation does not exist whereas a more or less plausible or adequate interpretation is likely (Fairclough, 2002; Wodak & Ludwig, 1999).

Discourse and language can be used to make unbalanced power relations and portrayals of social group appears to be commonsense, normal, and natural when in fact the reality is prejudice, injustice, and inequalities. Using just words, those in power, or wishing to be so, can misdirect our concerns for persistent, larger systematic issues of class, gender, age, religion and culture seem petty or non-existent. Unless we begin to debunk their words, we can be misled

and duped into embracing the dominant world view (ideology) at our expense and their gain (McGregor, 2003).

3.3.2. Definitions of CDA

As was mentioned in Rahimi & Riasati (2011), critical linguistics and theories have laid the basis for CDA. This discipline has attracted many scholars since the 1980s significantly with the works of the British sociolinguist Norman Fairclough. Fairclough (1995) provided the following definition for CDA:

By CDA I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships (p.132-3).

Wodak and Meyer (2001) depict the concept in the following manner:

CDA may be defined as fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, and legitimized, and so on by language use (or in discourse) (p. 2).

Furthermore, Scollon (2001, p. 40, cited in Rahimi & Riasati, 2011) defines CDA as "a program of social analysis that critically analyses discourse - that is to say language in use - as a means of addressing social change".

Generally, Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

3.3.3. Three Elements in CDA: Critical, Discourse and Analysis

In the following sub-section, we will look at three components of CDA, namely Critical, Discourse and Analysis, to see how they are defined in Critical Discourse Analysis.

CDA is naturally embedded within Critical Theory, a paradigm developed in the last three decades whose critical impetus originates in the Frankfurt School, especially Habermas. As Wodak and Meyer (2009, P. 6) recall, in 1937 Horkheimer urged social theory to critique and change society, which meant to improve its understanding by integrating social sciences, to show how social phenomena are interconnected, to produce knowledge that helps social actors emancipate themselves from domination through self-reflection, and to describe, explain and eradicate delusion, by revealing structures of power and ideologies behind discourse, that is, by making visible causes that are hidden. The scope of CDA is not only language-based. Its critical perspective attracts scholars from various disciplines, as well as activists. Their concern lies with unveiling patterned mechanisms of the reproduction of power asymmetries.

Anthropology, linguistics, philosophy and communication studies, among others, may share this inclination.

From its inception, CDA was a discipline designed to question the status quo, by detecting, analyzing, and also resisting and counteracting enactments of power abuse as transmitted in private and public discourses. For some, to be critical might imply to be judgmental. However, this is not the case here, because, as Jäger and Maier (2009, P. 36), cited in Blommaert (2005), state, this kind of critique “does not make claims to absolute truth”. CDA is understood to be critical in a number of different ways: Its explicit and unapologetic attitude as far as values and criteria are concerned (van Leeuwen 2006); its commitment to the analysis of social wrongs such as prejudice, or unequal access to power, privileges, and material and symbolic resources (Fairclough 2009); its interest in discerning which prevailing hegemonic social practices have caused such social wrongs, and in developing methods that can be applied to their study (Bloor and Bloor 2007). All this makes CDA an example of research aiming for social intervention. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) add that a critical reading goes beyond hermeneutics. In their view, CDA aims at demystifying texts shaped ideologically by relations of power; it focuses on the opaque relationship between discourse and societal structure; and it does so through open interpretation and explanation, by relying on systematic scientific procedures, that is, by achieving distance from the data and setting them in context. Self-reflection concerning the research process is a must. In sum, CDA seeks to expose the manipulative nature of discursive practices, and improve communication and well-being by removing the barriers of assumed beliefs legitimized through discourse.

Besides, 'Critical' in Critical Discourse Analysis is often associated with studying power relations. Within the frameworks of 'critical', the analyst's intention is to uncover, explore power relationships and demonstrate inequalities embedded in a piece of discourses and wider social and cultural formations (Carson, 2000 quoted in Wodak and Meyer, 2001). Another interpretation of the 'critical' in critical discourse analysis is an attempt to describe, interpret, and explain the relationship between the form and function of language with the intention of exploring the networks of discourse patterns that comprise social situation. 'Critical' in another view is oriented toward locating social problems and analyzing how discourse operates to construct and historically be constructed by such issue. In this perspective of 'critical', the analyst goes from the analysis of texts to the social and political contexts in which the texts emerge. According to Wodak (2001), 'critical' means "having distance to the data, embedding the social, taking a political stance explicitly".

As for 'Discourse' critical discourse analysis sees discourse - language in use in speech and writing - as a form of social practice, constituting other elements of social practices as well as being shaped by them. Starting from such perception, critical discourse analysis sees discourse always involve power ideologies (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999 as quoted in Wodak and Meyer, 2001). And the analysis of discourse is, the analysis of language in use. Analyzing discourse in the light of critical discourse analysis cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions. The task of the analyst in doing critical discourse analysis is to figure out all the possible configurations between texts, ways of representing, and ways of being, and to look for and discover the relationships between texts and ways of being and why certain people take up certain positions vis-a-vis situated use of language.

3.3.4. CDA Frameworks

Blommaert (2005) asserts, there is no single critical discourse analysis: various scholars have created theoretical and methodological tools and frameworks which all fit in the "school" of critical discourse analysis. These methods all have something in common but also some key differences.

There are many central names of critical discourse analysis like for example Teun. A. Van Dijk, who created a widely known method that is a triangulation framework that links cognition, structure and context. There are also other scholars who have their own model or framework of doing critical discourse analysis like Ruth Wodak and Poulchiltan and others more.

Norman Fairclough, the pioneer of CDA, first published his framework of CDA in 1989 and refined it through many further publications (eg. Fairclough 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2003). Therefore the following section presents the theoretical and methodological approaches advanced by Norman Fairclough.

3.3.4.1. CDA Framework by Fairclough

Rahimi & Riasati (2011) asserts, Fairclough is considered to have contributed to the field of CDA most significantly. His model may be the core section of the entire field of CDA, because he was the first to create a theoretical framework, which provided guidelines for future CDA research.

His belief that the language is an irreducible part of social life is the main part of his framework. The dialectic relation between language and social reality is realized through

social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structures (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough attempts to uncover ideological and power patterns in texts in his research method of analysis. He is the only CDA scholar who defines the relationship between power and language (social power and ideology) in his research (Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough provides a three-dimensional framework for the analysis of text and discourse: 1) the linguistic description of the formal properties of the text; 2) the interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes/interaction and the text, where text is the end product of a process of text production and as a resource in the process of text interpretation and lastly, 3) the explanation of the relationship between discourse and social and cultural reality.

Rahimi & Riasati (2011) note that, Fairclough's (1989) analysis has gone beyond the "whatness" of the text description towards the "how" and "whyness" of the text interpretation and explanation. There are certain underlying assumptions behind certain selections of discourse. These assumptions are never value-free and innocent; rather they are ideologically driven and motivated. By studying the forms of the language, we can discover the social processes and also the specific ideology embedded in them. This leads to the exploration of power relations that exist in the society or community. He believes in a "hidden agenda".

As mentioned earlier, Fairclough (1992) developed an overlapping, three-dimensional framework for studying discourse. These three interrelated forms of analysis are then overlaid over each other. Breen (2001, P.10 as cited in Faulkner 2010) succinctly refers to it as the physical text itself (in this case the online comments), the discursive practices referring to "production, distribution and consumption", and finally the social practice, which entails how materials are used within social environments. The following sections will briefly explain the concepts within each element of analysis.

3.3.4.1.1. Analysis of written language texts (textual practice)

The actual text itself is the focus of this dimension of analysis. Attention is paid to the formal and semantic features of the written language of the text in question. Precedence is given to the construction of words, sentences, grammar and/or vocabulary. These utterances, speech acts or statements contribute to conveying or interpreting a specific message (Cots, 2004). The text acts as a written record of an event where something was communicated. It also involves the presentation of facts and beliefs (often ideological), the construction of identities of participants discussed in the communication, and strategies to frame the content of the message (McGregor, 2003). Fairclough (1992, p.75) separates text analysis into four sections, to be viewed as ascending in scale, beginning with vocabulary focusing on words, grammar's focus on combinations of words, cohesion on how phrases and clauses are linked and finally text structure which deals with "large scale organizational properties of texts" . Textual analysis is concerned only with text and not with any social or contextual elements.

3.3.4.1.2. Analysis of Discourse Practice

The discursive practice element tells people how to act within particular careers or disciplines. It defines the rules and norms of socially acceptable behavior and of specific roles or relationships used to produce, receive, and interpret the message. It tells us how to think, act, and speak in all the social positions in life (McGregor, 2003). It instructs people who they are in the world and how they realize "specific and recognizable social identities" (Gee, 1990). It is the way that people learn to be: teachers, linguists, students or members of a particular community. This element also acts as the liaison linking the social and textual practices.

3.3.4.1.3. Analysis of social practice

The goal of the social practice element is to discover the extent to which discourse is shaped by and, at the same time, influences social structure and the nature of the social activity of which it forms part (Cots, 2003, P. 339). This section highlights the three elements of discourse and the next section will focus on the article and the analysis of it using these three distinct elements.

3.4. Why CDA for this study?

It is an approach which lends itself well for research that focuses on social and cultural changes. What in particular makes it suitable for this study is, *the fact that* it foregrounds links between social practice and language, and the systematic investigation of connection between the nature of social process and properties of language texts.

Critical discourse analysis as a research method, thus, centers on understanding the ideological machinations of discourse, and aims to produce a critique of how discourse operates to effect certain agendas. In this respect, critical discourse analysis as a method has much in common with both gender studies and migration studies in that their objectives, too, involve the laying bare of ideological agendas which emerge from the discourses produced in formal and informal exchanges. All the examples I shall draw on, therefore, are informed by a critical discourse analysis stance which attempts to understand the investments that various discursive formations have and make, socially, culturally, and politically.

Moreover, it is a 'critical' approach to discourse analysis in the sense that it sets out to make visible through analysis and critique, connections between properties of texts and social

processes and relations (ideologies, power relation) which are generally not obvious to people who produce and interpret those texts.

All in all, it is a methodology or an approach that the researcher employs in this research because as Van Dijk (2003, p. 352) asserts it is "type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by talk in the social and political context".

3.5. Why Fairclough's Model?

As was mentioned in the previous discussion, there are different models or frameworks of critical discourse analysis and these various models and methods of critical discourse analysis are somewhat different in their content and object of focus. Due to this, not all methods are well suited to all topics of study as others (Markkula, 2014).

Though used less frequently in social scientific work, Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) has provided scholars with the theoretical basis and methodological process for understanding and analyzing discourses used to construct social practices and discourses constructed by social practices.

Besides this, Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA, as was pointed out in the preceding part, involves three specific levels or dimensions of analysis: textual properties, discursive practices and social practices. Textual properties correlate with analyzing the text as an object, social practices with the context, and discursive practices deal primarily with the relation between a text and its context, i.e. how the context influences the text and how the text influences its context. Although Fairclough separates these three dimensions for analysis, he stresses that the dimensions are not mutually exclusive or completely separate from each

other. Thus, it is possible for one topic of interest to be investigated under two or all three of these dimensions (1992, p. 71-96 quoted in Markkula, 2014).

Moreover, Fairclough's conceptual framework provides us with a critical lens that complements the three dimensional analytical frameworks of discourse - rather than simply describing discourses, this framework draws attention to how particular discourse practices are engaged in social struggles, how they are reflective of tensions between different ideological standpoints.

Generally, as noted by Markkula (2014), Fairclough's model is explicitly suited to the analysis of media texts. Thus, based on the above considerations, the researcher believes Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis to be the most fitting model of critical discourse analysis for this study.

3.6. Research Design and Methods

This section deals with the design of the research and methodological for used in the study.

In order to best address the research questions set out and to execute the objective of the study, the researcher opted to implement Critical Discourse Analysis or CDA. Since critical discourse analysis has little concern with the quantitative representation of facts and is more concerned with the social and cultural practices, qualitative research methodology is suitable to carry out this kind of research. Therefore, critical discourse analysis, especially the theoretical and methodological approach advanced by Norman Fairclough, has been employed in this research to analyze online media users' comments and opinions on Betty's sexual act. This critical perspective proves to be the best fit research methodology for many reasons.

First it is a research method that enables the researcher to reveal how texts are articulated to produce specific meaning and reinforce views about certain topic (Fairclough, 1995). This methodology sees the text as a result of ideologies, beliefs and knowledge (Fairclough, 2003).

Second, as Hastings (1998.p-192) explains, this method enables to 'uncover how the use of language is connected to broader processes and practices, such as the reproduction of social relations or the construction of knowledge'. This ability is not offered by other qualitative methods. Content analysis does not allow us to uncover the ideologies in the text. Other discourse analytic approaches, such as thematic or narrative analysis do not place much emphasis on discursive power as critical discourse analysis does.

Moreover, this method is employed as a research methodology because it allows the researcher to produce the description and critique of any given piece of text (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000). Critical discourse analysis is ideally suited for such an examination in that its goals are to "analyze opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language (Ibid p- 448). Besides this, critical discourse analysis allows for establishing 'systematic links between texts, discourse practices and socio cultural practices' (Fairclough, 1995, P.16- 17).

Generally, the three dimensional model for critically analyzing discourse operates dialectically with one another. Texts are event of discourse usage; consumption, and distribution; and social practice is the larger context within which the text is produced. Fairclough suggest that the analysis at the level of text primarily drawn upon linguistic and semiotic of language, analysis at the level of discursive practice primarily concerns micro-level interpretive social theory, and analysis at the level of social practice primarily concerns macro-level social theory Mayo

(2013). Fairclough believes that all three dimensions should be examined together and in relation to each other in order to correctly balance the role of structure and agency in social relation (ibid).

In the investigation of the online media users' reaction to Betty and her sexual act, focus is made on critical discourse analysis, especially on Fairclough's model in order to understand the connection between the comments and debates about Betty and her act (Text), and respective discourses they rely on (discourse practice). Fairclough (1995, P. 61) defines this approach as "inter-textual analysis" i.e., the analytical act of "looking at the traces of the discursive practice in the text", whose ultimate objective is to explore whether the studied connections.

3.7. Data collection Instrument

This study was designed with CDA approach. Thus, the researcher has employed textual analysis as a data collection instrument. The data used for this study comes from the online public discussions in user-generated content forums where users post their opinions and engage in discussion and debate in response to Betty's sexual act on Big Brother Africa reality show.

A systematic Google search turned up six (6) online sources that relate to Betty's incident during three months (starting from June - September). Each of these online media presents articles of competing version of what occurred and provided diverse interpretations: claims that the incident has created an outrage among Ethiopians and others reporting that the incident is heavily criticized by the conservative section of the society as typically "Un-Ethiopian". Moreover, these online sources noted that there also had been some initiatives by a group of

lawyers to sue Betty over the act. Of these web sources, 80 contained user - generated comments, amounting to over 345 comments in total. I was able to capture 120 comments from four (4) online media sources (Addis zefen.com, Big Brother Africa, Dire Tube, and The Reporter) before the comments began to disappear from the internet.

The majority of the comments are short statements voicing the users' reaction to Betty and/or her act. Many comments in these forums or media also make 'reference to earlier comments or posters, and in some forums there are ways to show supports and endorsement or discontentment for what other posters are weighing in and contributing to the debate and/or discussion.

Once collected and set into word document the data - which amounted to 10 pages of text - were then formatted for analysis, removing unimportant information like materials' such as the date at which the posters joined the forum, the number of posts that they have made so far, pictures and images included as part of the user signature, and other descriptive information not useful to the analysis.

3.8. Data Sampling

Just as critical discourse analysis is a unique, multi-disciplinary method of research, so too are the way in which CDA data is sampled (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Neuman (2006. P. 219) explains "Qualitative research focus less on a sample's representativeness than how the sample or small collection cases, units, or activities illuminates social life". This statement certainly holds true regarding the sampling approach of many critical discourse analysis researchers. In fact, many experts agree that "most of the approaches to CDA do not explicitly recommend sampling procedures" but rather "rely on existing texts, such as mass media communication, or

documents" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.27). In this case(the existing texts are comments and opinions from online media, Awuramba Times, Dire Tube, Addis Zefen and Big Brother Africa.

For the data, focus was made on online media as opposed to other media sources such as television, newspaper, or radio. Choosing to focus on the online media mentioned earlier, instead of including and selecting others, made sense for a number of reasons. It seems likely that online media would offer more substantial Coverage than other media outlets. The unscripted nature of online media discourse is also another reason. Besides, feminist researchers and theorists continue to examine the media for cultural interpretation of women's roles and statuses due to the recognition of the powerful influence that media possess as agents of socialization and ideological influence.

As Van Zoonen (1994, p. 27) asserts "media are used as a tool to transmit sexist, patriarchal, and capitalistic values to contribute to the maintenance of the social order". Finally, in the interest of material and manageability, the researcher felt that online media would provide discourses surrounding Betty and her sexual deed without being overwhelming).

The three month time frame (from late June-early September) was selected for a variety of more substantive reasons. Part of the reason that his time frame was selected owing to the fact that it was during this time that there was intensive news coverage, and articles and much more reactive comments and debates from online media were published between, late June to the beginning of September.

3.9. Method of Analysis

As Gill (2000) pointed out, the essence of discourse analysis is “ever elusive,” “never quite captured by descriptions of coding schemes, hypotheses and analytical schemata” (p. 180). Fairclough (1992) reminded researchers with intension to use critical discourse analysis that one will lose sight of the complexities of discourse if complying with a too rigid analytical framework. Parker (1999), cited in Zhang (2012), resonated this statement that there is no “right” way to conduct a critical discourse analysis. As he put it, “any retreat to set ‘methods’ will end up restricting our understanding of the complexity and multiplicity of meaning” (p. 2). Rather than to construct a “discourse analytic machine” that can “shred all varieties of text,” it is more meaningful to recognize “ways of reading” that can be adapted and modified for different discourses in different circumstances (p. 2). Researchers using critical discourse analysis vary in their disciplines and specific procedures applied to their research objects, but they complement each other, working together to build critical discourse analysis into a salient theoretical framework and methodology.

The analytic method adopted for the analysis of the reactive texts is based primarily on Fairclough’s (1992) three-dimensional analytic framework, discussed previously. It is necessary to make some further explication of the three analytic levels here. The three levels—the analysis of discursive practices, analysis of texts, and analysis of social practice of which the discourse is a part—is inevitably overlapping and complementary to each other. Following this analytic framework, a critical discourse analysis study involves a progression “from the interpretation of the discourse practice... to description of the text, to interpretation of both of these in the light of the social practice in which the discourse is embedded” (p. 231). To be

specific, the analysis of online media users' reactive text for this study is carried out as listed below.

The first level of analysis is discursive practice analysis. This level of analysis focuses on the context of the production and consumption of the reactive texts on Betty for her sexual at the reality television shows. The emphasis is on how some aspects of the conversation participants—gender, roles on stage, and positions in real life— affect interpretations of the texts. Analysis at this level is of a relatively holistic grasp of the discourses.

Concerning textual analysis, Fairclough (1992) proposed a range of aspects to look at for the analysis of specific texts, which include: interactional control—the relationship between speakers, such as the question of who sets the conversational agenda; ethos—how identities are constructed through words; politeness strategies; metaphors; word meaning; wording; and grammar. By reading between the lines and attending to details during conversations, analysis at this level is made with a particular attention to those textual elements to discover underlying meanings.

The third and final part of the analysis is social practice analysis. According to Fairclough (1992), analysis at this level is difficult to be outlined into a checklist. As a matter of fact, he did not provide an analysis at this level clearly in his own discourse analysis. The general objective of this analytic level is to specify —the nature of the social practice of which the discourse practice is a part, which is the basis for explaining why the discourse practice is as it is; and the effects of the discourse practice upon the social practice (p. 237). Given Fairclough's (1992) description, to analyze discourses at this level is to see in this study, What

does the representation of Betty due to her sexual act in reality television shows indicate about women's role and status in the contemporary Ethiopian society?

Analysis at the social level, therefore, is included in the discussion section of the thesis as part of a concluding remark on all the sampled discourses. How the reaction and retorts on Betty reflect the broader social ideology concerning the role and status of women in Ethiopia, and what ideological and political influences they might have on people's perceptions about the female gender are discussed.

Chapter Four: Data Presentation and Discussion

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the analysis of data followed by a discussion of the research findings. The findings relate to the research questions that guide the study. The researcher used Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis to find out how online media users have reacted to Betty's sexual act on Big Brother Africa Reality Show from four different online media sites. The researcher has extorted a variety of reactions and retorts to Betty on her sexual act on the reality show. In the following analysis, the researcher examines selected reactive texts.

4.2. Backgrounds of the Data

On June 18, 2013, an Ethiopian girl by the name Bethlehem Abera (Betty) and Sierra Leon's Bolt engaged in "sex act" live on camera on Big Brother African reality TV show. The story started circulating in cyberspace and the act was the top of the story in online media for days and triggered strong reaction from different groups. Outside the mass media, the issue was also heavily debated on social networking sites. Various online media users discussed Betty and the act.

In the months since the incident, a growing number of critics have come forward to debate and plenty of reaction appeared in online media from every corner to her act and raised concern about Ethiopian women and their sexuality.

The online media has since become a forum for many of these discussions, moreover, recently has facilitated a diverse and sometimes reasoned discourses on the subject. However, in the days immediately following the act, such critical discourse generated dramatic, negative reaction. While some voiced criticism and concerns about Betty and what she did in the show, some others put the cultural milieu to the test. Scholars, students, and even religious leaders found out themselves singled out for voicing their views.

Social media users' and bloggers set fire, including prominent radio presenters in Betty's home country, Ethiopia. Face book pages like "Betty didn't represent Ethiopia on Big Brother Africa" have sprouted, condemning Betty's very-open "hook up" on live television. In this paper the researcher examines a very small part of the public reaction specifically those reactive texts that the researcher believed that can potentially show the big picture of our society and help to answer the research questions.

In the following section, the researcher presents analysis of selected reactive texts. The analysis is divided in to three parts corresponding to the three dimensions in Fairclough's model: text, discourse practice, and social practice. Under text, the researcher performs a close textual analysis in which lexical choice, presupposition and transitivity are looked at. Under discourse practice analysis, the researcher looks at the two discursive formation found in the reactive texts that is conservative and radical discourses. Under social practice analysis, the researcher views women as part of broad social practice.

4.3. CDA's Three-Stage Analytic Framework

As already stated, the critical discourse analysis of the online media users' reaction on Betty's sexual act on BBA reality TV show follows Fairclough's three stage analytical model. As has also been mentioned, the analysis will start with the description of the text. The researcher then move on to the stage of discourse practice analysis which will be followed by the last stage which looks at the consequence of the text on social practice and structures.

4.4. Exploring the Texture of the Reactive Texts

The first dimension of Fairclough's framework calls for the analysis of the "texture of the text," or in other words, its form and organization at all levels. Attention to the text can shed light on to the way in which language works to construct identities and social relations, and thus the method special reliance to analyze the reactive texts. Specific elements of textual analysis that the researcher wants to discuss here are; lexical choice, presupposition and to little extent, transitivity.

4.4.1. Lexical Choices

Analyzing lexicalization means studying individual lexical items and their connotations and denotations. Such analysis is significant because naming and lexical choices are value-laden and ideologically charged. Fairclough argues that "a text's choice of wording depends on, and helps create, social relationships between participants" (1999, P.116). According to Huckin (1995, P.101), special attention should be given to studying words and phrases because "labels often carry unavoidable connotations." For Fowler, lexical choices have always been seen as

very crucial in the construction of meaning. They “mark off socially and ideologically distinct areas of experience” (1991, P. 84). The idea of “marking off” indicates a categorization process where labelers divide the world into us and them; we are good, they are bad. The analysis of lexical choices sets out how reference to participants in an event can cognitively and socially categorize in-group and out-group identities as “the different possibilities [of naming] signify different assessments by the speaker/writer of his or her relationship with the person referred to or spoken to, and of the formality or intimacy of the situation” (Fowler et al., 1979, P. 200).

Labeling is a powerful tool that can be used to foreground the two poles of the ideological square. The analysis of labeling examines what lexical choices are used to refer to Betty and the effect of these choices in terms of the theme of exclusion. The process of naming or referring to people can be significant in terms of in- and out-grouping. So, calling someone loyal and another a betrayer would necessarily indicate that the first is included, i.e., with us, and the second is excluded. Lexical choices in the present data highlight the theme of othering Betty; that is to say, Betty is portrayed as standing in another square from the people and the society. Othering Betty is done through excluding her on the legal, cultural and social levels.

Studying labeling is, in fact, a study of representation because objects are given names to identify them and the process of identification is done on ideological basis. So when we identify/label social objects, we represent them from our own perspective. Describing a social actor as legal or illegal partly helps in the representation of the social actors as such. But the recurrence of the label legal or illegal, for example, will discursively lead to setting up mental concepts about the labelled actor which over time becomes an inalienable attribute which ultimately becomes part of the culture and common sense knowledge.

In this section, labels which refer to Betty will be examined to see whether they contribute to excluding Betty and if so, how. According to Fairclough, there are two aspects of representation: "The first has to do with the structuring of propositions, [and] the second with the combination and sequencing of propositions" (1995b, P. 104). Thus, the choice of words used in nomination and characterization of social actors are of particular significance in analyzing the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation integral to the 'ideological square'.

In this section, the analysis examines the social denotation, positive or negative, of the lexical items that are used to describe Betty and her act. It is found that all references to Betty in the reactive texts are of a negative type.

The lexical references that referred to Betty in the comments of online media users' can be grouped into three main categories. The first group establishes a strong connection between the Betty's sexual act and Ethiopian culture and social values. Depicting her as "disgrace to humanity". She is represented as "prostitute", and who plan to ruin the values and norms of the society, and want to fail the social order of the nation to serve her own agenda and objective. The reactant accused her as the one who cast doubt on the society's reputation and described Betty as she wants to distort the national image.

The second group of lexical references denies Betty's legitimacy. Some online media users described Betty as not a member of Ethiopian society. The labels "illegal", "illegitimate", "unrecognized" and "she doesn't represent us" are reiterated throughout the data to negatively modify Betty.

The third label that is used to foster Betty as “other” and “deviant”. The idea of othering is very relevant to the discussion of exclusion. Bowness (2012), asserts that, ‘Othering’ is discursive. It is a representation of someone or some group to be interpreted by other people, and construction of that person or group as problematically different. Individuals are outwardly cast into a deviant stereotype based on some easily accessible characteristic that fits within an ideological conception of the social order. The ‘Other’ is someone to fear, be wary of, or at the very least to suspend trust in. But more than just being the product of ideological understandings and stereotypical formations, ‘Othering’ serves a unique purpose in social struggle: ‘Othering’ acts as a rationale on which power relations rest, justifying power imbalances and cementing members of the dominant group to maintain their position in a social hierarchy (Hall, 1997b, cited in Bowness, 2012). Sexual and gender discrimination, therefore, are social problems that derive from dominant worldviews that deem particular subordinated group members as ‘Other.’

The discursive structures and strategies involved in this ideologically based description of the ‘Others’ include:

Negative lexicalization: The selection of (strongly) negative words to describe the actions of the Other (Betty): shameful, dishonored, immoral, disgrace humanity, prostitute, anti - Ethiopian, whore, slut, etc. The extract below exemplify this:

Betty, what you did was really shameful. You dishonored the proud people of Ethiopia (Anonymous June 30, 2013 at 5:20 PM).

You are prostitute do not came back to Ethiopia (Yared June 20, 2013 at 1:20 PM)

Shame on you Betty, you worthless whore (Anonymous September 8, 2013 at 4:20 PM)

Negative comparison: To emphasize the bad qualities of the ‘Other’ by comparing the target person or out-group with a generally recognized Bad person or out-group. Online media users’ comparison of Betty with “prostitute” “whore” is a well-known example. Thus, the sexual act of Betty may be rhetorically enhanced by comparing her to the “prostitute” that is abominable culturally and result anathema from religion.

Generalization: Generalizing from one person or a small group to a larger group or category. According to many reactant, Betty’s act is not only the feature of Betty, but are more generally attributed to (a few) unidentified women, and hence to any woman. Given Ethiopian history, subsequent users in online media reacted against the inherent culture and values of the society in which Betty were caught by camera having sex. However, much of the reactive texts which appeared in online media not only moralize against Betty and her act, but also criticized Ethiopian women in general. The comments below show this:

Betty is a delusional whore; Ethiopian women are generally like her (Anonymous July 10, 2013 at 2:20 AM).

Ethiopian women are shameless bitches, if don’t believe it, go to any big city in the Middle East, they sell their body for money (Temu September 10, 2013 at 3:50 PM).

There are many millions women doing the same in country side, it becomes the culture of this generation (Anonymous August 10, 2013 at 6:20 PM).

There are much more Ethiopian women like Betty. Now a days it is like an ethos in this new generation, she is demonstrating this culture (Anonymous August 17, 2013 at 2:29 AM).

Generally, together, these discourses of online media had the effect of ‘Othering’ Betty, blaming her for her own hardships without the acknowledgement of the historical and systemic oppression she faced. Moreover, the frequent reference to ‘culture and identity’ in the comments provided a rhetorical device for silencing the standpoint of those who have supported Betty, while simultaneously defining “reality” from a patriarchal position. The researcher also found evidence of an oppositional discourse, which worked to challenge and counter processes of sexist ideology and patriarchalism; however, this discourse was the less dominant voice in the forums.

To conclude, the analysis in this section has shown that the negative image of Betty is actively at work on the lexical level. The analysis of lexical choices also show that exclusion is a constant strategy towards Betty. The next section discusses presupposition as another tool through which excluding Betty is carried out.

4.4.2. Presupposition

The next section discusses presupposition as another tool through which excluding Betty is carried out. Presupposition or presupposed propositions are implicit and taken for granted meanings or assumption. Presuppositions are what underlie the meaning of the text without having to be explicitly stated. All forms of communication are dependent on some sort of

shared, common meaning. However, presuppositions can be manipulative and can have effects on power relations when what is assumed has function of “commonsense in the service of power” (Fairclough, 1989, P. 107).

The analysis revealed examples of presupposition that stress the theme of exclusion. It is found that the main function of presupposition in the data is negatively delineating women. In the comments below, the reactant lists a number of accusations against Betty.

She is a disgrace to the proud people of Ethiopia (Anonymous July 1, 2013 at 7:20 PM).

Betty you ashamed our respected society (Anonymous June 21, 2013 at 8:20 PM).

Betty, you disregarded the Ethiopian people and its culture (Lemma September 10, 2013 at 1:20 AM).

I never seen a girl so shameless like Betty. She dishonored us and our nation (Anonymous August 20, 2013 at 4:13 PM).

According to the above reactants presupposition; Betty is an Ethiopian woman dishonored her nation. Her sexual act in front of the camera is encoded as dishonoring the country. The posters prediction by the text “dishonor” Betty is because of the contextual paradigms that they already have. They try to proof their reader that Betty is a shameful woman by giving from the ordinary Ethiopian’s lives. As shown from the comment (5), the writers claim that Betty is the first woman who came out in front of the camera and was seen while having sex.

These accusations presuppose the following: Ethiopia has good reputation but Betty dishonored the nation and the country's good image globally. In terms of the ideological square, these presuppositions position Betty on the other side of the society: she destroyed the social fabric, blackmailed the image of the country and the nation.

The analysis of presupposition has validated the results of previous analyses in that othering and excluding Betty is a main theme of online media users' reaction. In addition, presupposition is used to sustain and legitimize the current social order and, hence claim any opposition to this social order as illegitimate and deviation.

4.4.3. Transitivity

It is also important to look how online media reactants constructed Betty, through transitivity and the use of certain verb forms to portray Betty and her sexual act. What the researcher want to bring to attention here is how Betty's act is depicted through the kinds of verb forms that are used. It is here also important to look at transitivity, that is how action is described – “who does what to whom”. Transitivity is an important tool in analyzing how inequalities and power relations can be concealed. The analysis of transitivity patterns in the data of online media users' reaction on Betty's sexual act revealed the predominance of material processes, seconded by the verbal processes. The analysis has also shown that all the material processes are related to “dishonor”, “shameful”, “prostitute”, “whore” and “Bitch” which negatively marked Betty and helped to develop an atmosphere of apprehension and exclusion.

The analysis of how Betty is represented according to the transitivity system in the reactive texts underlines Betty with a negative image of an exclusionary nature. Betty is:

- Associated with prostitute;
- Dishonoring the society;
- A typical whore
- A disgrace to the proud people of Ethiopia

This image goes in line with the social practices in which Betty has been negatively represented.

4.5.Discourse as Discursive practice

Discourse as discursive practice considers the processes of production, distribution and consumption as set out in Discourse and Social Change (Fairclough, 1992). This level, like the Discourse as Social practice section to follow, is considered more interpretative than the text analysis process undertaken above (Fairclough, 1992).

The issue of Betty's sexual act is presented through the knitting together of a variety of different discourses. First, there is a cultural discourse that view women sexuality issue through its emphasis on reproduction. There is also a right and entitlement discourse that represent sexuality as a right not only for men but also for women. We also find a neo liberal discourse which redefines women sexuality as primarily an issue of freedom and personal right and choice. Finally, there is patriarchal discourse that see and represent women sexuality as a threat for social fabric and for future generation.

Having said all this, the aspect of discourse practice that the researcher sought to capture in the reactive text was the division between posters who either drew on other comments to promote the status quo (conservative discourse) or to call for social change in their interaction with other posters (radical discourse). These cling together interdiscursively to form discursive formations.

So, in this case, comments constructing Betty were generally split into those that defend the culture and values of the society / criminalized and denounced Betty, and those who were critical of the existing social order and criticizing the cultural milieu/ supporting Betty. These two competing clusters of comments were conceptualized in terms of conservative and radical discursive formations, respectively. The conservative discursive formation had several features to it, including defense of the culture, criminalization of Betty and denouncing her sexual act, denial of who supporting Betty, and responsabilization of the current family order and child upbringing. The radical discursive formation tend to place its criticism and blame against the patriarchal social order, conservative culture, and socio – political setting.

4.5.1. The Charge of Betty and the sexual act

Most of the comments responding to the case were critical of Betty actions. These comments tended to fault Betty for misconduct. The comment below condemn the actions of the involved woman and claim what she did was against the culture:

Betty, it is shame on you. It is really a disgusting activity you did. You disregard the Ethiopian culture and its people (Melat Dechassa June 11, 2013 at 5:05 PM (Dire Tube)).

It's an embarrassment for Ethiopia so out of culture no way this lady represent the big nation Ethiopia (Biruk June 7, 2013 at 12:29 pm (Addiszefen.com)).

It is not the culture of the greet Ethiopian People (Birhanu July 10, 2013 at 5:26 AM).

Its shame to us Ethiopian because it's not our norm! (Wintana June 10, 2013 at 3:33 PM)

Posters who criticized Betty were inclined to place most of the responsibility and blame on the individual Betty who were caught on camera while having sexual act, as is the case with the previous post. Here the most common approach taken by posters was to place fault on Betty herself, but some reactant went further to associate the act the attribute of women in general.

Given Ethiopian history, subsequent users in online media reacted against the inherent culture and values of the society in which Betty were caught by camera having sex. However much of the reactive texts which appeared in online media not only moralize against Betty and her act, but also criticized women in general.

There are many million Ethiopians doing the same in country side. It becomes the culture of the recent generation (Daniel June 8, 2013 at 10:01 PM)

There are much more such Ethiopians, why you think her case is critical? Now a days it is like a culture in the new generation, she is demonstrating the culture (Anonymous June 21, 2013 at 1:20 PM).

What Ethiopian women deserve is to be treated like a shit as they are. I am serious I too don't want Ethiopian women. If a donkey comes with money an Ethiopian women will

spread her legs. Guys wake up this is a fact, they don't deserve respect (Anonymous July 24, 2013 at 1:20 PM).

I think Betty destroyed our feelings for our own women. The blame also goes to the many Ethiopian women who come out to defend her, by defending her & showing open support they associated themselves with her which is a disservice to their own image. I think women supporting her led to the generalization of Ethiopian women (Jack June 29, 2013 at 1:20 PM).

As it has been seen in the above comments, while denunciation and blame were prevalent in the comments, this was generally constructed as not only a problem of individual Betty but as a general attribute of women in general. Less common in the forums were comments that intentionally broadened the analysis to the social level, generalizing charges beyond the individual Betty involved, to women as a whole and to those who show support to Betty.

4.5.2. The Criminalization of the sexual act

The majority of the comments that constructed the sexual act through a criminalizing lens. By engaging in the criminalization of Betty, posters construct a binary division between the 'good' woman and the 'bad woman' who pose a threat to society.

There are 2 kinds of girls in this world. A good girl & a hoe. A good girl is da 1 that plays hard to get. She is finder's keeper. She is da one u marry. She is your baby's mama. A hoe is da 1 that gives it up easily. She is only good for sex. Betty is that hoe (Israel Ayalew June 11, 2013 at 1:30 AM).

We Ethiopian grow with culture, believes, with respecting of societal values, social norms. Moreover with grow with honesty, bravery, by no means will she not represent Ethiopians. We are different, we don't have such girl in our society (Anonymous June 13, 2013 at 2:34 AM).

Criminalizing discourses constructed Betty as a potential threat to society. These comments denounce Betty's actions and placed a division between 'Us,' the culture abiding, good citizens and 'Them,' the dangerous and deviant. The above post encapsulates this sentiment. These posts all work to 'Other' Betty from members of the society, to label women as potentially dangerous.

Generally, the conservative wings believe that Betty's sexual act causes harm to people, or that it is a deviation from what they believe to be socially normal, then they judged it as morally wrong. Some comments even go as far comparing Betty to prostitute.

She is a typical whore. She never represent an Ethiopian. I know her... she used to be bitch around Concord. Now she got a chance She sold her pussy for free! Shame for you bitch (Terefe July 20, 2013 at 8:34 PM).

You are prostitute /shele neshi!! How much he paid to you for sex? Don't turn to Ethiopia! (Alemayehu June 18, 2013 at 11:12 am).

Others claim what Betty did in Big Brother Africa isn't Ethiopian – like or it runs contrary to who we are as people and accuse her for bringing shame to Ethiopians image and reputation.

Oh: Betty Shame on you shame on you made us our head down because of your immoral and shameful act. You blackmail our image nationally and internationally. Really you are not representing Ethiopian, you brought shame to your Ethiopian boyfriend, your mother and father, brothers and sisters, shame on you. Please do not come to our holy country to poison our pure culture (Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 5:10 AM).

As we realized from the above post, reactants were particularly concerned about their demolished reputation, and how the case had cast dark shadows over family life and the entire nation of Ethiopia. They wrote with contempt about the accuser and raised conservative concern about how Betty and what she did in show bring shame on entire nation of Ethiopian. The comments below show this

She has ruined the reputation of apparently innocent and noble nation (Arango June 18, 2013 at 5:36 pm).

Besides this some fundamentalist reactant proclaimed death threat to Betty if she could come back and these groups forced her not to come back home.

Do not come back Ethiopia, if you try, you will lose your life. People are at anger upon you (Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 8:16 AM).

Don't come to Ethiopia. Hang yourself (Anonymous July 11, 2013 at 1:33 PM).

We will splash acid on the face of Betty if she come in any area Ethiopians live. We don't want you we have informed you Betty never think to come back home. No traitor and bitch can live here (Addisu Abebe September 6, 2013 at 8:13 AM).

4.5.3. Defending Betty – the Denial of culture

Although less common in the forums, the posters defended Betty and the act using a number of different arguments, among the most notable of these discourses was a denial the culture in interpreting the incident.

These posts counter charges against Betty, claiming that her sexual act, although not socially acceptable, it is her personal choice. The first claims that, *so what she can do whatever she feel like with her body*. *Esu June 8, 2013 at 8:47 pm*, the second poster also supports this notion.

To those who are calling her bitch, slut, get a life seriously. Sex is a taboo and something to be shy about it. Having a safe sex willingly and with protection doesn't make you slut. She is an adult and as an adult she has full right to do what she pleases. And for those who is claiming she shamed the country, tell me one thing you have done that has brought a great honorary. Yes...absolutely nothing except sit around and judge people. If the guy did the same thing, I am sure it would not be this big of a deal. Get over, you are nobody and have no right to judge and acclaim someone shamed country. Ignorant- is what this is (Humanity June 8, 2013 at 9:32 pm).

Charges of against our culture were the most prevalent among the criticisms of Betty. The notion of 'culture' appeared several times in the forums. The following are some examples of how the posters framed the incident in terms of culture:

Why u so very angry at her? You think she humiliated your culture. Your culture conventionally says have a sex behind doors and in a dark place. U guys love to do it,

but when you see it and hear it explicitly you hate it like the most evil sin. It is her personal decision. Why you insulted her while she haven't made any slight harm on you. They both like each other. So let her control her live! (Anonymous September 1, 2013 at 3:53 AM).

4.6.Discourse As Social Practice Analysis

I will now turn to the third stage of analysis which is concerned with the level of the social practice which means looking at the potential social and political consequence and implication of people's reaction. To fully understand the consequence and implications of the reactive texts, we need to map out the wider social and cultural relations and structure that Betty and her sexual act emerged.

Women are accepted as 'honor' of their men and the nation at large. As noted in Yuval-Davis (1997), in addition to their role as biological producers of the nation, women are also typically viewed as a cultural produces of the nation. According to this view, women contribute to the cultural reproduction of the nation in two distinct ways. First, women are traditionally responsible for teaching their roles as mother and care givers, women have the power to either reinscribe or transform national ideologies. Second, women exist as the symbolic boundary markers of the nation through "proper" clothing and "proper" behavior, women embody and perform the collective understanding of national gender identities (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 46). When women transgress their traditional position within the nation, they are often ostracized by the nation, or in extreme circumstances eliminated from the nation.

As noted in Gill (2009), the problem is further compounded by the fact that the women themselves often do not recognize that they are victims of gender-based violence, but interpret their treatment as an intrinsic part of their culture. Typically, a woman who lives in an 'honor'-based society learns either that she is not regarded as a human being, or that she is not equal to her male counterparts. The socialization of young women in such societies revolves around notions of family 'honor' and cultural norms which become so deeply internalized that women often find it difficult to break away from these values. As a result of this socialization, many women feel that they are to blame for the emotional and physical abuse they suffer, and so become complicit in their own subjugation.

Furthermore, just as the family subsumes a woman's identity, so it also defines her position in society; acquiescing to such ideologies becomes, for many women, their way of justifying their own sense of self-worth. women may be coerced into accepting societal value systems predicated on the notion of 'honor' and, as a consequence, become part of a system that guarantees them security in terms of economic benefits and social status. This complicity with patriarchal structures, along with the historical dominance of men within society, legitimizes violence against women as a necessary corrective force for sustaining social order in the eyes of women, as well as men (Kandiyoti, 1988.)

Moreover, in patriarchal societies, women are invested with immense negative power, because any misbehavior on their part can bring shame and dishonor to the male members of an entire community or lineage (Kandiyoti, 1988.) Female chastity and modesty are considered to be essential components of the family's 'honor' (Derne, 1994); this results in the systematic control of women's social and sexual behavior (Ortner, 1978.) It is therefore quite clear that the

notion of 'honor' is deeply embedded in the larger operations of patriarchy within these communities. Specifically, 'honor'-based violence is a fundamental strut of the patriarchal order, and violence against women is designed to control women in order to maintain the patriarchal status quo (Kandiyoti, 1988.) Putting aside all claims about abstract notions of 'honor', we can say that men victimize and abuse women in their communities entirely in order to sustain their dominance within the social system.

Women routinely suffer humiliation, harassment, and even discrimination for failing or refusing to submit the normative expectations of sexuality and sexual role. The reaction of men in response to women who challenged their subordinate position were manifested either directly, e.g., by devaluating or underrating women, or indirectly e.g., perceiving roles in stereotypical or counter-stereotypical terms (Herrera, Exposito, & Moya, 2012). The reaction of men have been found to be the most negative when women challenged male authority, which was perceived as undermining male dominated power relation.

Relations between men and women are characterized by inequality, which is in part endorsed by hostile sexist ideology grounded on negative views of women. Moreover, benevolent sexism continues to perpetuate inequality as can be seen from the responses and evaluations of men regarding women who transgress traditional roles (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003)

The problems discussed above are very much prevalent in and relevant to Ethiopia. Ethiopia is a patriarchal society that keeps women in a subordinate position (Haregewoin and Emebet, 2003). In many communities of Ethiopia, 'honor' is highly valued; it is in the conduct, actions, and social performances of women that families attain 'honor' and prestige. The family 'honor'

must be preserved at all costs: family interests take precedence over individual interests. As honor relies on the behavior of women, safeguarding the family honor can also be viewed as a means of exercising social control over women's bodies and behavior. Consent to the patriarchal norms of religion, culture and class is strongly encouraged, and the degree to which each woman conforms to the value systems embedded in these institutions is reflected in the way she is perceived by her marital and blood family. There is a belief that women are docile, submissive, patient, and tolerant of monotonous work and violence, for which culture is used as a justification (Hirut, 2004).

The socialization process, which determines gender roles, is partly responsible for the subjugation of women in the country. Ethiopian society is socialized in such a way that girls are held inferior to boys. In the process of upbringing, boys are expected to learn and become self-reliant, major bread winners, and responsible in different activities, while girls are brought up to conform, be obedient and dependent, and specialize in indoor activities like cooking, washing clothes, fetching water, caring for children, etc. (Haregewoin and Emebet, 2003; Hirut, 2004).

The differences in the ways in which individuals are treated through the socialization process, due mainly to their sex status, leads to the development of real psychological and personality differences between males and females (Almaz, 1991). For instance, as it was clearly pointed in Hirut (2004), a man is a big person who has higher social position and knowledge, who can govern others and think in wider perspectives; while a woman is a person who can serve a man, who is like the husband's object transferred through marriage, and to whom he can do anything

he wishes to do These socially induced differences between males and females result in discriminatory rewards, statuses, opportunities and roles.

Therefore, Policing women's bodies and sexual behavior becomes for patriarchal community, the means of asserting superiority over subordinated women. Women choice and freedom are limited and curtailed to insure women's virtue. By elevating women's chastity, masculinist and patriarchal power is reinforced in the name of the greater idea of honor and national pride.

Various online media users criticized Betty because her act go against the established family norms and cultures of Ethiopian society and vitiate the minds of the younger generation. Above all, fundamentalist outrage condemned the act as anti-Ethiopian and an assault on the culture and history of Ethiopia. They even accuse Betty as she was vitiate the whole fabric of the society.

It is not difficult to imagine why the act provoked such strong and diverse response. According to many online media users reactant, what Betty did in the show was "vulgar and a distortion of culture and ethos of Ethiopia". They claim that "it goes against our culture," "it hurts our religious sentiment" and so many other accusations are circulated in the online media forums.

As it was seen in peoples retort, the hegemonic cultural roles of women affected the expectation of the peoples, who reacted against Betty, backgrounds on the women stereotypes and their probable perceptions about Ethiopian women. One example was a comment on the posts on online media that called Betty "shameful" and her act as "embarrassing" and explained the alleged act as an outcome of "the failed Ethiopian new generation". The Posts

and/or Comments pointed to gender double standards and claimed that what Betty did was against the culture and ethos of Ethiopian society and she doesn't represent Ethiopia.

4.6.1. The 'Social Practice' and the Discourse of women sexuality

Here, however, I want to move beyond Betty has been represented as a deviant and a problem to the social fabric. I want to examine how this new discourse conceals or reflects relations of power.

As Doreen Massey (1994), Oldenburg (1997; 1989), have argued, most women have traditionally and historically been relegated to the home, to attend to their presumed domestic duties and familial obligations or related responsibilities, whereas men have been expected to populate and dominate the public domain. This patriarchal gender ideology allowed men to dominate and control the public sphere (socially, politically, and likewise), while expecting women to want to take control of or being concerned with the private sphere (Fraser 2000; Friedan 1963; Habermas 1962)

With social space organized around these assumptions, "respectable" women should only enter the public sphere (male territory) with a man as a means of maintaining their morality or presumably preserving their respectable femininity (Guano 2007). Otherwise they risk jeopardizing their respectability by generating suspicions of sexual immorality, looseness, or availability, such that they may be viewed as flawed or failed women (Beall 1997a;), or thought of as prostitutes, working girls, or streetwalkers (Delacoste and Alexander 1998; Pendleton 1997).

The reactive texts simply revealed the social pressure on women in Ethiopia. This not only shows how Betty was treated but also the patterns of women and their issues being treated. They are oppressed consistently to live through in everyday life. As it has been seen in the retorts and comments of online media users, there are many problematic, stereotypic and sexist frames and representation of Betty by implication about women. Many posters didn't reacted in liberal way in representing Betty in particular women in general.

What Ethiopian women deserve is to be treated like a shit as they are. I am serious I too don't want Ethiopian women. If a donkey comes with money an Ethiopian women will spread her legs. Guys wake up this is a fact, they don't deserve respect (Anonymous July 24, 2013 at 1:20 PM).

As clearly shown in the above comments, reactant addressed the issue about Betty like extraordinary event that it must be stood against citizens. The discourses on Betty outlined with patriarchal contexts, and calling people to understand that Betty in particular women in general are problematic.

This must not only be seen as Betty's case only, this is a reality of women in social sphere. In Ethiopia women face many difficulties; for instance the high percentage of illiteracy, lower socio economic power, and the customs and traditions which cause economic problems. Ethiopian women have many invisible boundaries in social and political life. The patriarchal hegemony, man gatekeepers and decision makers are everywhere. Since years they are struggling for equal rights and opportunities in daily life. As Sirsat (2014), asserts whatever

women do for their own, actually controlled by patriarchy. Women sexuality or I can say that sexuality from men's eyes directs women about how to behave and what to believe.

Generally, the assumptions underlying the online media reaction and retort and the way in which it represents male – female relationships, may function both to express male dominance and to support and strengthen it.

The researcher outlined two basic themes in this assumptions

1. The objectification of women – women exists to meet men's need, and are or should be passive
2. The subordination of women's discourse – women must be silenced.

In general, a combination of patriarchy, conservative religious interpretations and cultural stereotyping has built a very strong physiological barrier among the population regarding women's choice, right, decision making and participation in public sphere. An acceptance of the status quo and unconscious fear of change have become a major challenge to be deal with.

4.6.2. Women sexuality in context: Between continuity and change

This thesis project critically analyzes online comments responding to incidents that Betty was caught on live camera while having sex. It is 'critical' in the sense that the researcher interrogate the postings with the intention to understand how relations of power are produced and maintained.

6 The comments who supported Betty and claimed the act^e as her personal choice and right, can be understood as a reflection of, and a driving force for, processes of change towards a traditional power relation between men and women in our society, whereas the comments of those who retorted against Betty and claimed the act is against the values and norms of our society and harmed the entire fabric of the society, becomes an example of the continued reproduction of traditional women sexuality discourses and driving force to legitimize the existing power relation between both men and women and maintain the status quo.

When put into a broader social context, the two order of discourse together indicate that there is an ongoing struggle about how women have to behave and act, and to be understood in the current contemporary Ethiopia. On one side are forces that press for a redefinition of the gender behavior, role, status and responsibilities and other social privileges in which they can realize and execute, That it is the new social order, that women can attain equality and access, to a greater extent, than they have in the traditional social order. On the other side is positioned an old social order that maintains the boundary of power and relation between dominated men and subordinated women and consequently reproduces a more traditional definition of what women are and should be.

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

In this study, I have endeavored to show how the online media users have reacted on Betty who was seen on live reality show having sexual act in front on camera. I have used the Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis to gain my objectives.

The researcher has examined the comments to understand the social structure of the Ethiopian culture. Where women do placed for Ethiopians'. The finding ascertained that; online media users partly used patriarchal discourses on women and views of the world are constructed by encoding particular men-made ideologies. The researcher has also demonstrated that women who commit violent offences go against the patriarchal definitions of acceptable female behavior in turn become constructed as 'other'.

Furthermore, it was evident that Betty sexual act was generally considered to be a dishonoring and shameful act within the actual text of the online media users' reaction and retort, although there are some comments used primarily neutral language, several of the comments directly compared Betty's actions with prostitutes.

It follows from these arguments that many of the negative stereotypes associated with Betty's sexual act must be irrational reactions to the socially constructed stigma attached to women and to their sexuality. The feminist critiques of nationalism explain that, women are seen as the 'mothers' of nation where she upholds the responsibility of shame by

controlling her sexuality. Female sexuality is important for nationalism because it signifies women's sexuality only as reproducers and under the control of men (Joane Nagel 1998). Therefore, controlling women's sexuality is not only to deny women's action and perception as agency but also it become the signifier of the honor of men, since her body is considered under the possession of men and women's sexuality is made to reflect the honor of men and the family (Das 1996).

Hence, with the successful defining and policing of appropriate sexuality, the act of Betty comes to be seen as inherently 'wrong' and 'immoral' and subsequently deviantised. In short, she become seen as wrong and immoral, as well. Perhaps the most sinister deviantisation of Betty takes place through the definition, interpretation, and application of moral norms. These moral expectations, based largely on a sexual double standard that restricts women far more than it does men (Synnott, 1993).

As a woman in the culture traditionally granting access to men only, Betty was frequently faced with heavy insults and even disgust. A woman having such an act in public is a shame, and Betty is portrayed as a "prostitute" and "whore", she also framed as a "deviant" in the attic of online media. Some fundamentalist also framed as charging Betty for being an extraordinary example within the society. Some groups has used negative meanings making way on women to call readers to understand women as dangerous and problematic to the social fabric.

The ideological interests behind this degradation are to maintain the boundary between male and female spheres, to mystify the imagined essence of patriarchy, and exclude the threats to the positions of superiority and power.

The reception of Betty and her act from the official critical establishment is well-illustrated by the labels attached to her: of a person who attacks everything that is elegant and cultured in Ethiopian society, because she is a type of woman who is out of her prescribed roles. The mention of her is accordingly absent from the overviews of the history of Ethiopian culture and values.

In general, there are many religious, men-oriented and hegemonic discourses used on online media forums. If the women go and act against their presumed role and behavior, they are going to be represented and embodied as immoral or irreligious. The four online media sites that I have analyzed do not have an objective discourses in terms of women representation. The discussion concluded that: Betty, by implication women in general have been discursively and socially excluded and discriminated against by using sheer power, negative representation, or both.

In Foucauldian terms the woman discussed within this investigation and peoples reaction demonstrated that those who fail to regulate their behavior and impose appropriate disciplinary practices upon their bodies will come under increased discipline and control.

5.2 Recommendations

Through the retrieval of women's experience and subjugated knowledge, a new knowledge of struggle can be brought to light and it can be hoped that women of the future may be allowed their own way to highlight their experience within discourse. However new knowledge never manage to completely eradicate old ideas and it is within this history that we can learn from our mistakes and aim to end the muted state, which women find themselves within legal and media discourse. Besides, women must be made visible and afforded their place in society in order for their voice to be heard and their choice to be entertained. The researcher recommend for further research that encourage women to challenge the patriarchal systems at play by challenging the power systems which silence those who seem powerless and have therefore earned their place in history. Therefore, in depth research on women's body and sexuality should be carried out to come up with sound implications.

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Appendix

User-Generated Comments

1. Daniel June 8, 2013 at 10:01 PM

There are many million Ethiopians doing the same in country side. It becomes the culture of the recent generation! She did correct.

2. Anonymous June 21, 2013 at 1:20 PM

There are much more such Ethiopians, why you think her case is critical? Now a days it is like a culture in the new generation, she is demonstrating the culture. To me she is correct!

3. Anonymous June 29, 2013 at 1:20 PM

I can't walk Ethiopian women on my side with pride as my GF or wife. Because she is cheap anyone can pump her.

4. Jack June 29, 2013 at 1:20 PM

I think Betty destroyed our feelings for our own women. The blame also goes to the many Ethiopian women who come out to defend her, by defending her & showing open support they associated themselves with her which is a disservice to their own image. I think women supporting her led to the generalization of Ethiopian women. SAD!

5. Anonymous June 23, 2013 at 1:20 PM

Believe me or not guys, something is going wrong, I have been following all this story even before it went bad but now it is slowly changing my attitude about my fellow country women, I just feel like they are like Betty, guys this have to stop. I don't want to hate Ethiopian women because of Betty. The more I watch video & read comments the more I dislike my country women.

6. Anonymous July 24, 2013 at 1:20 PM

What Ethiopian women deserve is to be treated like a shit as they are. I am serious I too don't want Ethiopian women. If a donkey comes with money an Ethiopian women will spread her legs. Guys wake up this is a fact, they don't deserve respect.

Bruce June 10, 2013 at 1:20 PM

Betty is a delusional whore. Ethiopian women are generally like that. My advice to Ethiopian guys is do not marry habesha girls

7. Anonymous September 10, 2013 at 1:20 PM

Do not marry habesha girls. They were born prostitutes

8. Anonymous July 23, 2013 at 1:20 PM

The truth is Ethiopian women are shameless bitches, if you don't believe it go to any big city in the middle east, they sell all their holes whoever comes to fuck them. Thanks God

my mom and sisters are not Ethiopian. Ethiopian women should not be allowed to participate in BBA, they are teaching bad culture to African's.

9. Anonymous June 16, 2013 at 4:57 AM

Get a life and leave her alone.

10. Anonymous July 3, 2013 at 5:39 PM

Let Betty does whatever she wants

11. Elshaday G June 12, 2013 at 1:46 AM

What is new here? U did not know this or do not heard about? Please let her enjoy. There bitches in Addis on street sex working and in all north Ethiopian towns and cities too. No difference, sex is sex caught on camera or seen on bare eye or hidden. I feel most Ethiopians are still in the 14th century. Wake up guys.

12. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 4:52 AM

So what she can do whatever she feels like with her body?

13. Ye Michael June 12, 2013 at 9:45 AM

To those who are calling her bitch, slut, etc... Get a life seriously. This is why in Ethiopia HIV is increasing tremendously. Sex is a taboo and something to be shy about it. Having a safe sex willingly and with protection doesn't make you slut. She is an adult and as an adult she has full right to do what she pleases. And for those who is claiming she shamed the

country, tell me one thing you have done that has brought a great honorary. Yes...absolutely nothing except sit around and judge people. If the guy did the same thing, I am sure it would not be this big of a deal. Get over your body and have no right to judge and acclaim someone shamed country.

14. Tigist kefeyalw June 9, 2013 at 8:46 AM

She has the right to love and sleep with any one she likes. Ethiopian culture is the dead culture and we need our freedom. Even our poverty is taking us backwards. Leave us alone.

15. Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 8:27 AM

Why u so very angry at her? You think she humiliated your culture. Your culture conventionally says have a sex behind doors and in a dark place. U guys love to do it, but when you see it and hear it explicitly you hate it like the most evil sin. It is her personal decision. Why you insulted her while she haven't made any slight harm on you. They both like each other. So let her control her live!

16. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 3:00 AM

Just leave her alone she can do whatever she want to do.

17. Johannes June 18, 2013 at 1:42 PM

She has a right to participate in this reality show. Why we bother about her sexual act she represents herself we have a culture to test new things. She did that what is wrong with her.

How many of we are participating in immoral sex act. Individuals cannot represent the whole citizen .don't worry Betty go your life on your foot

18. Anonymous June 18, 2013 at 2:42 PM

You don't have the right to judge her am pretty sure she is aware of what she has done. So that clearly makes it none of your business!!! At this kind of times i hate that am from the same race as you people. Ass whole

19. Anonymous September 18, 2013 at 1:42 PM

Don't blame her, be wise people, open your mind she can do what she want.

20. TG June 9, 2013 at 7:39 PM

She got the right to do anything please think twice before you judge one....shame on you not her

21. Kidus July8, 2013 at 5:14 AM

She represents a nation called Ethiopia. Then, I hope she knows the difference between shameless and decent acts according to the Ethiopian culture. When we say we despise theft, it does not mean there are no thieves in Ethiopia. In the same manner when we say despise open sex it does not mean there are no immoral sexual practices in Ethiopia. Culture is not about the act of individuals rather it is about values & beliefs of the people. I think she broke these values and rules; that could be her mistake.

22. Believe me June 10, 2013 at 4:34 AM

She is a disgrace to the proud people of Ethiopia.

23. Terefe July 20, 2013 at 8:34 PM

She is a typical whore. She never represent an Ethiopian. I know her... she used to be bitch around Concord. Now she got a chance She sold her pussy for free! Shame for you bitch.

24. Anonymous June 13, 2013 at 2:34 AM

We Ethiopian grow with culture, believes, with respecting of societal values, social norms. Moreover with grow with honesty, bravery, by no means will she not represent Ethiopians. We are different; we don't have such girl in our society.

25. Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 6:26 AM

You are prostitute don't turn to Ethiopia!

26. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 6:10 AM

YOU are no more ETHIOPIAN. Please don't come back.

27. Birhanu July 10, 2013 at 5:26 AM

It is not the culture of the greet Ethiopian People.

28. Addisu Abebe September 6, 2013 at 8:13 AM

We will splash acid on the face of Betty if she come in any area Ethiopians live. We don't want her; we have informed you Betty never think you can join the Ethiopian community in South Africa, before you sort out your problem with Ethiopians back home. No traitor and bitch can live here. Never not never. We can do anything we want in SA including shoot you in between your eyes, IDIOT BITCH.

29. Anonymous June 18, 2013 at 3:26 AM

We Ethiopians in South Africa will not allow this Bitch to move around in this Holy land of Mandela easily. As far as South Africa is concerned she can't escape the might of the Ethiopian hand. We are everywhere in South Africa, no BBA no DSTV can hide the stinky Bitch.

30. Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 9:00 AM

If we find Betty in the Ethiopian community in South Africa we will slaughter her.

31. Amanuel Haile June 10, 2013 at 9:55 AM

We have warned you. Don't come to the Ethiopian community in any city of South Africa.

32. Anonymous June 12, 2013 at 9:56 AM

Shame on you worthless bitch

33. Fireyhun June 10, 2013 at 5:44 PM

I don't want to see her again and don't also want her to visit us, we are deeply ashamed!!!

34. Israel Ayalew June 11, 2013 at 1:30 AM

There are 2 kinds of girls in this world. A good girl & a hoe. A good girl is da 1 that plays hard to get. She is finder's keeper. She is da one u marry. She is your baby's mama. A hoe is da 1 that gives it up easily. She is only good for sex. Betty is that hoe.

35. Solomon bayu June 11, 2013 at 8:02 AM

Oh..... how Menelik (emperor of Ethiopia) would feel if he crawled out of his grave just for a minute and witnessed this??

36. Gerba Dereje June 18, 2013 at 9:41 AM

I just want to see the bitch get bit up to death, which might heal the scar just a bit!

37. Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 2:33 PM

She is no more our sister. This faceless bitch should stay where ever she is now. We can't allow her here in Ethiopia to spoil our children.

38. Anonymous July 11, 2013 at 1:33 PM

Don't come to Ethiopia. Hang yourself

39. Wintana June 10, 2013 at 3:33 PM

Its shame to us Ethiopian because it's not our norm!

40. Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 2:43 PM

What a shameful girl!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

41. Anonymous June 28, 2013 at 4:33 PM

Betty can't represent Ethiopians b/c her activity's shame.

42. Melat Dechassa June 11, 2013 at 5:05 PM

Betty, it is shame on you. It is really a disgusting activity you did. You disregard the Ethiopian culture and its people

43. Lidya Abraham June 18, 2013 at 8:32 AM

We Ethiopians never ever have such a shame full History. And I think Betty is not represent her mother land of Ethiopia. What kind of patriotic event is this? National pride for celebrity, for sex, for money..... I do not think so. She is must be sex worker.

44. Anonymous June 17, 2013 at 1:42 AM

She is disgrace not only to Ethiopians but also to the continent.

45. Zinabu Hagos July 26, 2013 at 2:09 AM

We ashamed of you Betty. It was not good to have sex at that moment because there is enough more place and time out of that. Stop saying 'i am Ethiopian '.because you do not represent us.

46. Anonymous July 18, 2013 at 1:22 PM

You brought shame to your Ethiopian boyfriend, your mother father, brothers and sister's shame on you. Please do not come to our holy country to poison our pure culture.

47. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 8:31 AM

She is stupid slut. She never reflects to Ethiopian norm. Shame on you.

48. Anonymous June 18, 2013 at 2:42 PM

Only a stupid mind which is inconsiderate of his family and country can do this. There will be a huge mountain to climb for you "the social stigma".

49. Anonymous July 3, 2013 at 5:39 PM

Your act is not concern to us b/c we are Ethiopian. You are shamed girl. Please don't make our flag dirty since you are dirty

50. Elshaday G June 12, 2013 at 1:46 AM

It is unbelievable. Because we are Ethiopian. We have a beautiful culture, but Betty dismissed this. She does not represent our big Ethiopia.

51. Anonymous June 15, 2013 at 4:35 PM

Woo I am so sorry it is great shame for Ethiopian b/se we have no dirty thing like this!

52. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 8:16 AM

Do not come back Ethiopia, if you try, you will lose your life. People are at anger upon you.

53. Anonymous June 11, 2013 at 2:50 AM

It is horror to look to such dignity reducing activities in our respected culture in our age. Please let us respect our entity and our fathers' scarification in all dimensions (morally, sovereignty, unity, human dignity, respecting our self and others and good cultures).

54. Hamack Negash July 1, 2013 at 7:38 AM

She is a wild girl, who does not give a damn either for the reputation of herself being a matured and responsible person.

55. Anonymous June 11, 2013 at 8:37 AM

I don't think anybody should be giving a damn about her doing what she did. It's her life and whatever she did might make her proud or make her to never want to see the daylight. But it's her business entirely.

56. Anonymous June 16, 2013 at 6:53 AM

Betty is an output of the current trend in Ethiopia which glorify love for money above any other thing. The growing corruption, fraud, hatred, etc. in Ethiopia also represent the same trend. Poor Betty is a victim of our deteriorating national values. I argue, if an Ethiopian Athlete going elsewhere and competing on his/her own is to represent the country, Betty also does. Let's discuss how we can overcome that. Betty has already gone wrong and forgets her.

57. Anonymous June 15, 2013 at 5:53 AM

Her getting laid on national TV is her problem not Ethiopians

58. Anonymous July 26, 2013 at 2:53 AM

I don't think all the negative attitudes towards Betty are about the 'country's image', may be some. Those who are worried about the country's image won't put such a disgusting, awful suggestions online. Most of the suggestions indicate where the so called 'conservative' nation is. How can we teach someone who makes a mistake by making a mistake? Whenever we try to judge, we put ourselves being judged.

59. Anonymous September 16, 2013 at 6:53 AM

We Ethiopian do not do such thing in front of camera (on mainstream media). Sex is the most respected thing in our culture & every activities in the bed room are highly confidential. Because we are original (no European influence). The bottom line is I highly doubt this girl Betty is an Ethiopian & if so, it will be a disgrace to us!

60. Anonymous June 11, 2013 at 5:53 AM

For us who are living in the God's kingdom it is unthinkable to see such extraordinary activity. Betty is not degrading only her moral but Ethiopians as a whole. I think she don't know what to do and her action entails that she is destitute.

61. Anonymous July 26, 2013 at 3:53 AM

We Ethiopians never ever have such a shame full History. And I think Betty is not represent her mother land of Ethiopia. What kind of patriotic event is this? National pride for celebrity, for sex, for money..... I do not think so. She is must be sex worker.

62. Anonymous June 16, 2013 at 6:33 AM

This is uncommon for the so called Ethiopian girls. Ethiopia as a country is (according to a legend) a land of "Queen Sheba" who did the same thing with King Solomon

63. Anonymous June 16, 2013 at 6:53 AM

Really it's not our culture, but what I want to underline is academic knowledge never build your character unless you experience internal change, she display who she was before.

64. Anonymous June 12, 2013 at 1:53 AM

In Ethiopia's culture even those who unfortunately use sex to win bread do not expose themselves like that. This is definitely something she learnt from outside. She is too stupid to represent Ethiopia...No Ethiopia's women are not like that...and you know it...

65. Anonymous July 8, 2013 at 2:53 AM

It is horror to look to such dignity reducing activities in our respected culture in our age. Please let us respect our entity and our fathers' scarification in all dimensions (morally, sovereignty, unity, human dignity, respecting our self and others and good cultures).

66. Anonymous June 19, 2013 at 4:53 AM

I sow slot of complain shame on you please live this poor sister she just made mistake all human being made mistake

67. Anonymous September 1, 2013 at 3:53 AM

Why u so very angry at her? You think she humiliated your culture. Your culture conventionally says have a sex behind doors and in a dark place. U guys love to do it, but when you see it and hear it explicitly you hate it like the most evil sin. It is her personal

decision. Why you insulted her while she haven't made any slight harm on you. They both like each other. So let her control her live!

68. Anonymous June 16, 2013 at 6:53 AM

69. While everyone is throwing the stone at her can we also throw one idea on how we can help develop our poor nation? One idea per person would be appreciated, thank you

70. Anonymous June 16, 2013 at 2:53 PM

I don't think all the negative attitudes towards Betty are about the 'country's image', may be some. Those who are worried about the country's image won't put such a disgusting, awful suggestions ONLINE. Most of the suggestions indicates where the so called 'conservative' nation is. How can we teach someone who make a mistake by making a mistake? Whenever we try to judge, we put ourselves being judged.

71. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 1:53 AM

This thing is getting out of control. Someone is telling people not to marry Ethiopian women. Is he helping Ethiopian image by disrespecting all Ethiopian women. There are so many unhappy souls here. They are using the poor girl to vent their personal anguish. She made a mistake so what get over it. You guys are doing worse things by painting Ethiopian women as prostitutes, SHAME ON YOU GUYS.

72. Anonymous July 16, 2013 at 5:53 AM

Betty did not sell your land, Betty did not sell your sisters for Arabs slaves. Betty did not divide your country along ethnic line

73. Anonymous June 16, 2013 at 4:53 AM

Betty please try to confess your sin then everything will be ok even though the consequence hurt your life you will be on God hand.

74. Anonymous June 18, 2013 at 1:32 PM

Please leave her alone what's the big the deal she has a long life ahead of her, please
Ethiopians stop criticizing your blood sister we are a human we all make mistakes

75. Anonymous June 12, 2013 at 12:41 PM

Please apologies to GOD & the people of Ethiopia.

76. Anonymous June 12, 2013 at 12:42 PM

Just apologize to Ethiopian people. Jesus loves you just ask forgiveness from GOD and
people of Ethiopia. God be with you!

77. Anonymous June 21, 2013 at 3:04 PM

Just apologize! I feel sorry for you.

78. Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 7:02 AM

Please honey just apologize

79. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 8:30 AM

Betty if you read this please apologize to the people in public and try to move on, that seems to be the only way out.

80. Anonymous June 16, 2013 at 4:42 AM

Betty please try to confess your sin then everything will be ok even though the consequence hurt your life you will be on God hand.

81. Biruk June 7, 2013 at 12:29 pm

It's an embarrassment for Ethiopia so out of culture no way this lady represent the big nation Ethiopia.

82. Yared B. June 7, 2013 at 9:40 pm

She doesn't represent the big, historical and uncolonized country ETHIOPIA. Our country has so many icons like our athletes, emperor h/Selassie, emperor Menelik II. After all she is origin of human being. Generally, what she did solely reveal her personality, not habeshans.

83. Peter June 7, 2013 at 10:07 pm

So what? The big brother shows are supposedly sexually oriented and full of drama. This is NOT a national competition. Everybody prostitutes, both in and out of Ethiopia. Some for the money, in case of Betty, and some for attention, including those writing crap about Betty. Get a life and leave her alone.

84. Yhewnew June 8, 2013 at 8:29 am

This shows the failed Ethiopian new generation.

85. Leul June 8, 2013 at 4:13 pm

What is new here? U did not know this or non-heard about? Please let her enjoy. There bitches in Addis on street sex working and in all north Ethiopian towns and cities too. No difference, sex is sex caught on camera or seen on bare eye or hidden. I feel most Ethiopians are still in the 14th century. Wake up guys.

86. Ttt June 22, 2013 at 5:34 pm

There are many million Ethiopians doing the same in country side. It becomes the culture of the recent generation! She did correct.

87. Esu June 8, 2013 at 8:47 pm

So what she can do whatever she feel like with her body

88. Mick June 10, 2013 at 2:11 pm

This is a real failure to Ethiopians...

89. Humanity June 8, 2013 at 9:32 pm

To those who are calling her bitch, slut, get a life seriously. This is why in Ethiopia HIV is increasing tremendously. Sex is a taboo and something to be shy about it. Having a safe sex

willingly and with protection doesn't make you slut. She is an adult and as an adult she has full right to do what she pleases. And for those who is claiming she shamed the country, tell me one thing you have done that has brought a great honorary. Yes...absolutely nothing except sit around and judge people. If the guy did the same thing, I am sure it would not be this big of a deal. Get over, you are nobody and have no right to judge and acclaim someone shamed country. Ignorant- is what this is.

90. Sadday June 9, 2013 at 6:58 pm

You are Ignorant about your own culture, no respect about who you are and have no idea about right and wrong, for you information Sex is a Taboo in ever culture around the world. Wey ATAMRI Wey ATAFRI ale Yehageray Sew.

91. Humanity June 9, 2013 at 9:44 pm

Regarding Betty's situation, she is an adult and the right to make a decision. She should not be shamed and put down. I saw a lot of degrading comment from a lot of people, which I found it profound because they do worst things than her. Unfortunately her situation was publicized.

92. Gerie June 11, 2013 at 10:58 am

We have to consider our values & cultures. Betty have the right to have sex but it is disgusting to have it in front of camera considering the impact that leaves within her friends & Family. In America there was a teacher teaching for 3 years, after a time she was

identified that she was a porn star. The community didn't leave by saying that is her rite but immediately terminated not only from the school but from the State.

93. Mefit June 18, 2013 at 7:34 am

Let us talk some logic. She represents a nation called Ethiopia. Then, I hope she knows the difference between shameless and decent acts according to the Ethiopian culture. When we say we despise theft, it does not mean there are no thieves in Ethiopia. In the same manner when we say we despise open sex it does not mean there are no immoral sexual practices in Ethiopia. Culture is not about the act of individuals rather it is about values & beliefs of the people. I think she broke these values and rules; that could be her mistake. She should have been given some training before taking part in what you call BBA.

94. Lisa June 20, 2013 at 12:18 pm

I completely agree with you, people should mind their own business, why should any of you care about what she does with her body it's not like she raped the dude. People are just judging her because they have nothing better to do with their lives. And remember when you point a finger 3 point back at you, so take it easy people. It's not your place to judge.

95. Addis Sime June 8, 2013 at 11:40 pm

Everyone must know that Betty is in South Africa not for Olympic or other tournament under Ethiopia and its national flag. I don't know why most people throw bad words towards her. She is our sister after all we can't deny. So let's accept her with the weakness.

When she will realize, she will ask for excuses to her family,⁶ students, and friends and especially to her boyfriend.

96. Fil June 9, 2013 at 7:32 am

Confidence and smartness has nothing to do with that, but bitchness do. She seems she doesn't understand what reality show is.

97. Abera June 9, 2013 at 1:49 pm

She is a disgrace to the proud people of Ethiopia. Some say she can do whatever she want and she has done it. But we have also a right to say whatever we want and we majority Ethiopians are calling her bitch. People have right to say whatever they want on any issue. Every one of are judged by our acts. We certainly have the right to judge her. What she did is an immoral act. Our constitution since Hailesilassie times punishes people who commute an immoral act. The company that hire her should immediately fire her because she ugly role model. We do not want our sisters and kids follow the footstep of a useless bitch. The government should also ban her travelling right let alone owning travelling agent

98. Anonymous June 8, 2013 at 8:34 AM

Its shame to us Ethiopian b/c it's not our norm!

99. Anonymous June 16, 2013 at 6:53 AM

Betty Jesus loves u is not too late to come to Jesus he is the only one gives you freedom and peace please come to Jesus. God said even mother leave the child but never me. He wants you to hug and take care you forever.

100. Anonymous June 19, 2013 at 5:43 AM

I hope she does it again and again and again and again

101. Anonymous June 23, 2013 at 1:14 PM

What a shameful girl!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

102. Anonymous June 8, 2013 at 8:37 AM

Am really sorry about Betty She can't represent Ethiopians because her act is shameful.

103. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 4:57 AM

Betty, it is shame on you. It is really a disgusting activity you did. You disregard the Ethiopian culture and its people. At least you have to hide yourself from camera site. OMG, I have never seen such shameful activity made by our Ethiopian sisters. In any case, I have no enough words to criticize your shameful activity.

104. Anonymous June 12, 2013 at 4:14 AM

We Ethiopians never ever have such a shame full History. And I think Betty does not represent her mother land of Ethiopia. What kind of patriotic event is this? National pride for celebrity, for sex, for money..... I do not think so. She is must be sex-worker.

105. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 8:51 AM

A disgrace not only to Ethiopians but also to the continent.

106. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 10:07 AM

Really it's not our culture, and what I wants to underline is academic knowledge never build your character unless you experience internal change, she display who she was before.

107. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 11:35 AM

108. It's not a big deal. . Everybody doing this behind the door only god judge.....don't talk too much people. ..

109. Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 7:58 AM

We should represent Ethiopia in a good way not in a bad way! This is not our culture. Moreover we are not even supposed to have sex until we get married!

110. Anonymous June 18, 2013 at 1:49 PM

Shame on you!!! How on earth you are saying this bad words! She can do it personally not representing the nation flag i.e. Ethiopia. Whenever you carry a country flag it represent a children, a young and an old.... It is not about a single individual. Please, don't mix it up!!!

111. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 2:28 PM

In Ethiopia's culture even those who unfortunately use sex to win bread do not expose themselves like that. This is definitely something she learnt from outside. She is too stupid to represent Ethiopia...

112. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 4:23 PM

I honestly don't think she should be judged. I'm pretty sure she didn't know she was being recorded and she didn't do anything we all don't do under our roofs! I just feel sorry this happened to her!

113. Yewunata June 10, 2013 at 4:40 AM

We are ashamed of you Betty. It was not good to have sex at that moment because there is enough more place and time out of that. Stop saying 'I am Ethiopian' because you do not represent us.

114. Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 5:10 AM

Oh: Betty Shame on you shame on you made us our head down because of your immoral and shameful act. You blackmail our image nationally and internationally. Really you are not representing Ethiopian, you brought shame to your Ethiopian boyfriend, your mother and father, brothers and sisters, shame on you. Please do not come to our holy country to poison our pure culture.

115. Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 5:39 AM

She is stupid slut. She never reflect to Ethiopian norm, Shame on you.

116. Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 8:49 AM

The world should know something about Ethiopia. As you know there are good people, bad people in one country, Betty is one of the bad citizen of Ethiopia in this case. So the so called Betty is not like Ethiopian people, who is safe, clean, shy, hero etc. so the girl is chasing money in the name of descent Ethiopian girls and children, in general the country. The world should know that Ethiopian people hate big brother together with Betty because it's not African culture especially painful for our country, great Ethiopia, who defeated the whitish fascists.

117. Bayu asrat June 10, 2013 at 9:40 AM

I hope she don't return to Ethiopia. Because from where she was born people don't do that. I say she should stay where ever she is right now.

118. Anonymous June 10, 2013 at 3:21 PM

It is unbelievable. Because we are Ethiopian. We have a beautiful culture, but Betty dismissed this. She is not representing our big Ethiopia.

119. Anonymous June 9, 2013 at 2:23 PM

Betty do whatever comes from your brain because it is always right. Forgot dis dame.....

120. Anonymous June 11, 2013 at 4:54 AM

The truth is Ethiopian women are shameless bitches, if you don't believe it go to any big city in the middle east, they sell all their holes whoever comes to fuck them. Thanks God my mom and sisters are not Ethiopian. Ethiopian women should not be allowed to participate in BBA, they are teaching bad culture to African's.